CHAPTER 11.

The Republic of South Africa

1. History:

The history of education in South Africa goes back to the days of Johan van Riebeeck, who came to the Cape in 1652 to establish the first settlement there. The early settlers were all imbued with a strong Christian faith, which brought with it the obligation on every individual to read the Bible. In order to meet this requirement, everybody learnt to read and write at least and everywhere they went the early settlers took this hallmark of their faith with them. This has resulted in the fact that for many years past illiteracy among the European population, even in the most remote places, has been negligible, being well below 1 per cent.

Thus the first teaching was in the home itself, to be succeeded by the efforts of "travelling schoolmasters", which led finally to the establishment of schools. At the time of union in 1910, the four provinces each had its respective system of education, and, although remaining distinct units adminsitratively, they have gradually come to conform to a single type as regards the methods, content and organisation of their education.

The natives, obviously not having the cultural background of the Europeans, were themselves unable to give what is commonly understood by "education" in the sense of modern classroom tuition, and were dependent on all such education from extraneous sources, their own contribution to "education " being the tribal instruction given by the elders.

In 1799 the first school specially founded for Native children, was opened by missionaries without any assistance or subsidy from the State. In 1841 a beginning was made with State assistance, and from 1865 there was an increase in the tempo of school attendance, which stood in direct proportion to State assistance.

Until 1925 each of the four provinces followed the same slow pattern of development. Missions and churches remained the originators of native schools, and maintened these out of mission and church funds, the Government being exceedingly lethargic in its subsidising of native education. In the Cape Province the first Govern-

CHART 111: The Republic of South Africa.

(Basutoland and Swaziland, which do not form part of the Republic, are also shown on this Chart.)

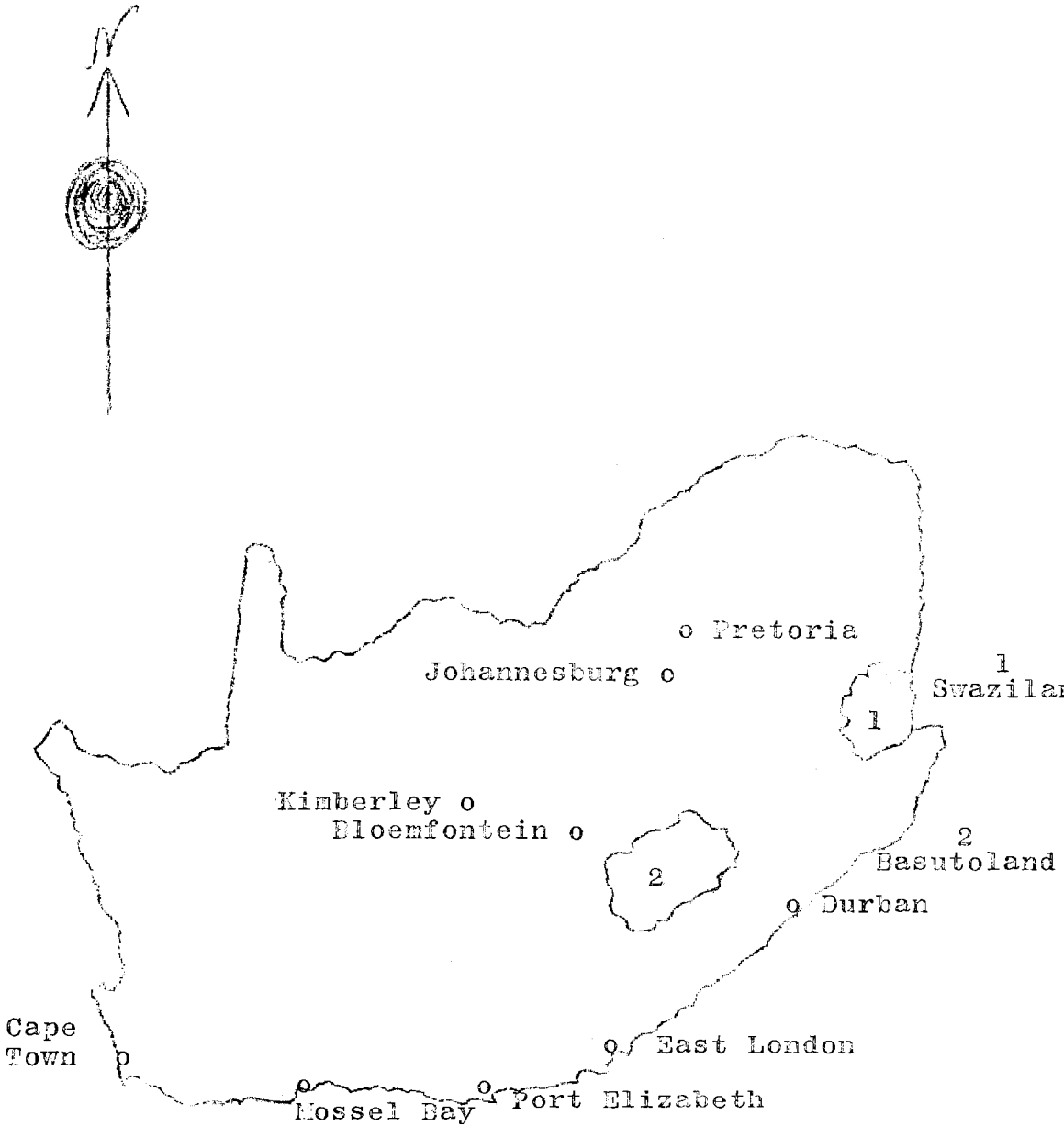


TABLE IV: The Bantu Population of the Republic, shown in Provincial Distribution: Groups and Figures:

Province	Grand Total	Urban	White Rural Areas	Bantu Areas
Cape (excluding the Transkei)	1,362,137	485,054	501,952	375,131
Transkeian Territory ...	1,413,870	23,853	31,980	1,358,037
Natal (excluding Zululand) ...	1,560,446	312,632	577,379	670,435
Zululand	456,008	8,768	53,884	393,356
Transvaal	3,881,020	1,558,740	1,496,417	825,863
Orange Free State	862,448	233,825	599,165	29,008
	9,535,929	2,622,872	3,260,777	3,651,830

TABLE V: The Bantu Population of the Republic, Percentage Distribution:

Percentage Distribution	
Urban	27%
White Rural Areas	35%
Bantu Areas	38%

(g) Pupil-teacher ratio: 33.

(h) Illiteracy Rate: Europeans: There is practically no illiteracy among the European population; 72 per cent of the Native population 10 years old and over.

(i) National income (1950-51): 1,114 million S.A. pounds.

(j) Public expenditure on education (1950-51): 38,025,975 S.A. pounds. Expenditure on Bantu Education 1945: £500,000; 1960: £9½ million. (Vide Tables XXVI -XXXI).[1]

3. Aims and Policy:

(i) The Function of Bantu Education.

Under the heading "The Function of Bantu Education" the Commission on Native Education[2] analyses the reasons for the support of Bantu Education by (a) the State, (b) Religious Bodies and (c) the Bantu.

(a) The State:

The attitude towards Bantu Education of the Governments of the Cape, Natal and the two Republics was in the initial stages that of benevolent assistance by way of sporadic subsidies. Direct interest and purposeful action developed gradually. Sir Goerge Grey introduced a system of subsidized Bantu education in 1854, writing as follows: "The plan I propose to pursue with a view to the general adjustment of these questions (frontier policy) is to attempt to gain an influence over all the tribes ... by establishing institutions for the education of their children." Thus education was regarded as one means among many to be employed in the pacification of the Border.

The South African Native Affairs Commission (1903-1905) made the following comments:[3] "The concensus of opinion expressed before the Commission is to the effect that education, while in a certain number of cases it has had the effect of creating in the Natives

---

(1) Official rate of exchange: 1 pound -2.80 U.S. dollars. As from 20th February 1961: Rand and cents take the place of pound, shillings and pence, 2 Rand being equal to one pound.

(2) Report of Commission on Native Education, 1949-51, p.39, par. 204 foll.

(3) ibid., p.66; par. 327-329.

TABLE VI: The Bantu Population of the Republic: Ethnic Distribution:

Ethnic Group	Figures
Xhosa	2,769,585
Zulu	2,457,211
Swazi	325,857
Ndebele	236,151
Tsonga	452,341
Southern Sotho	1,021,571
Tswana	783,311
Northern Sotho	1,048,605
Venda	162,997
Others	278,300
TOTAL	9,535,929

TABLE VII: Foreign Bantu in the Republic and the Main Countries of their Origin:

(1) Annual Gross <u>influx</u> 1957 approximately: 278,000

(2) Annual Gross <u>efflux</u> 1957 approximately: 255,000

(3) Estimates number of Foreign Bantu in the Union as at 30th June, 1957: 767,370

Country of Origin	Percentage
Basutoland	37.0%
Portuguese East Africa	26.0%
Nyasaland	11.0%
Southern and Northern Rhodesia	9.0%
Bechuanaland	8.0%
Swaziland	6.0%
Angola and other Portuguese territories ...	1.1%
South West Africa	0.9%
Other territories	1.0%
	100.0%

an agressive spirit, arising no doubt from an exaggerated sense of individual self-importance, which renders him less docile and less disposed to be contented with the position for which nature and circumstances have fitted them, has had generally a beneficial influence on the Natives themselves, and by raising the level of their intellegence, and by increasing their capacity as workers and their earning power has been an advantage to the community."

This Commission also reports "testimony has been given as to the value of education as a concomitant of religious and moral instruction and as to its economic effect in raising the standard of material comfort and thus creating wants." (1)

The Report of the Select Committee on Native and Coloured Education (Cape) of 1908 contains insistence on the advantage of education for developing industry in the Native, and says: "The primary objects of Native education must be the development of intelligence, the training of character, and in particular the promotion of industry, and that if these objects are duly kept in view throughout, and nothing is done to force development unnaturally, Native education cannot fail to be to the advantage of the whole country." (2)

The Native Economic Commission of 1930-1932, in considering the cost of education, remarked: "Disregarding the question whether this extremely low standard of general education has any value for the Native, let us consider whether there is a fair expectation of funds being made available for it within a reasonable time. Alternatively, should a change be made in the content and nature of Native education." (3) "This extremely low standard of education" led to decisions regarding the need "to make education permeate the whole or even a considerable part of the Native population." (4)

---

(1) Report: p.66, par. 327-329.
(2) Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951; p.40, par. 214.
(3) ibid., p.41, par. 221.
(4) ibid., p.42, par. 221.

TABLE VIII: Institutions, teachers (total and female) and students (total and female), European, Native and non-European:

Level of education and type of school	Institutions	Teachers		Students	
		Total	F.	Total	F.
A. PRIMARY AND SECONDARY					
1) Primary and General Secondary					
European, public	2,615	19,053	10,468	467,440	224,163
European, private	284	1,697	1,309	38,036	20,904
Native, public	5,338	18,530	-	747,026	380,560
Other non-European, public	1,471	7,722	-	262,345	122,295
2) Vocational (European)					
Commercial high schools	3	37	17	759	-
Technical high schools	11	128	-	1,632	-
Housecraft high schools	9	68	68	816	816
Agricultural high schools	7	-	-	558	-
State-aided vocational schools	5	-	-	484	-
Continuation classes	29	-	-	1,525	674
Technical Colleges	9	2,550	582	54,279	17,461
3) Vocational (Native)					
Provincial schools and industrial departments	40	-	-	2,064	-
State-aided vocational schools	12	-	-	794	339
Continuation classes	29	-	-	11,060	946
4) Vocational (Other Non-European)					
State-aided vocational schools	7	-	-	449	281
Technical Colleges	1	102	11	1,890	-
5) Teacher Training					
Native	38	-	-	5,844	-
Other Non-European	13	-	-	1,450	-

TABLE VIII (continued)

Level of education and type of school	Institutions	Teachers		Students	
		Total	F.	Total	F.
B. HIGHER					
1) European					
Universities	9	1,226	-	18,438	4,636
University of South Africa external studies	1	-	-	2,152	-
Teacher-training colleges	14	-	-	2,850	2,084
2) Native					
South African Native College, Fort Hare	1	45	-	325	-
European Universities	-	-	-	159	-
University of South Africa external studies	-	-	-	484	-
3) Vocational (Other Non-European)					
South African Native College, Fort Hare	-	-	-	57	-
European Universities	-	-	-	428	-
University of South Africa external studies	-	-	-	340	-
C. SPECIAL					
1) European					
Schools of Industries	14	178	58	2,055	-
Schools for physically handicapped	3	40	11	167	-
State-aided special schools	5	-	-	757	-
Schools for mental defectives	2	-	-	158	-
Reformatories	2	-	-	287	43
2) Native					
State-aided special schools	4	-	-	1,293	-
Reformatories	2	27	7	749	63
3) Other Non-European					
Schools of industries	1	11	-	186	-
Reformatories	2	31	1	801	57

(b) Religious Bodies:

The chief purpose of the churches in founding and supporting schools has been to use education as an auxillary to the evengelization of the Bantu. Because of the considerable number of different religions denominations engaged in the evangelization of the Bantu it is inevitable that certain persons and even denominations would use the schools, sometimes deliberately, sometimes unintentionally, to promote particular church or denominational interests.

The churches have also "been active in endeavouring to link the schools with the economic progress of the Bantu, as the foundation of industrial schools will testify. Certain churches have also been active in forming banks, co-operatives for marketing agricultural products, spinning and weaving artefacts, baskets, etc., and in settling the Bantu on individual holdings. In education itself they have been active in improving all aspects of the work from genuine altruistic motives."(1)

(c) The Bantu:

The desire on the part of the Bantu for education has been inspired by many different motives. "The desire for schooling as a means of fathoming the Christian religions was and remains a powerful motive," says the Commission. (2)

Schooling has also been desired for economic reasons. Arising largely from the economic aspects of education as seen by the Bantu, two further phenomena are noteworthy:

(i) The tremendous drive for certificates. The Commission says: "From the evidence presented to the Commission it seems quite clear that teachers, parents and children alike are far more concerned with the obtaining of certificates than they are with the deeper values of education." (3)

---

(1) Report of the Commission on Native Education. 1949-1951; p.42, par. 229.
(2) ibid.,1949-1951; p.42, par. 230.
(3) ibid., p.43,par.232. I came across an instance where a rival college drew its students not because of the superior quality of its tuition, but because of the larger size and more eloquent wording of its brightly illuminated certificates.

IX: Age, Class and Sex Distribution of Native Pupils in Provincial, State and State-aided Primary and Secondary Schools in 1950:

CLASS	AGE						AGE			
	6-	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	283	7,113	22,269	22,247	17,614	15,347	9,421	7,708	4,564	2,477
	373	8,380	24,178	22,732	17,397	14,055	7,878	5,816	3,112	1,458
	3	154	2,476	7,492	10,484	11,800	9,565	8,368	6,556	3,948
	1	326	3,712	9,931	12,876	13,860	10,199	8,232	5,271	2,633
	-	4	181	1,636	4,621	8,355	9,483	10,415	8,616	5,893
	-	24	385	2,912	7,446	11,575	11,545	10,772	8,029	4,506
	-	2	6	204	1,107	3,193	5,241	7,512	7,727	6,066
	-	-	30	373	2,316	5,953	8,284	9,823	9,597	5,611
	-	1	-	23	184	843	2,265	4,782	6,530	6,468
	-	-	3	51	394	2,036	4,492	7,712	8,625	7,294
	-	1	2	7	27	164	652	1,887	3,657	4,773
	-	-	-	3	49	365	1,453	3,709	6,052	6,690
	-	-	-	-	1	21	96	548	1,628	2,774
	-	-	-	-	9	32	264	1,185	3,124	4,679
	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	108	414	1,215
	-	-	-	-	-	1	34	248	1,002	2,480
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	73	322
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	121	565
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	14
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	286	7,275	24,934	31,609	34,038	39,724	36,728	41,332	39,765	33,941
	374	8,730	28,308	36,002	40,487	47,877	44,149	47,510	44,935	35,930
	660	16,005	53,242	67,611	74,525	87,601	80,877	88,842	84,700	69,871
	0.1	2.2	7.1	9.1	10.0	11.7	10.8	11.9	11.4	9.4

(ii) The extreme aversion to any education specially adapted for the Bantu. "The Bantu have, for numerous reasons, come to feel that any differentiation in education must be to their detriment," [1] states the Commission.

Bantu education has a very definite task to fulfil beyond the confines of the classroom. In the social and economic structure of Bantu life there are matters of grave importance demanding the support of education in its broadest national sense.

Speaking to Sabra, [2] the Honourable the Minister of Bantu Education pointed out that education is not merely for the training of the individual, but for the training of the individual to take his part in society. The Minister emphasised the need for development in the Bantu areas of agriculture, irrigation, forestry, marketing, the construction of roads and bridges, the supply of medical services and clinics, social services and institutions concerned therewith, administrative services of personnel and police, trade and industry, housing, and the like. He stressed that these tasks lie in the hands of the Bantu themselves; but those who play their part must be trained not merely as an individual but as a member of society. In the past, the Minister stated, too much emphasis had been laid on the training of individuals as individuals.

To attain this ideal it would be necessary for education to be given "deur die Bantoe en vir die Bantoe", [3] and to this end it would be necessary for the Bantu to carry an ever increasing share of responsibility.

---

(1) Report of Commission on Native Education, p. 43, par. 233.

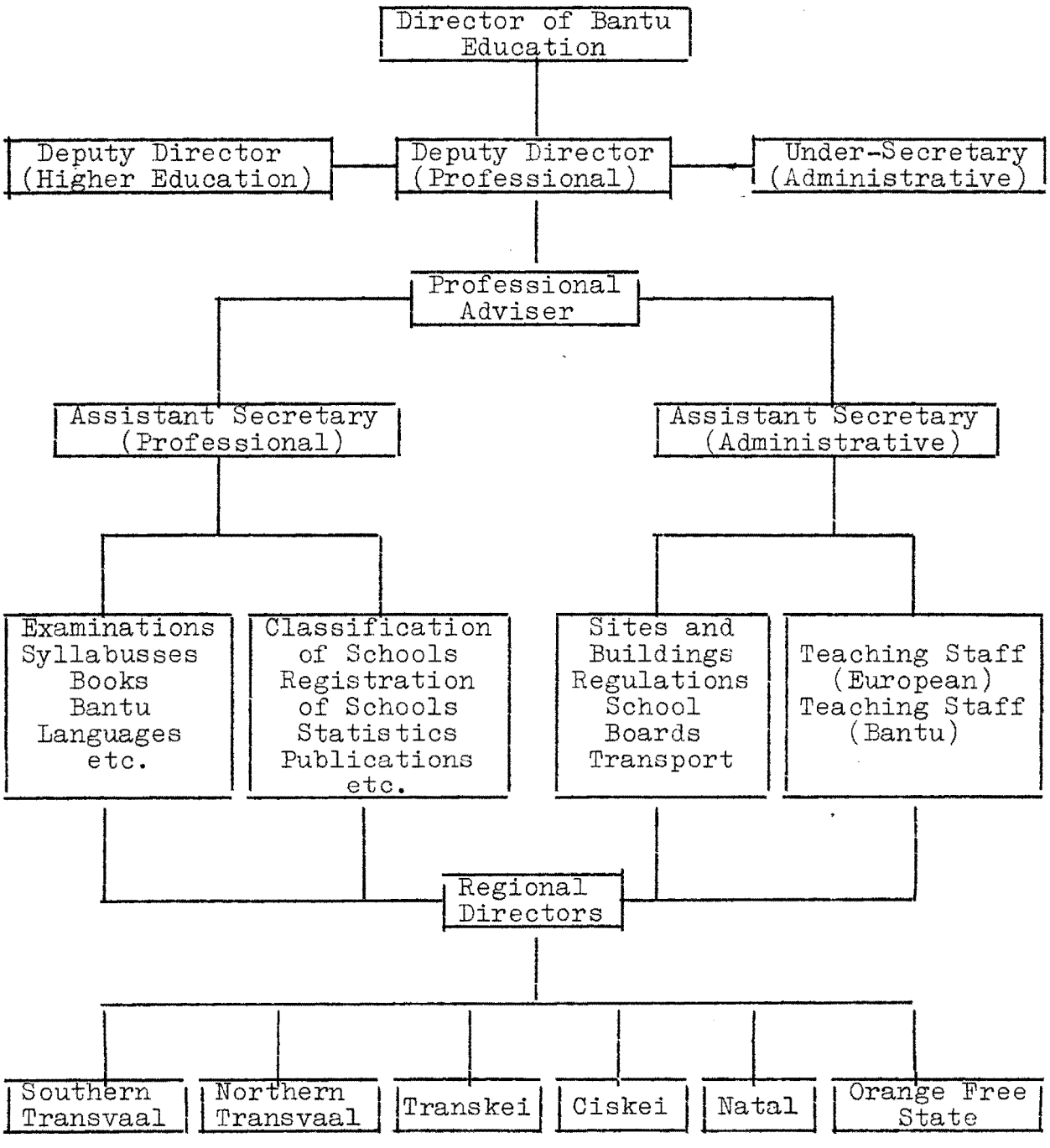
(2) Sabra: Suid-Afrikaanse Buro vir Rasse-aangeleenthede. Address given to the Northern Transvaal Branch of Sabra by the Honourable the Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. W.A. Maree, on 30th November, 1956. Manuscript kindly made available by the Honourable, the Minister.

(3) "by the Bantu for the Bantu".

TABLE X: Figures reflecting the Position regarding Government and State-aided Schools in 1953:

	Cape Province	Natal	Orange Free State	Transvaal	Total
Government Schools	38	266	-	5	309
State-aided Schools	2,389	982	604	1,485	5,460
	2,427	1,248	604	1,490	5,769

TABLE XI: Administrative Personnel:



Introducing the Bill for the Separate Government Department of Bantu Education before the Senate in 1959, the Minister (1) stressed the fact that it was not the intention that the new Department of Bantu Education should stand alone, isolated from other Departments, but that there should be the closest co-ordination especially with the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. The same close co-ordination was envisaged for the different planes in the Department itself, between inspectors of schools and Bantu authorities, teachers in schools and Bantu School Committees and School Boards, Regional Directors of Bantu Education and the Chiefs, and the Ministers of the various Departments.

The Minister gave the following classification of schools falling under the Department:

1. Bantu State Schools, 190, with 41,550 pupils.
2. Bantu Community Schools, 4373, with 1,027,411 pupils.
3. Farm Schools, 1424, with 149,021 pupils.
4. Mine and Factory Schools, 111, with 18,964 pupils.
5. Other schools included, 26, with 2467 pupils.

This meant a total of 1,239,413 Bantu pupils.

Stressing the importance of responsibility and training for citizenship, the Minister mentioned the following important factors to be taken into consideration in connection with Bantu School Committees and Bantu School Boards:

(i) Preservation of homogeneity within the ethnic group as regards languages and tribal unity; and

(ii) Grouping of those with common interests within a given area.

The Minister also emphasised the importance of the religious aspect of education. Religious education would be made compulsory, he said, and representatives of recognised churches would be allowed a number of periods per week for religious instruction in the schools.

---

(1) The Honourable W.A. Maree, Minister of Bantu Education. The Minister kindly made his personal notes available for the purpose of this study.

(ii) The Present Educational Policy:

The Minister of Bantu Education has stressed a number of important points with regard to the present educational policy, two of which are growth and responsibility on the part of the Bantu themselves.

The increase of schools and pupils has been stressed. There are 6,000 primary schools, 250 secondary and high schools, staffed by approximately 24,000 teachers, with over 1¼ million pupils enrolled. (1) (Vide Tables IV, V, VIII, XV-XXI, et alia.)

"Before the Bantu Education Act came into force school enrolment for the Bantu stood at about 800,000 pupils. Five years later it had increased by 50 per cent, to approximately 1¼ million". (2) (Vide Table XV).

"Five years ago the government under the Bantu Education Act took control of Bantu Education. Since then it has set up over 400 Bantu School Boards, and approximately 5,000 Bantu School Committees, thereby enlisting the energies of over 40,000 selected Bantu men and women in the service of their own children and their own people." (3)

The Minister also stressed the fact that "today the average Bantu child receives 6 years of schooling, a higher rate than obtains in any other part of Africa or Asia, or even in parts of South America or Southern Europe." (4)

In further outlining the Government policy, and explaining why Bantu Education is being extended along the lines of the policy of separate development, the Minister has made the following statement: "Under the policy of separate development in separate Bantu territories, the respective Bantu authorities will be given increasing responsibility for the control and management of their own educational services and their own schools and colleges, and so be able to plan according to their own requirements.

---

(1) The Honourable the Minister: The Policy of Separate Development in South Africa, p.28.
(2) ibid., p.29.
(3) ibid., p.29.
(4) ibid., p.30.

TABLE XII: Government State-aided in the various Territories

	Government Schools	Community-Schools	Farm Schools	Mine Schools	Factory Schools	Scheduled Schools	TOTAL
Northern Transvaal	32	761	319	34	8	-	1,154
Southern Transvaal	22	432	142	27	7	6	636
Orange Free State	16	296	536	9	4	3	864
Natal	62	873	178	13	4	9	1,139
Transkei	33	1,407	27	-	-	2	1,469
Ciskei	25	604	222	2	3	6	862
	190	4,373	1,424	85	26	26	6,124

TABLE XIII: Government Unaided Schools in the various Territories:(1)

	Church Schools	Other	TOTAL
Northern Transvaal	45	142	187
Southern Transvaal	56	33	89
Orange Free State	58	30	88
Natal	277	18	295
Transkei	68	78	146
Ciskei	44	69	113
	548	370	918

(1) Under category "unaided schools" are included church schools of those church bodies who preferred not to transfer the control of their schools to the Department. The departmental subsidy was therefore annually reduced until it was completely discontinued as from 1st January, 1958.

In the light of what I have outlined for you, it must be clear that the Bantu Education Act, the Bantu Authorities Act, the Bantu Investment Bill, the Separate Universities Bill, and the Bill for promoting Bantu Self-government, are not isolated repressive measures as our opponents love to tell the world, but form part of the pattern of separate development, part of a positive plan to help solve the difficulties of the country as a whole, in a manner that will be acceptable to both the parties interested," (1) the Minister said.

Respect for, and training in as well as by medium of, the vernacular, is a remarkable feature in the South African policy. In addition to this there is the definite purpose of ensuring the useful absorption of the individual in and by the society in which he will dwell and work. As a South African poet expressed it: "Besit van gawe nie, maar die gebruik daarvan gee aanspraak op die naam van 'n begaafde man." (2) Responsibility in the use of achievement attained through education, as well as the correct use of this achievement, is a further feature in the South African policy.

An inspector of Bantu Education in an interview, expressed it as his opinion that while the European has done much to supply the African with many amenities, especially those offered through education, the African will have to increase his economic strength to be able to keep pace with and really appreciate these amenities with responsibility. "I have been wondering," he said, "whether the Bantu has not been offered more educationally than he can absorb economically."

The solution would seem to lie, surely, not in the <u>decrease</u> of the amount of education and educational facilities offered, but in the <u>increase</u> of requirements for and acceptance of the training brought about by the ever increasing educational facilities. Demand must transcend supply unless supply is to suffer a sorry lack of appreciation.

---

(1) The Policy of Separate Development in South Africa, p. 30-31.

(2) Langenhoven, Afrikaans poet, in his "Besit en Gebruik": "Not the mere <u>possession</u> of gifts, but their <u>use</u>, justifies the title: a gifted man."

TABLE XIV: Pupils in Government, State-aided and Unaided Schools, 1958:

	Government	Community	Farm	Mine	Factory	Scheduled	TOTAL
Northern Transvaal	6,662	198,606	41,275	6,035	1,016	-	253,594
Southern Transvaal	5,033	207,643	18,788	4,483	1,306	277	237,530
Orange Free State	4,500	102,246	52,241	1,129	781	418	161,315
Natal	13,703	171,156	18,564	2,689	1,052	1,073	208,237
Transkei	5,978	210,441	1,347	-	-	301	218,067
Ciskei	5,674	137,319	16,806	198	275	398	160,670
	41,550	1,027,411	149,021	14,534	4,430	2,467	1,239,413

4. Organisation and Administration:

A. Position Prior to 1958, when Bantu Education became a separate Department.

Prior to 1958, the following was the position regarding non-European education: The main non-European population groups are: natives (Africans), Indian (chiefly in Natal and Transvaal), and coloured (of Malay or mixed descent.)

(1) Native Education: (General):

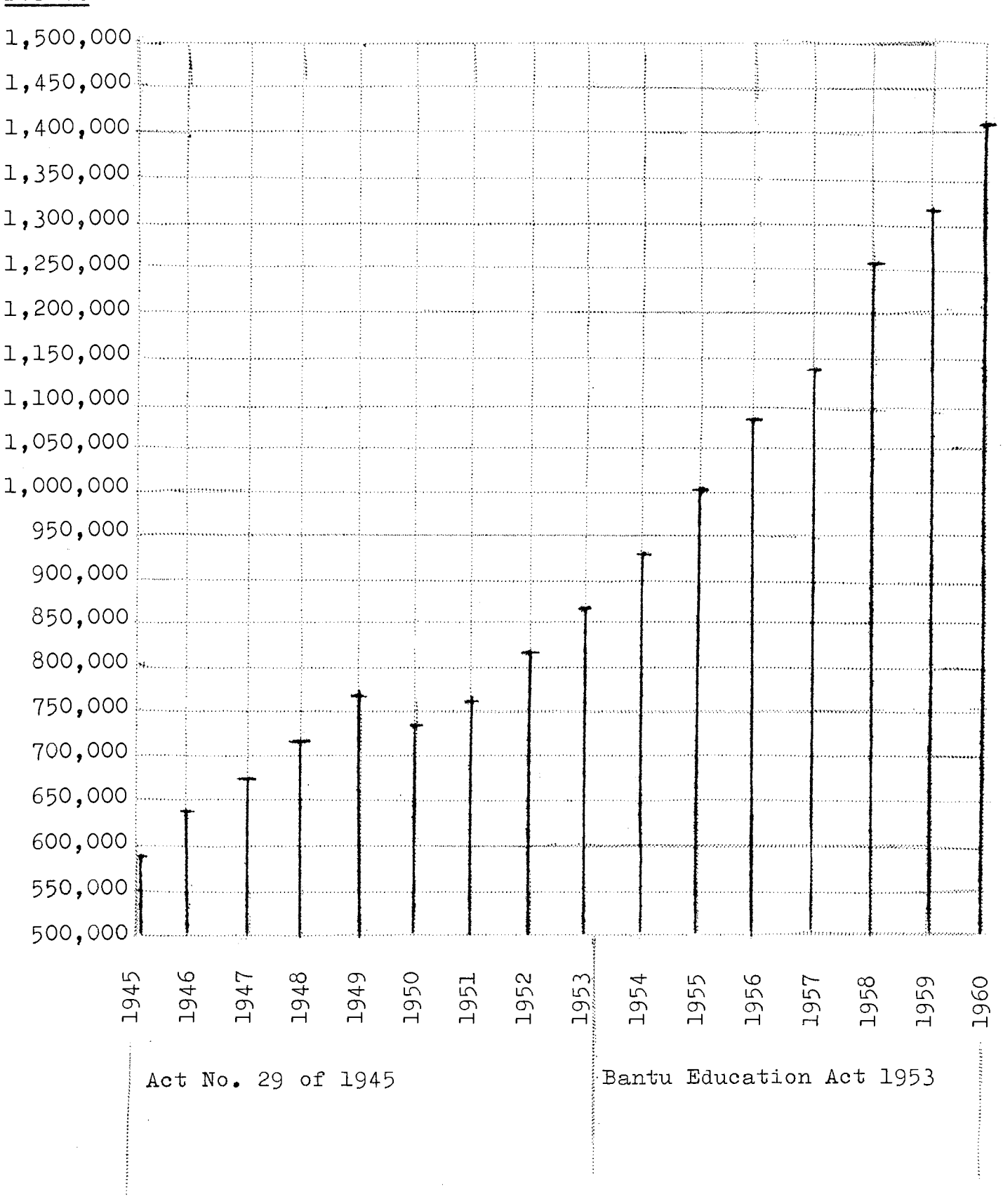
Native Education fell administratively under the provincial councils. The director of each provincial education department had on his staff a specialist officer, the Chief Inspector of Native Education, to take charge of administrative work; a special board, chiefly representing the missions which control native schools, existed to advise the department on all matters affecting native education.

A Union Advisory Board on Native Education was set up by the Minister of Education under Act. No. 29 of 1945, and consisted of the Secretaries for Native Affairs and Education, representatives of the provincial authorities, and up to five other persons nominated by the Minister, including natives.

The body ensured the necessary national co-ordination and advised the Minister of Education on the budget for native education. The budget was submitted to parliament on the vote of the Department of Education, Arts and Science; the accounting was thus centralised and the grant to the provinces was distinct from the general grant covering European education and other provincial activities. Within the provinces the great majority of native schools were aided mission schools, which accounts for the low cost per native pupil. Only in Natal was there a considerable proportion of State schools for natives directly controlled by the Education Department. Inspection of native schools was carried out by the provincial inspectorate. Education was not compulsory for natives. Primary schooling was free in all provinces. Up to the end of Standard II at least, i.e. for the first four years of schooling, the

TABLE XV: NUMBER OF BANTU PUPILS AT SCHOOL.

1945-1960.



pupils were taught through the medium of the vernacular. The Primary school comprised eight classes, two sub-standards and six standards. A Standard VI examination conducted by the departments served as an entrance examination to secondary schools and teacher-training colleges. In Natal primary education included Standard VII. The secondary school course was the same as that for Europeans. There were State and State-aided institutions for training native teachers. The native primary lower certificate was obtained after a three-year course after Standard VI, the first year being confined to academic work. The native primary higher certificate was obtained after a two year course following Standard VIII. (1)

(2) Coloured Education: (General)

Coloured education was a provincial responsibility in the Cape, the schools were mainly of the State-aided mission type, and, in Natal, the pupils were more or less equally divided between State and State-aided schools; in the Transvaal and O.F.S., State schools predominated. Inspection was undertaken by the inspectors of European or native schools.

Education was free up to Standard VI in the O.F.S., and to Standard X in the other three provinces. In organisation and curriculum the coloured schools generally followed the same pattern as the European, but in the Cape Province, where the majority of coloured schools were situated, special syllabuses were drawn up for such schools. Education was compulsory for coloureds in Natal and in certain areas of the Cape, where legislation provided for the compulsory attendance of all coloured children between 7 and 14 where accommodation permitted.

There were 11 State and State-aided teacher-training institutions for coloured teachers, of which nine were in the Cape Province.

(3) Indian Education: (General)

---

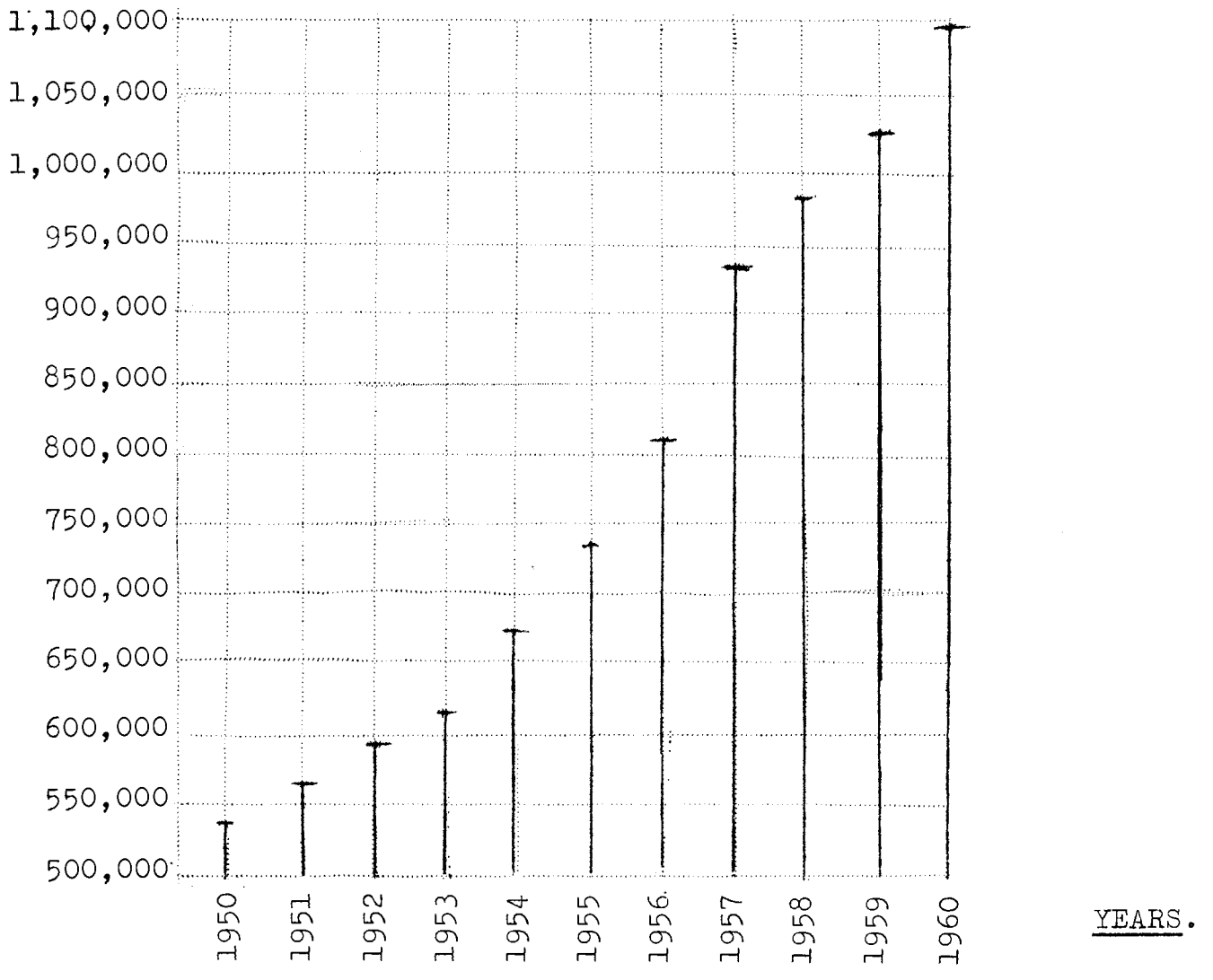
(1) TABLE VIII gives the 1950 figures, shown for purposes of comparison with later developments, of institutions, teachers (total and female), and students (total and female), European, Native and non-Europeans.
TABLE IX gives the age, class and sex distribution of native pupils in Provincial, State and State-aided Primary and Secondary Schools in 1950.

TABLE XVL: INCREASE OF PUPILS

IN BANTU SCHOOLS

1950-1960

LOWER PRIMARY.



Natal, because of the size of its Indian population, administered Indian schools as a separate group. Supervision was exercised by a chief inspector of Indian schools. Indians attended the same schools as the coloureds in the Cape, and in the Transvaal there were some separate Indian schools, and a larger number of schools for both coloureds and Indians.

The organisation of primary and secondary schools, as well as the curriculum, followed the same pattern as the European and coloured systems. State, as well as State-aided, systems existed and education, though not compulsory, was free in the Cape, Transvaal and Natal up to Standard X. There are no Indians in the O.F.S. Natal had two teacher-training institutions for Indian teachers. In the Transvaal and the Cape, Indian teachers were trained in coloured teacher-training colleges.

(4) Vocational Training:

The M.L. Sultan Technical College in Durban provided training primarily for Indians, and, when accommodation permitted, admitted other non-Europeans.

In addition, separate divisions for the training of non-European students were established at seven other technical colleges. A number of State-aided vocational schools for pupils who had passed Standard IV at least were subsidised by the Department of Education, Arts and Science, and there were five schools (one school of industries and four reformatories) for non-Europeans established under the Children's Act.

In the Cape, Natal and Transvaal 27 State and State-aided industrial schools providing training in various trades, domestic science, spinning, weaving and basketry for native pupils who had passed Standard VI, were conducted by the provincial education departments. At the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work in Johannesburg matriculants who had attained the age of 20 were trained in social work. The course extended over three years. This institution received its subsidy from the Department of Education, Arts and Science.

The Native Affairs Department maintained the Mears School for Women Home Welfare Workers, where students who had passed Standard VIII at least and were between

35 and 45 years of age might follow a one-year course in home welfare.

(5) Agricultural Training:

Two schools of agriculture provided agricultural training; one, a school at Tsolo, was financed by both the Native Affairs Department and the General Council of the Transkeian Territories, and offered a diploma course extending over two years to post-Standard VI pupils. The Fort Cox Agricultural College was opened by the Department of Native Affairs in 1930, "to give a thorough practical training in general agriculture to young native men, care being taken to make this training applicable as far as possible to conditions existing in native areas, and to ascertain and advertise those agricultural methods which yield the best results for native farming in the area." Students who had the necessary personality and quality of leadership were employed as agricultural demonstrators in the Department of Native Affairs on the satisfactory completion of the course for the general diploma in agriculture, which lasted two years.

(6) Medical Training:

Medical and surgical nurses, midwives and mine hospital orderlies were trained at institutions approved by the South African Nursing Council. The courses lasted at least three years and were open to students who had attained the age of 18.

(7) Higher Education:

The University College of Fort Hare, which was affiliated with the Rhodes University, provided higher education for natives; where accommodation permitted, students of other non-European races were admitted to this institution. Courses were offered in the faculties of arts, sciences, theology, education and agriculture; and the two-year post-matriculation course leading to the secondary teachers' certificate was also available.

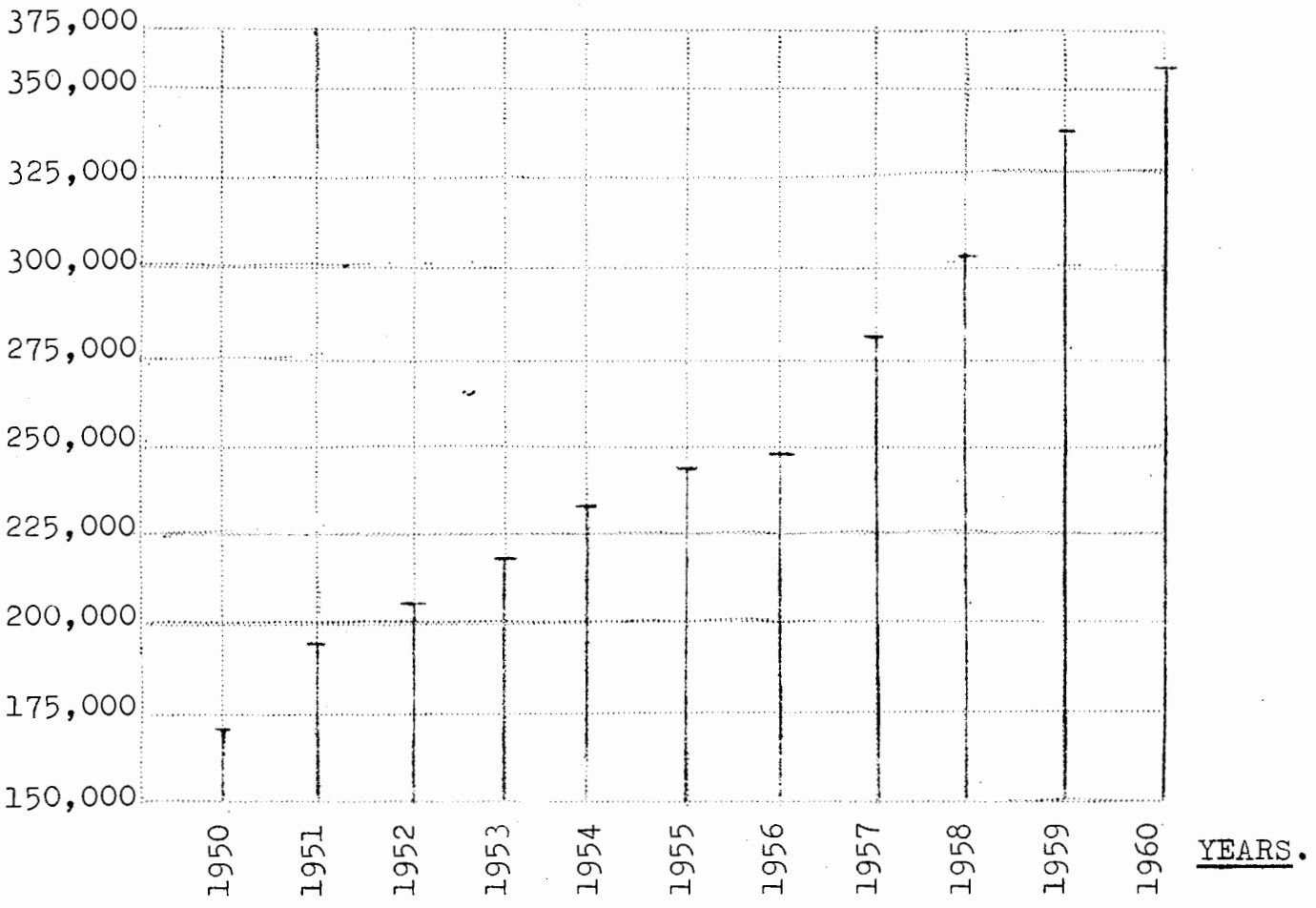
Non-European students were also admitted to the universities of Cape Town, the Witwatersrand and Natal. The last-named had a large division for non-Europeans including a non-European medical faculty established in 1950 in Durban. In order to encourage the Bantu popula-

TABLE XVII: INCREASE OF PUPILS

IN BANTU SCHOOLS

1950-1960.

HIGHER PRIMARY.



tion to train medical personnel for its own needs, the government, through the Department of Education, Arts and Science, instituted medical and pre-medical bursaries of £200 and £150 per annum respectively for 13 new students annually at this university. By 1956, when the scheme was in full operation, an amount of £19,500 was needed anually for this purpose. On completion of the course, which extended over seven years, including two pre-medical years, students were required to refund half the value of the bursary in easy instalments.

Many non-Europeans also enrolled in the External Division of the University of South Africa, where they were able to pursue their studies by means of correspondence courses.

B. Bantu Education becomes a separate Government Department with its own Minister in 1958:

(1) On 1st November, 1958, Bantu Education became a separate government department with its own Minister.

(2) The Bantu Education Act (No. 47 of 1953) came into operation on 1st January, 1954, and steps were immediately taken to implement the provisions of the Act which may be summarised as follows:-

(a) The transfer of the control of Bantu Education from the Provincial Administration to the Department of Native Affairs under the Union Government.

(b) The establishment of subsidisation of three types of schools, viz:-

(i) Government Bantu Schools.

(ii) Bantu Community Schools.

(iii) State-aided Bantu Schools (mission, farm, mine or factory schools.)

(c) The compulsory registration of all private schools as unaided schools.

(d) The introduction of uniform measures to replace those which obtained in the four provinces.

(e) Other matters incidental to the transfer of control such as the transfer of officials and teachers.

(3) Division of Bantu Education:

In order to facilitate the implementation of the above provisions, the Division of Bantu Education,

with an Under-Secretary of the Department of Native Affairs. as its head, was set up in Pretoria in 1954. As a result of the increased responsibilities of this Division, the post of Under-Secretary was raised in 1957 to that of Director of Bantu Education assisted by two Deputy Directors (professional) and an Under-Secretary of Native Affairs (administrative). Five regional offices were set up, viz. in Pretoria, Pietermaritzburg, Umtata, King William's Town and Bloemfontein. A sixth region with headquarters in Pietersburg was established in 1957. The 39 inspectoral circuits, which existed in 1954, each with an inspector of schools in charge, were increased to 49 in 1957, in addition to which four relieving inspectors were appointed.

(4) Transfer and Classification of Schools.

(a) Prior to 1954 all Bantu schools, with the exception of a small number of Government schools in the Transvaal and the Cape Province, and a larger number in Natal, were State-aided schools. Apart from approximately 600 State-aided community schools in the Transvaal, all of the schools were State-aided mission schools.

(b) One of the major objectives of the Bantu Education Act was to ensure the active participation of the Bantu in the Management of their schools. To achieve this object the Bantu Education Amendment Act (No. 44 of 1954) was passed, and in the ensuing years school boards and school committees were set up in accordance with the appropriate regulations.

(c) A necessary and unavoidable consequence of the policy of increasing the share of the Bantu in the management of their own schools, was a change both in the system of aiding mission schools and in the status of mission superintendents. Up to 1954 the missions had taken the initiative in establishing schools and were responsible for the control of the majority of these schools. The Bantu communities themselves had little or no say in the management of their schools.

(d) Various factors contributed to make a change in policy both possible and desirable, but the main reasons were -

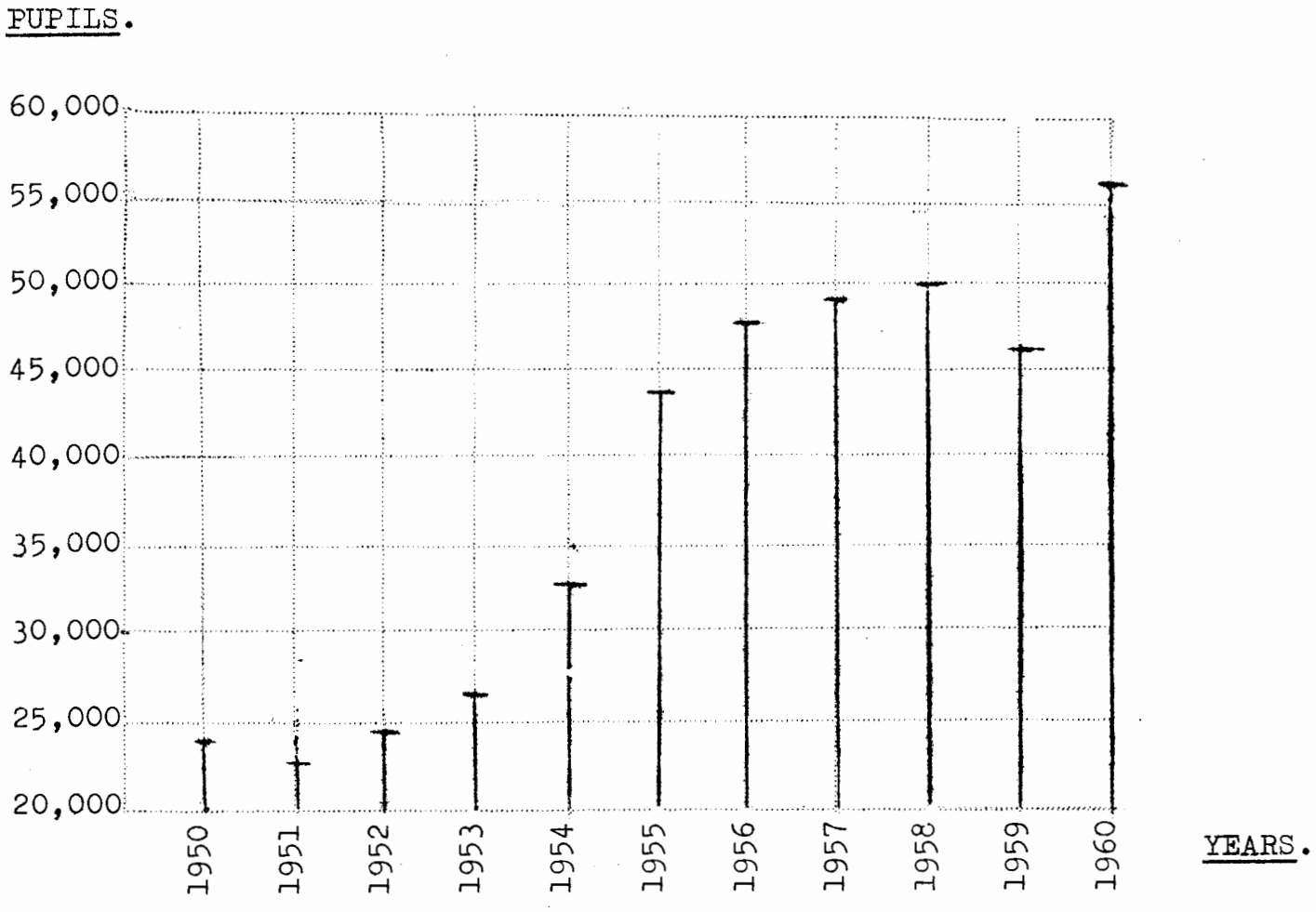
(i) the initiation by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development of a policy which

TABLE XVIII: INCREASE OF PUPILS

IN BANTU SCHOOLS

1950-1960

POST PRIMARY INCLUDING SECONDARY.



lays emphasis on the participation by the Bantu in local government, particularly in the reserves. The passing of the Bantu Authorities Act (No.68 of 1951) marked an important stage in the evolution of this policy;

(ii) the growing desire of Bantu communities themselves to assume responsibility for and control of their own schools.

(e) In August, 1954, all church bodies concerned were given the following choice -

(i) to retain control of their schools either as unaided schools or with the subsidy reduced to 75 per cent in respect of teachers' salaries, cost-of-living allowances, as well as other allowances formerly paid to aided mission schools;

(ii) to relinquish control and leave the responsibility to the Department to make other arrangements in accordance with Government policy.

(f) Of more than 40 church bodies only the Roman Catholic Church chose to retain control of its schools with a subsidy of 75 per cent. This subsidy was reduced to 50 per cent in 1956, to 25 per cent in 1957, and was completely withdrawn as from the beginning of 1958.

(g) The Department had no intention of placing all former mission schools under direct State control and different categories of schools were established:-

(i) Government Bantu Schools, which include all schools conducted for the benefit of the children of employees of the Government and erected on Government-owned land. When teacher-training institutions were taken over by the Government, they also became Government Bantu Schools.

(ii) Bantu Community Schools were established wherever a stable Bantu community is in lawful occupation of an area such as a reserve, Bantu-owned farms in a scheduled area, or a proclaimed urban location.

(iii) Aided Farm Schools, situated on farms owned by Whites in White rural areas and conducted for the benefit of the children of farm employees. Children from neighbouring farms may be admitted provided the owners of these farms are agreeable. The proprietor of the school must be a farmer himself, but he may appoint a person to act in his place as manager.

(iv) Aided Mine or Factory Schools, situated on mine or factory property. The owner or his representative

is recognised as the manager of the school which must be conducted for the benefit of employees of the mine or factory.

(v) Unaided (Registered) Mission Schools administered by the representative of the church concerned and conducted as private schools.

(vi) Unaided registered schools established by communities, farmers, mine or factory owners and run without subsidy until subsidies become available.

(5) Education Services and Types of Schools.

The rendering of the following education services was continued:

(i) Lower and Higher Primary Education.

(ii) Secondary Education.

(iii) Training of teachers at secondary as well as post-matriculation level.

(iv) Vocational Training.

(v) Night schools and continuation classes.

These services are rendered to the various types of schools, the numbers of which are continually increasing.

(6) Aided Schools - A result of the Bantu Authorities Act. As far as the number of aided schools is concerned, the figures show an increase of approximately 120 as compared with the previous year. This increase has concurred mainly under the category community schools. More than two-thirds of all the aided schools fall under this category, while about four-fifths of all Bantu pupils attend these schools. This type of school is really a direct result of the Bantu Authorities Act which lays emphasis on the participation of the Bantu in local government affairs. Each community school is under the supervision of a Bantu school committee while a number of such schools with common interests is under the control of a Bantu school board. School boards have at their disposal the services of full-time or part-time Bantu secretaries who are remunerated by the Department. Since June, 1957, the number of school boards increased by 20 to 492. This increase was accompanied by the enlistment of an ever-larger number of Bantu parents in order to secure their contribution as well in connection with the education and development of the Bantu communities.

(7) Teacher Training:

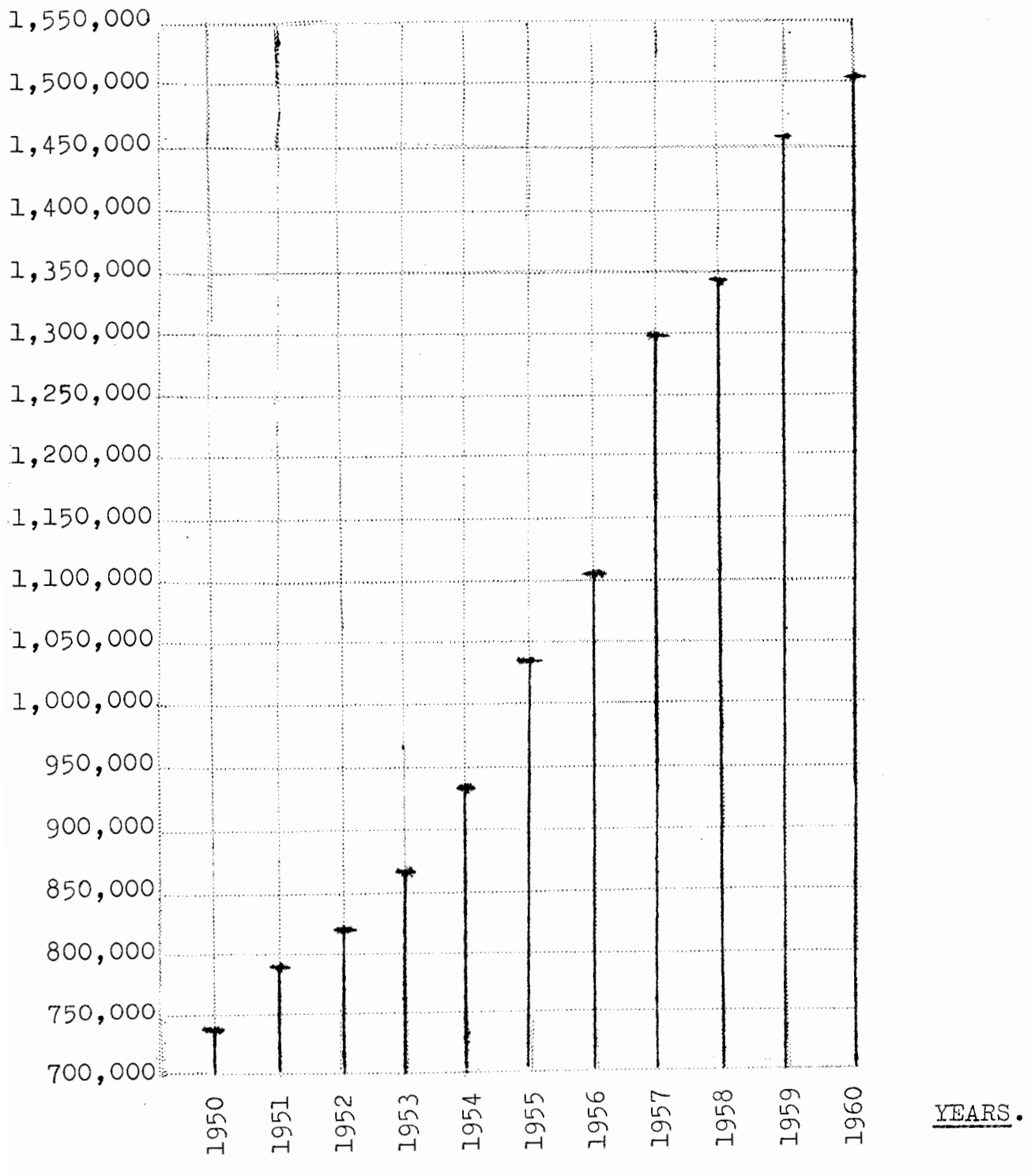
The training of teachers is planned in

TABLE XIX: INCREASE OF PUPILS

IN BANTU SCHOOLS.

1950-1960

TOTAL INCLUDING MISSION SCHOOLS.



view of the growing needs of the Bantu population as a whole, but also in respect of the needs of each language group. A survey of the number of teachers who qualify anually and those who are employed revealed very clearly, however, that there was a serious over production of teachers. Consequently the number of candidates who would be admitted to the training institutions at the beginning of 1959 was drastically reduced.

This reduction, however, concerns only teachers for the primary schools. As regards teachers for the secondary schools the position is quite different. There is still a considerable shortage of Bantu teachers who are sufficiently qualified to give vocational instruction in the secondary schools, with the result that a number of White teachers is still employed in such schools for this reason. Therefore the number of prospective teachers who which to take the Bantu teacher's diploma course is in no way being restricted.

In order to assist in easing the shortage of vocational teachers at the secondary schools, the Department has furthermore introduced one-year courses in woodwork, homecraft and arts and crafts for teachers who already hold a Lower Primary or a Higher Primary Teacher's Certificate. In this way they are being qualified to teach these subjects in secondary schools.

Addressing the pupils of the Kilnerton Institution,(1) the Honourable the Minister of Bantu Education stressed the need for more Bantu leaders and better qualifications for Bantu leaders. In every phase of Bantu development the Bantu himself should have the opportunity of attaining the highest rung of the ladder. To make this possible education, and especially the training of Bantu teachers, was a dire necessity.

Examination results in Bantu schools where there were European teachers were more satisfactory than those where there were Bantu teachers. No large school with an entirely Bantu staff had a single success in the recent Matriculation examinations.

---

(1) Address at Prize-giving Ceremony, delivered by the Honourable W.A. Maree, Minister of Bantu Education. Manuscript kindly made available by the Honourable the Minister.

(8) The Bantu Universities.

While various instances have realized the need for Bantu Universities and have striven to make their erection a reality, it was the Dutch Reformed Church, the "Nederduitse Hervormde of Gereformeerde Kerk van Transvaal"(1) that saw the need for a Bantu University in 1941 and appointed a committee to examine the need for such an institution, the way of establishing it, and the scope for academic training it would offer.(2)

The Committee consisted of six Europeans (including Dr. William Nicol, Moderator of the said Dutch Reformed Church and later Administrator of Transvaal) and one non-European (the Rev. S.G.S. Ntoane.) The aim was to offer preparation for and examination in the following: B.A., B.A. (Social Sciences), B.Com., etc., under the University of South Africa.

The policy of higher education in South Africa has been examined by, inter alia, the Native Economic Commission, 1930-1932; the Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-1936;(3) and the Commission on Technical and Vocational Education, 1949-1951 (known as the Eiselen Commission).(4)

The Eiselen Commission recognised that there must be some differentiation of the content of instruction for each race. They attached great importance to the presentation of African Culture, and recommended accordingly the creation of a separate system of education for Africans, from the nursery school to the University, in order that education might be co-ordinated with other aspects of African development.

In a minority report Professor A.H. Murray, while accepting the principle that African and European education should differ in content "because individuals differ,"

---

(1) As there are various Duth Reformed Churches, all with Afrikaans names which are, because of linguistic difficulties, untranslatable and all commonly rendered "Dutch Reformed", the Afrikaans name of this specific church has been given here.

(2) Onderwys Blad, 1 Februarie, 1946, Deel XLVIII,No. 551,p.5.

(3) Vide Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-1936.

(4) Vide Report of the Commission on Native Education. 1949-1951.

TABLE XX: Schools and Pupils in the Republic according to Type and Course, as at 30th June, 1960:

	Lower Primary			Higher Primary			Primary Combined						Secondary			Teacher Training			Vocational Training		
							Lower Primary			Higher Primary											
Type of School	S.	M.	F.	S.	M.	F.	S.	M.	F.	M.	F.	S.	M.	F.	S.	M	F.	S.	M.	F.	Total
Community School	1187	153173	149863	201	36315	42274	3123	270736	260579	106038	122708	193	16414	16521	7	29	291	1	-	15	1,174,956
Farm School	707	23321	22046	-	-	-	991	55661	52042	10435	9256	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	172,761
Government	18	1126	1009	4	391	234	83	7359	6956	3736	3855	50	6055	5595	37	752	3194	16	1062	197	41,521
Scheduled	6	106	85	-	-	-	15	573	578	221	236	1	62	122	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,983
Factory	3	96	100	-	-	-	28	1842	1757	543	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,821
Mine	10	419	400	-	-	-	69	5386	5524	1698	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15,115
Unaided	192	7367	6401	8	180	72	44	1855	1604	380	396	6	454	154	1	18	11	6	23	244	19,159
Roman Catholic	317	19875	20840	174	7083	7959	186	9358	9171	2324	2900	28	1518	1705	3	15	199	6	18	272	83,255
TOTAL	2440	205483	200744	387	43969	50539	4539	352770	338211	125393	141522	278	25403	24097	48	814	3695	29	1103	728	1,513,571

rejected the view that the function of education is to transmit the culture of a group. Education should, on the contrary, equip the individual to improve his society.[1]

Separate Bantu Universities were eventually established in accordance with the policy which came into force in 1958.

The policy which provides for Bantu Universities is best explained by the Minister of Bantu Education himself. On the occasion of the opening of the Bantu University College of Zululand, at Ngoye, near Empangeni, on 8th March, 1961, the Honourable W.A. Maree, Minister of Bantu Education, made the following points:[2]

(i) The name, IYUNIVESITHI KHOLIJI LAKWA ZULU, was suggested by the Advisory Council - a purely Zulu body.

(ii) The College will maintain high academic standards. This will be achieved by appointing the best staff available.

(iii) All vacant posts have been advertised, and, where possible, preference has been given to Zulu applicants.

(iv) The syllabuses for degree courses are determined by the Senate of the University of South Africa, on which the Senates of all the other South African Universities are represented.

(v) The College will introduce courses from time to time which will be of the greatest service to the evolving culture of the Zulu people.

(vi) The College will provide a full and satisfactory student life.

These facts are basically the same for the other universities.

When I visited Ngoye [3] and interviewed members of

---

(1) Vide Report of Commission on Native Education.1949-1951.
(2) Speech delivered by the Honourable W.A. Maree, Minister of Bantu Education. Manuscript kindly made available by the Honourable, the Minister.
(3) This visit was part of the field work I did to enable me (a) to glean facts and data from the institutions themselves, and not to be dependent entirely on other sources, and (b) to gain impressions at first hand. The four years during which I was Secretary of the Christian Council of South Africa (Dr. William Nicol being President) served to introduce me to the personnel and the work of the 44 affiliated churches and missionary societies, especially in their respective areas, and served as useful basis for the present study tour.

the staff, I put various pertinent questions to which definite answers were given. I cite a few.

(i) I asked whether, from their experience, during the brief period that their work had been in progress, and from what they envisaged, they would say that the Bantu students were being offered tuition equal in academic standard to that which was being offered to the European students at their Universities. The reply was that the tuition was decidedly equal in academic standard, if, where necessary, different in kind, so as to be of the greatest service to the evolving culture of the Zulu people.

It was recognised that, as the Eiselen Commission had stated it, there must be some differentiation of the content of instruction for each race. Even Professor A.H. Murray, while rejecting the view that the function of education is to transmit the culture of a group, and arguing this point in his minority report, had accepted the principle that African and European education should differ in content "because individuals differ."

(ii) I asked whether the same would apply to the other Bantu Universities. My informants were loath to speak for their colleagues at other centres, but assured me that the syllabuses were uniform in grade, taking into account the requirements of certain ethnic groupings.

(iii) I asked whether the Bantu students realized and believed that they were receiving the same high quality of tuition as their fellow students at European Universities. The reply was that they would understand and believe this to be the case more readily and easily were it not for a suspicion hardly peculiar to their nature.

(iv) I asked whence that suspicion? My informants hesitated to reply, saying that they were there to educate, and not to accuse. "Is it engendered from outside?" I asked. The reply was in the affirmative. I got the impression that there were elements which would sow mistrust and misgivings among the students for political reasons.

(v) I asked whether the students were availing themselves of all the facilities at their disposal. "Not all, not yet," was the reply, but the opinion was expressed

TABLE XXI: Enrolment of Pupils in Types of Schools as at 30th June, 1960:

Enrolment	Community Schools	Farm Schools	Government Schools	Scheduled Schools	Factories	Mines	Total Subsidised Schools	Unaided Schools	Roman Catholic Schools	Total Unaided Schools	Grand Total
Lower Primary	834,351	153,070	16,450	1,342	3,795	11,729	1,020,737	17,227	59,244	76,471	1,097,208
Higher Primary	307,335	19,691	8,216	457	1,026	3,386	340,111	1,028	20,284	21,312	361,423
Secondary	32,935	-	11,650	184	-	-	44,769	608	3,223	3,831	48,600
Teacher Training	320	-	3,946	-	-	-	4,266	29	214	243	4,509
Vocational Training	15	-	1,259	-	-	-	1,274	267	290	557	1,831
TOTAL	1,174,956	172,761	41,521	1,983	4,821	15,115	1,411,157	19,159	83,255	102,414	1,513,571

that they were fast learning to do so. "They will learn what to expect, and we will learn what to offer," was added.

(vi) My last question in a long series was one I consider all-important. I asked whether the Bantu students were happier at the Bantu universities than they would have been at the European Universities. My informants replied that at the European Universities the Bantu were conscious of the fact that they were a section of the university that was not able in every respect to feel itself fully part of the university. Here they could take part fully in every aspect of social, cultural and academic life," in fact, they are the university", as someone phrased it.

It was pointed out that the results of the matriculation examination were not the only, or the main, indication of the qualifying and preparatory work done with a view to university entrance. The students entering the university at the beginning of the new academic year (1962) were the Standard VI pupils of 1957, when the examination results for the Union of South Africa were as follows: (1)

Northern Transvaal, 5679 pupils, of whom 4075 passed;
Southern Transvaal, 7644 pupils, of whom 5541 passed;
The Orange Free State, 3986 pupils, of whom 2400 passed;
Natal, 7931 pupils, of whom 5263 passed,
The Transkei, 7097 pupils, of whom 3718 passed;
The Ciskei, 5191 pupils, of whom 3238 passed;

a total of 37528 pupils, of whom 24335 (or 64 per cent) passed.

(It is interesting to notice that the highest percentage of passes occur in the Middelburg (Transvaal) area, where the figure is 96.4 per cent, the lowest being in the Butterworth area, where the figure is 33.8 per cent. A detailed study of ethnic and regional examination percentage passes brought into relation with the ethnic and regional placing of the Bantu universities, has proved illuminating but can hardly be included here.)

In 1959 figures for the successes in the Matriculation examinations must be compared here.(2) A total of 773 Bantu pupils sat for the examination. Of that number only 72 (9.3 per cent) passed at Matriculation standard,

---

(1) From records in Bantu Education offices, Pretoria.
(2) ibid.

and a further 115 (14.9 per cent) at the School Leaving standard, giving a total of 187 pupils who passed, a percentage of only 24.2 per cent. A total of 586 pupils (75.8 per cent) failed altogether.

(9) Increase in the Number of Pupils and Expansion of Services.

The Department reports a large increase in the number of pupils, hence in the need for expansion of services. (Vide Tables XVI-XIX).

The demand for new school buildings, teachers and equipment is so great that the Department cannot possibly comply with all the requests immediately. The rapid increase in the number of pupils must be attributed largely to the fact that only approximately 60 per cent of the Bantu children of school-going age are actually attending school. In addition to the annual increase in the population there remains this large backlog to be made up. A first step in achieving this aim is the imparting of a knowledge of reading and writing to the masses by means of primary education. Available funds are therefore used for the expansion of the most fundamental school services to the largest possible number, rather than for expensive apparatus or additional services and equipment at established schools.

The number of pupils enrolled as at 30th June, 1958, at the various Government and State-aided schools is shown in Table XIV.

This total shows an increase of approximately only 20,000 as compared with the total of the previous year. The number of pupils in unaided church schools amounts to approximately 80,000. The total increase for the year 1957 is approximately 100,000 or 8 per cent as compared with the previous year.

As I am writing the radio is confirming the report that a) there are 1,600,000 Bantu children at school; b) an amount of R21 million has been estimated as the expenditure on Bantu Education for the current year, and c) it is a recognised ideal to assure at least Primary Education for all Bantu children within the next twenty years. (1)

---

(1) S.A.B.C. News Service, 11/10/61.

10. Departmental Committees.

The following standing Committees of the Department function regularly:

(a) The Examination Committee, which attends to all matters in connection with the three teachers' examinations and the Junior certificate examinations.

(b) The Central Book Committee which undertakes the selection of books for Bantu schools.

(c) The Bantu Language Board and Language Committees, which are engaged in the development of terminologies in the various Bantu languages with a view to the expansion of mother-tongue education in the lower and higher primary classes.

11. Criticism of the "old", and comparison between "old" and "new", system of Bantu Education. (1)

The defects of the system of Bantu education in operation up to 1954 were obvious when considered in the light of historical evolution.

(a) Defects of "old" System:

The schools were started as mission or church schools. This was also the case in older countries but in those countries it was a national church or at least a Christian church which served a Christian community. In South Africa the Bantu, who remain to a great extent a heathen community, are served by a large variety of churches while the Christian section of the Bantu community has been split up into numerous denominations and sects, and the following consequences were unavoidable:

(i) There was no co-ordination of the interests of the school with those of the community, and

(ii) there was no co-ordination between the education given in the schools and the broad national policy. From the nature of things the natural development from mission school to community could not take place.

---

(1) Here, as in "South African Review", extensive use has been made of a full report on Bantu Education by Mr. P.W. Nutt, Inspector of Bantu Education, reproduced in Fact Paper No. 39, as supplement to the Digest of South African Affairs, and reproduced in the Journal of Racial Affairs, and reproduced in "Bantu Education - Policy for the Immediate Future," et alia.

(b) Temporary measure.

The subsidisation of schools and the accompanying control of the curriculum was the responsibility of the four colonial governments and was later, as a temporary measure, entrusted to the four provincial administrations. The South Africa Act provided that Parliament could make other arrangements.

The Union Department of Native Affairs was created to care for the interests of the Bantu population, and Bantu areas were set aside. It would, therefore, seem logical to co-ordinate Bantu education with this Department's activities. The transfer to the Union of the financial obligations of the provinces for Bantu education in 1922 was a step in this direction. In 1936 plans were made to include Bantu education under the Department of Native Affairs and the necessary legislation was prepared, but not introduced, and at the outbreak of war in 1939 the plans were shelved.

For this reason, a situation continued in which provincial authorities, who bore no financial responsibility and had no powers in regard to the promotion of the interest of the Bantu, their community development or their control, were responsible for determining policy.

(c) Provincial Policy:

Education in each of the four provinces therefore took into account neither the community interests of the Bantu nor the general policy of the country nor the policies of the other three provinces. There was no definite policy, no uniformity in planning, and no co-ordination with the other aspects of development.

Because the schools did not form part of a community service, education was not built up on community needs and its main purpose was not the promotion of community interests. The attempts of the Provincial departments of education to direct education towards the promotion of community interests were only partially successful. The education which was provided aimed at steering pupils through examinations which at the Standard VI level were largely, and at the Junior and Senior Certificate levels, were entirely identical with the examinations required of White pupils.

(d) Difficulties Experienced:

TABLE XXII: Availability of School Facilities for Primary School Age-group 7-14 Years:

	Bantu Population 1960	Number of Children age-group 7-14 years	Places available in Primary Schools	Percentage of Children provided for
Bantu Reserves	4,258,000	851,600	696,000	81
Urban Areas ..	3,091,000	618,200	590,000	95
European Farms	3,458,000	691,600	172,000	25
	10,807,000	2,161,400	1,458,000	67

TABLE XXIII: Enrolment and Expenditure envisaged compared with actual Enrolment and Expenditure for years 1949, 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957, 1959:

	1949	1951	1953	1955	1957	1959
Enrolment envisaged	767,170	864,850	972,950	1,097,650	1,235,400	1,391,000
Actual enrolment	759,137	775,839	858,079	1,005,774	1,143,328	1,308,596
Expenditure envisaged	4,941,758	5,871,110	6,672,850	7,617,850	8,684,460	9,961,400
Actual expenditure	4,894,101	5,882,689	5,904,792	7,884,775	9,018,175	9,228,915

TABLE XXIV: Estimated and Actual Figures for 1959 Enrolment:

	Estimated Number	Actual Number
Lower Primary Pupils	1,030,000	908,168
Higher Primary Pupils	300,000	308,692
Secondary Pupils	40,000	39,540

This resulted in the inability of the schools to retain their pupils and unsatisfactory achievements by the great majority of pupils. Nearly 50 per cent of the pupils were found in the sub-standards, 10 per cent reached Standard 11, 3.5 per cent reached Standard V1, only .5 per cent reached Junior Certificate, and a very small number matriculated.

In evaluating these figures it must be borne in mind that the majority of those who pass examinations do so at a very low standard of achievement.

By blindly producing pupils trained on the White model, the vain hope was created among the Bantu that they could occupy posts within the White community, despite the country's policy of "apartheid." "White collar ideals" were created which led to a wide-spread feeling of frustration among the educated Bantu.

The general aims of the Bantu Education Act of 1954 were to remedy the difficulties mentioned by transforming education for the Bantu into Bantu education, to transform a service which benefited only a section of the Bantu population, and consequently resulted in alienation and division within the community into a general service which would help in the development of the Bantu community as a whole.

(e) Reformation.

In order to effect this reformation the following policy was carried out:

(i) The control of the educational system was taken out of the hands of the provinces and placed in the hands of the Department of Native Affairs so that a uniform educational policy of the country could be introduced. Education could now be co-ordinated with other services and the co-operation of the Bantu could be organised.

(ii) The local control of schools, under State supervision, was entrusted to Bantu organisations which would learn to render for the community as a whole a service previously rendered by the mission churches for a section of the community only. The mission school was replaced by the community school.

(iii) The Department itself would control schools which serve not merely the local community but whole areas, i.e. institutions for higher education and especially for the training of teachers.

(iv) The principle of a Native Development Account was re-established in practice by the creation of the Bantu Education Account. In this way it was brought about that the Bantu themselves will contribute in an increasing measure towards the cost of expanding their educational services.

(f) Unified Control.

To bring the Bantu Education Act into operation the Department of Native Affairs assumed unified control of the four provincial systems. A Director of Bantu Education was appointed and placed in charge of the Bantu Education Section, and professional and adminsitrative personnel were taken over from the provinces and State departments. The Department of Native Affairs, which has often been characterised as not being equipped to administer Bantu education has therefore been equipped to provide effective control and leadership as no official body could do before.

The transition from mission to community schools and the reformation of education naturally form a part of a long term policy. Innovations were made gradually, and the machine functions very much as before.

(g) Administrative Arrangements:

Certain administrative arrangements were made to provide school books and school furniture on a more economical basis. In many cases the hours of attendance of children in the sub-standards were changed so that a larger number of beginners are being admitted to the schools. This double session system enables many more pupils to attend school without extra teachers or buildings being required.

As has been stated above, the Bantu are given a far larger measure of control of their schools. This means that, where possible, the various types of school now in existence must be controlled by the State in co-operation with bodies composed of Bantu members. From the nature of things the change could not be made suddenly, but it has taken place in accordance with a practical scheme.

The schools in existence up to the time of the new Act can be classified as follows:

(i) aided schools (i.e. mission, mine, factory and farm);
(ii) aided community schools;
(iii) State schools, and
(iv) private registered schools.

Under the new organisation provision is made for the same four types.

(h) State, Aided and Community Schools:

State schools remain for the time being State schools.

The great majority of Bantu schools belonged to the class of school known as aided mission schools. This aid included the full salaries of the approved staff; an equipment grant based on the roll of the school; a similar grant towards school books and other school requisites; and a rent grant for most of the approved classrooms which had been built on mission school sites. These schools, in fact, differed from State schools only in that the control and selection of staff had remained in the hands of the mission.

The same remarks apply to the subsidisation of community schools, which were found mostly in the Transvaal. In their case, control has been exercised by local committees and boards under the direct supervision of the Department of Education.

(i) Private Mission Schools:

Private schools were schools which had been established by the mission, by interested parties or by a Bantu community, with or without the knowledge of the educational authorities, but which received no support whatsoever. In most cases application for support had been made, but owing to the shortage of funds under the old system this could not be given.

There is still, however, a small number of Seventh Day Adventists mission schools which for reasons of their own, desired no support. Generally speaking, the group of private schools comprised small farm or reserve schools which were started relatively recently or which attained too recently to be considered an enrolment sufficiently large to qualify for a subsidy.

The schools mostly affected by the change-over were the mission schools which became community schools. To understand correctly the implication of this change it is necessary to differentiate on the one hand between the ordinary primary school as it existed in the reserves, on

TABLE XXV: Matriculation Successes amongst Coloureds, 1954-1958:(1)

Year	Number Matriculated
1954	246
1955	306
1956	378
1957	418
1958	416

TABLE XXVI: Expenditure under Different Heads for the years 1957-1958, 1958-1959:

Amounts: Figures in units of £1,000.

Expenditure	1957-1958	1958-1959
Salaries and Wages:		
(a) Administration	121	179
(b) Inspectorate	188	226
(c) Departmental Schools:		
(i) Teacher Training	239	245
(ii) Secondary Schools	145	166
(iii) Primary Schools	89	74
(iv) Combined primary and secondary schools	21	20
(v) Technical schools and industrial training schools	47	50
(vi) School hostels	11	8
(d) General	431	381
Travelling and subsistence allowances	100	103
Stocks and services	254	296
Bursaries and loans to pupils	43	25
Examination costs	39	35
Subsidies, Community and State-aided Schools	6,865	6,825
Subsidy for school feeding ...	59	46
All other expenditure	366	314
	9,018	8,995

(1) Hansard, 4993, No. 13, 1959. Government Printer.

farms or in urban locations on sites approved by the Department of Native Affairs, the farm owner or Municipality respectively, and on the other hand, the educational institution which frequently comprised a whole series: Primary school, teachers' training school, high school and industrial school (e.g. Lovedale) - all these schools having been built on mission-owned land.

(j) Buildings and Radius:

While the former were mostly housed in buildings erected by the local community, usually parents of pupils, merely under the supervision of the mission society concerned, considerable funds had been invested in the school buildings and hostels of the various missionary institutions.

Besides this there was a further very important difference. The "radius rule" which had been introduced to restrict denominational rivalry prohibited a second school from being built within a distance of five miles from an existing school except in an urban location. Thus the school population of the ordinary primary school was generally composed of pupils belonging to denominations, whilst the school population of an educational institution was drawn mainly from the congregations of the church concerned.

For the reasons mentioned, the transformation of an ordinary primary school into a community school could take place easily and naturally, and most of the churches raised no serious objections. Nevertheless the change-over of these schools required a great deal of preliminary work. This work had to be undertaken by the circuit inspector in collaboration with the Native Commissioner of the district. They had to see to the creation of a controlling body which, on the one hand, had to be acceptable to the local community and, on the other hand, had to have the necessary knowledge and ability to carry out its duties efficiently.

(k) The Churches Affected:

In contrast, the transfer of educational institutions was a much more involved undertaking. Firstly because the land and buildings represented a big capital investment; and secondly, because every mission church,

when it handed over its teacher training school, had to sacrifice an organisation for controlling and expanding its mission work, in so far as mission and school work complemented each other.

As far as the first difficulty is concerned, the churches could be protected, within the bounds of what was reasonable and practical, from financial loss by payment of rent or other similar arrangement.

Everything which had been achieved by the churches with ever increasing State assistance - which practically covered all running expenses - for the furtherance of Bantu education is still being used in the interests of the Bantu.

The State took over from the churches in order to do the same work more efficiently. Assets which were created by the churches for the Bantu are being retained for the Bantu. The needs of religious instruction are being carefully taken into account. Indeed, they are served more generously, because all recognised churches, not just the one previously in possession, are given an opportunity to co-operate in satisfying the needs of religion.

Because the circumstances of the various mission institutions were not the same, no generally applicable conditions could be laid down, and each case required separate consideration and treatment. For this purpose a panel of inspectors visited institutions to study conditions on the spot.

(1) The Churches and Teacher Training:

For many decades the churches used the training of teachers for the furtherance of their own particular interests. They have now outgrown the stage when they were dependent on this assistance, and are strong enough to organise and expand their work in other ways. To be able to organise education efficiently in the various types of schools, it is obvious that the training of teachers must be undertaken by the education authority itself.

At present there is a shortage of Bantu female teachers throughout the Union, whilst there are too many Bantu male teachers. In order to control the supply of teachers for the various types of school and language groups the Education Department must be able to act without having

to deal with denominations and protecting vested interests.

(m) Churches retaining Control:

All interested bodies were informed that it was intended to take over aided schools (i.e. schools whose current costs were already borne by the State.)

Primary and Secondary schools were entrusted to local Bantu boards of control under the supervision of the Department, and industrial and teacher training schools have come under Departmental control until regional and territorial authorities are prepared to take this task upon themselves under the necessary supervision.

Churches which desired to retain control for the time being were permitted to make application for permission to do so. The support granted to them was, however, limited to a decreasing grant intially equal to 75 per cent of the salaries and cost of living allowances of the approved teaching staff.

(n) Hostels and Private Schools:

With regard to school hostels the churches are given the choice of retaining control on a provisional basis.

All existing private schools must apply for registration which will not be refused unless there are substantial reasons why the school should not continue to exist. No new school may, however, be established without the prior approval of the Department.

(o) Principle and Practice:

The introduction of so radical a change as has been described in the preceding paragraphs would naturally lead to a certain amount of misunderstanding and of criticism. Much of this criticism was due to the confusion of the principles of education with the practice of education. The change did not introduce new principles for Bantu education, but a new practice - the principles of Bantu Education and European Education remaining the same. The same principles apply to all, but their conscientious translation into practice each and every community. In the past this was ignored with deplorable results; lack of understanding, lack of interest, and serious retardation of the pupils; acquisition of terms instead of concepts, the ability

to reproduce rather than the ability to think; and quite naturally the poor holding power of the schools. There was also the reluctance of pupils who had completed their primary school course to accept ordinary employment and more serious still, the reluctance of many employers to engage their services.

The Department introduced the following practice:

(i) The use of the home language as a medium of instruction, on the basis already prescribed by the provincial administrations has been enforced.

(ii) The teaching of both official languages has been introduced in all primary schools; special training courses have been arranged for teachers in service so as to enable them to teach Afrikaans.

(iii) The Department wished to admit more beginners into the schools. In order to make this possible a double session for teachers in the sub-standards has been introduced. Each session lasts for three hours. (The three hour school session for young children has been introduced in many White schools with marked success.)

(iv) The Department insists on the regular attendance of school children. Pupils who stay away from school without good and sufficient reason may be struck off the roll and their places may be given to others who are keen to avail themselves of the opportunity.

(v) Once he is admitted into a school every pupil is expected to complete at least the elementary course embracing the sub-standards and Standards 1 and 11.

p) Further Provision:

(i) In order to make it possible for every pupil to complete at least the elementary course, no child is normally retained in the same class for more than a year and new pupils are normally admitted only at the beginning of the calendar year.

(ii) It is realised that, in order to obtain the best results, it is essential to employ women as teachers in the lower classes. Male teachers are therefore gradually being eliminated from the assistants' posts in the lower primary schools.

(iii) The training of teachers for the "new deal" in Bantu education has been carefully planned and supervised by the Department.

(iv) Opportunity for the advancement of competent Bantu teachers to posts of sub-inspectors and supervisors, entrusted with inspection duties, have been greatly enhanced.

(v) In view of the fact that denominational schools have been converted into community schools, the give-mile radius rule governing the establishment of schools is no longer in force and schools are established where they are most needed.

(vi) Different kinds of schools are being introduced - a lower primary school, a higher primary school, a secondary school with either an academic, commercial or technical bias, high schools, teacher training schools, etc. Continuation classes or evening classes are being expanded and special schools for handicapped children as well as reformatories will not be forgotten.

(q) Bantu Responsibility and Control:

The guiding principle adopted in framing the education programme is that Bantu education cannot come into its own without the active participation in its control and administration by the Bantu themselves. If certain tasks are regarded as being beyond their present capacity, they can nevertheless be trained to assume this responsibility in the foreseeable future. Responsibility includes not merely the exercise of powers and rights but also the carrying out of duties and the shouldering of burdens.

The Department believes that the Bantu will not regard Bantu education with all its administrative machinery, its professional staff, its school buildings and its school apparatus as something of their own, as a valuable asset to be cherished and cared for, unless they are called upon to make a substantial and tangible contribution to its revenue.

(r) The Cost:

The cost of Bantu education has grown enormously, and is set out in the following Tables:

Table XXIII reveals the expenditure which was envisaged in comparison with the actual expenditure, for the years 1949-1959. Table XXVI gives expenditure under different heads, while Table XXVII shows the total direct expenditure by the Government on the Bantu.

The Bantu contribution is shown in Tables XXVIII and XXIX, while expenditure on Bantu Education for the

years 1945-1960 is comparatively shown in Table XXX. It is also further discussed in the following section, "5. Finance." (1)

In his Budget Speech, 1954, the Minister of Finance explained that Bantu Education would receive, in addition to a Grant (R13 million for the year) from the Consolidated Revenue Fund, four-fifths of the proceeds of the general tax on the Bantu; the remaining one-fifth was allocated to the South African Native Trust Fund.

This meant that while the estimated revenue from the general tax together with the grant would enable the new Bantu Education Fund to meet its commitments during that year, it would not be in a position to cope with further expansion thereafter unless its revenue increased.

The Bantu population, whose direct contribution to the country's revenue remained almost static while the Treasury allocations to Bantu education grew by leaps and bounds, will therefore be called upon to take its turn in making a substantial contribution to the Bantu Education Fund. This will be done by raising the general Bantu tax to a higher figure. The Government has already given the assurance that the total income accruing from this increased general tax will be devoted wholly to Bantu development and to Bantu education in particular.

(s) Co-ordination:

All the development services for the Bantu should form an organic whole. From the point of view of the Bantu this means that they cannot accept one service which appears to them to be attractive and, at the same time, refuse another essential service because of its temporary inconvenience.

A community will for example not be able to claim the advantages of education and at the same time ignore or even oppose guidance in regard to the care of the soil. Co-ordination of services will signify that one section alone will no longer be served, that a community may not be progressive in one respect and backward in another, and that the community as a whole, including all aspects of community life, will move forward together.

It also means that all the officials concerned must

(1) Vide Report of Controller and Auditor-General, Union Government, Government Printer, Pretoria.

work together. The inspector of schools, the Native Commissioner and the agricultural extension officer will remain in close contact with one another in order to plan the establishment of services so that one service may help to promote the other.

The previous Bantu schools could have been characterised generally as schools within Bantu society but not of that society. If the ideals of the Department are realised then they will be transformed into real Bantu community schools serving the community in every respect.

5. Finance:

Funds for Bantu Education are derived from the Bantu Education Account which is annually credited with R13 million from the Consolidated Revenue Account, together with four-fifths of the general tax paid by the Bantu.(1)

An increase in the revenue of the Bantu Education Account can therefore be expected only after the taxes paid by the Bantu have increased.

The total direct expenditure by the South African Government on the Bantu people was £58,650,887 during the 1959-60 financial year.(2)

Taxes paid by the Bantu covered only 28.2 per cent of the expenditure on Bantu Education, and 23.8 per cent of the expenditure which the South African Native Trust spent on the development of the Bantu Areas. The Bantu therefore contributed 12.9 per cent to the amount which was spent on their behalf. This means that 87.2 per cent of the amount which was spent on behalf of the Bantu came from European sources, the Government contributing almost R7 million to every £1 million contributed by the Bantu for services rendered to them. This is shown in Table XXVIII. (Tables XXVI, XXVII, XXIX, and XXX are also relevant to this point.)

6. Legal Basis.

A. The Position Prior to 1958 (when Bantu Education became a separate Government Department.)

---

(1) Vide Legal Basis: The Natives Taxation and Development Amendment Act.(Act No. 38 of 1958.) This latter amount Annually equals approximately R4 million.

(2) Report of Controller and Auditor-General,Union Government, Government Printer, Pretoria.

When the four provinces united in 1910, the Act of Union (Article 85) reserved "higher education", that is the universities, for the Union Government, while education other than "higher" was delegated to the provincial authorities. Since 1910 the Union Government occasionally took over various educational functions which it considered should, in the general interest, fall under national control. Thus industrial education, child welfare, vocational and technical education and certain types of special education, were by successive acts of legislation declared to fall under the Union. A term which originally applied only to universities then covered education from the kindergarten to the highest postgraduate classes of the university.

Apart from this limiting power of the central government, the provinces were in fact free from interference in their own field. They administered primary and secondary schooling by means of ordinances; and there were thus four separate sets of legislation for primary and secondary education.

The following is a summary of the principal educational legislation in operation in the Union prior to 1958:

1. Union Legislation:

(a) The South African Act (1909) Article 85:
General delegation of primary and secondary education to the province.

(b) Higher Education Act No. 23 of 1923 (As amended) which was administered by the Department of Education, Arts and Science.

(c) Vocational and Special Schools Act No. 29 of 1928, which provided for the establishment of vocational schools.

(d) Children's Act, No. 31 of 1937, in which provision was made for the establishment and maintenance of institutions for "children in need of care."

(e) Special Schools Act No. 9 of 1948, which provided for the education and training of physical and mental deviates.

(f) Act. No. 47 of 1953, whereby Native Education was transferred from the Provinces to the Union Government, where it resorted under the Department of Native Affairs until 1958 when it became a separate Government Department.

2. Educational Legislation of the Provinces.

(a) Cape Province: Cape of Good Hope Consolidated Education Ordinance No. 5 of 1921 (as amended) and amending ordinances.

(b) Natal: Natal Education Ordinance No. 23 of 1942 (as amended) and amending ordinances.

(c) Orange Free State: Orange Free State Education Laws Consolidated Ordinance No. 15 of 1930 (as amended) and amending ordinances.

(d) Transvaal: (as amended Transvaal Education Act No. 25 of 1907 and amending ordinances.

B. The position after 1st November 1958 (when Bantu Education became a separate Government Department.)

The following five Acts provide for Bantu Education under the present Government, and must be studied in detail to comprehend their full implications:

(1) The Native Trust and Land Amendment Act, 1958 (Act No. 41 of 1958.)

(2) The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, 1959 (Act No. 46 of 1959.)

(3) The Bantu Investment Corporation Act, 1959 (Act No. 34 of 1959.)

(4) The Native Affairs Act, 1959 (Act No. 55 of 1959.

(5) The Natives' Taxation and Development Amendment Act 1958 (Act No. 38 of 1958.)

(1) The Native Trust and Land Amendment Act, 1958 (Act No. 41 of 1958.)

This Act amends the Native Trust and Land Act, No. 18 of 1936.

The Act provides for the appointment by the Trustee of the South African Native Trust of persons on contract to perform such special functions as he may consider neccessary and for the payment of remunerations and allowances to such persons from the South African Native Trust Funds.

(2) The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, 1959 (Act No. 46 of 1959.)

With this Act the Union Government gives the unequivocal assurance that it aims at the establishment of

self-governing Bantu units, and the irrevocable first steps in this direction have already been taken and are now being carried a step further.

Accordingly the Act provides for the gradual development of self-governing Bantu national units and direct consultation between the Government of the Union and the said national units in connection with matters affecting the interests of these national units.

This Act makes provision for the transfer of rights and obligations to territorial authorities, so as to give the Bantu community administrative powers and control over the regions forming their respective areas.

(3) The Bantu Investment Corporation Act, 1959 (Act No. 34 of 1959).

This Act arises from the Government's resolutions in connection with the report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa.

In this Act the Bantu Investment Corporation is constituted with the object of promoting and encouraging industrial and other undertakings among Bantu persons in the Bantu areas and of acting as a development, financial and investment institution and of providing for other incidental matters.

(4) The Native Affairs Act, 1959 (Act. No. 55 of 19591)

This Act consolidates and repeals Act No. 23 of 1920.

(5) The Natives Taxation and Development Amendment Act, 1958 (Act No. 38 of 1958.)

This Act is of the utmost importance to the development of Bantu Education, and must therefore be studied in detail. Both the increase in the basic tax and the additional general tax were found necessary to meet the requirements of Bantu Education.

(i) Since 1926 when Act. No. 41 of 1925 came into operation, the Bantu have been paying a general tax of £1. The revenue obtained from these taxes is utilised in accordance with the objects of the Act solely for the education of the Bantu and the development of his areas.

(ii) During the first years after the introduction of the tax revenue obtained therefrom was sufficient to cover the expenditure in connection with the services concerned, but already in 1942 the expenditure on Bantu Education alone exceeded the general taxes collected during the year, and consequently no funds remained from the source of the general taxation for the development of Bantu areas. The expenditure in respect of these two services continued to rise while no increase was made in the Bantu's taxes out of which these services are financed. The deficit had to be supplemented out of the Treasury funds.

(iii) As a result of the rate at which the expenditure in respect of Bantu Education rose (from £2,800,000 in 1946 to £8,000,000 in 1956-57), the Government decided with the passing of the Bantu Education Act, 1953 (Act No. 47 of 1953) that the Government's contribution from Treasury funds in respect of Bantu Education would in future be limited to an amount not exceeding £6½ million.

(iv) Since the Government's contribution to the Fund remained constant and the expenditure in respect of Bantu education showed an ever-increasing rise in 1953, supplementary funds had to be found by increasing the general tax so as to finance the existing services and to have funds available for future development.

(v) As an initial measure the general tax on Bantu males which stood at £1 ever since 1926, was increased by the absolute minimum of 15s.

(vi) The increase in the basic tax alone does, however, not provide sufficient funds for the requirements of Bantu Education. It was necessary to levy an additional general tax. As far as the additional tax is concerned, the basis of approach was the application of the taxation principles, namely that payments should be effected according to means, and a tax is levied on Bantu with an income exceeding £180 per annum.

(vii) In terms of section 2 (1) of the Natives Taxation and Development Act, 1925, as amended by section 1 of Act No. 38 of 1958, the following general

TABLE XXVII: Total Direct Expenditure by the Government on the Bantu, showing the various State Departments concerned (figures in Rand and cents):

Department	Administration General	Welfare Services	Capital Expenditure	Total
Education, Arts and Science	4,590.32	451,589.56	8,512.50	464,692.18
Social Welfare and Pensions	25,610.11	402,018.97	5,936.68	433,565.76
Labour	354.40	73,216.93	-	73,571.33
Bantu Administration and Development: Department ..	6,694,857.14	7,051,906.43	21,689.67	13,768,452.84
South African Native Trust	1,961,407.47	243,977.46	6,332,359.53	8,537,744.14
Health	13,987.25	15,259,914.47	-	15,273,928.72
National Housing	598.55	260,898.53	-	261,497.08
Bantu Education	3,416,168.47	14,963,534.58	1,267,445.13	19,647,148.11
Other Departments	190,287.12	-	-	190,287.12
	12,307,860.83	38,707,083.13	7,635,943.31	58,650,887.27

TABLE XXVIII: Bantu Contributions and Percentage of Expenditure: Bantu Contributions by means of Taxes:

Tax Source	Amount
General Taxes	R6,928,861.27
Local Taxes and Quitrent	647,629.94
Other Taxes	123.96
	R7,576,615.17

TABLE XXIX: Bantu Contributions and Percentage of Expenditure: Percentage Contributions by Bantu:

Total Contribution by Bantu by means of Taxes	Total Government Expenditure on Bantu, Education	% Bantu contribution	Total Government Expenditure on Bantu, Education	% Bantu contribution
R7,576,615.17	R19,647,148.11	28.2%	R58,650,887.27	12.9%

taxes are payable:-

(a) By Bantu Males -

(1) From and after 1st January, 1959, an annual general tax of £1. 15s. (hereinafter called the basic tax); and

(2) From and after 1st January, 1960, an additional general tax (i.e. additional to the basic general tax) calculated on income exceeding £180 per annum. Initially this tax, the extent of which is tabulated below, is payable in respect of income obtained during the period 1st July, 1958, to 30th June, 1959, and thereinafter on income received for the period 1st July to 30th June of each subsequent year.

Annual taxable income	Amount of tax payable
Up to £180	Nil
Over £180 to £240	5s.
Over £240 to £300	£1. 0s.
Over £300 to £360	£1. 15s.
Over £360 to £420	£2. 10s.
Over £420 to	£2. 10s. in

respect of the amount of £420 plus £1 in rexpect of each amount of £60 or part thereof exceeding £420.

(b) By Bantu females - from and after 1st January, 1960, "additional general tax" in respect of income received for the periods mentioned in paragraph (a)(ii) above:

Annual taxable income	Amount of tax payable
Up to £180	Nil.
Over £180 to £240	£1. 0s.
Over £240	£1 in respect

of the amount of £240 plus £1 in respect of each amount of £60 or part thereof exceeding the amount of £240.

Bantu females are not liable to the payment of the "basic general tax."

7. South African Review:

(a) Early Beginnings.

It is commonly known that the early beginnings of Bantu education [1] are to be found in the ardour and activity of the missionaries. What is not so thoroughly appreciated is that the various missionaries, that is, the various missionary societies, worked in isolation from and sometimes at variance with, each other, and in ignorance of the historical and cultural background of the peoples amongst whom they worked. This ignorance is due partly to the fact that little was known even to historians about the earlier movements of the tribes dwelling in what is commonly known as "South Africa", and no study of comparative education had investigated or made available any knowledge regarding these nomadic peoples and their cultural life. (It is problematic whether the missionaries, had they been able to obtain any such information, would have considered it relevant to their educational policy which was merely the evangelization of the people.)

In his study of the Zulus, and of the Nguni tribes in particular, du Toit points out how difficult it is even now (and how much more difficult it must have been a century ago!) to learn much about the historical and cultural background of the inhabitants of Southern Africa. He says: "Ons moet egter die feit beklemtoon dat ons hier te make het met 'n volk wat geen geskrewe dokumente of historiese geskrifte het nie en hulle geskiedenis is dus onseker en tot 'n groot mate nog in 'n diepe skadu gehul. Gaandeweg word meer en meer gegewens ontdek en inligting ingewin wat hierdie sake in die lig sal bring. Die grootste gedeelte van hierdie historiese agtergrond is verkry van vroeë skrywers wat meegedeel het van Portugese ea. skepe wat langs ons ooskus aangedoen en sodoende met die mense in aanraking gekom het."[2]

---

(1) Extensive use has been made of a full report on Bantu Education by Mr. P.W. Nutt, Inspector of Bantu Education, reproduced in Fact Paper No. 39, as supplement to the Digest of South African Affairs, and reproduced in the Journal of Racial Affairs, as well as of World Survey of Education, and of Hailey, An African Survey.

(2) We must, however, emphasise the fact that we have to do here with a people who had no written documents or historical writings and their history is therefore uncertain and to a large extent still shrouded in deep shddow. Gradually more and more data is discovered and information gathered which will throw light on these matters. The greatest portion of this historical background is gleaned from early writers who tell of

Laudable work was, however, done by many of these missionaries and missionary societies, strangers to South Africa, but singular in purpose - the preaching the gospel and the undertaking of such education as was necessary thereto.

The early beginnings of Bantu education are well summed up in a statement of the Select Committee on Native Education (Cape) of 1908: "The present situation cannot be understood without recollecting that the education of the Bantu was begun by missionaries working in isolation from each other and from the Government, and the system which thus sprang up, while much modified by State superintendence, consequent on the giving of grants from the public treasury, is still, in the main a missionary undertaking, so that there is neither a purely missionary system nor a purely State system of Bantu education."

From small beginnings each missionary body built up a number of schools which were regarded as among the most important agencies of evangelistic work at their disposal. The real purpose of the schools was to serve evangelisation. In all four provinces of the Union the initiative in commencing schools for the Bantu was undertaken by missionaries without Government financial assistance.

(b) First Schools:

The first schools were started in the Cape in 1799, in Natal in 1835, in the Transvaal in 1842, and in the Free State in about 1833. The first specifically Bantu school the Cape Colony seems to have been opened near the present site of King William's Town in 1799 by Dr. J.J. van der Kemp, of the London Missionary Society, but it was not until about 1820 that the missionary movement began to be systematically directed to work amongst the Bantu tribes in the Eastern Cape.

The second period is marked by the gradual intervention of Colonial and Provincial Governments in the field of Bantu edncation. The first considerable step by the Cape Government

---

Portuguese and other ships which touched at our east coast and thus came into contact with the people." B.M. du Toit, "'n Ondersoek na die Sielsbegrip en die Vorme van Voorouer-aanbidding by die Zoeloes." 1959. p.8.

to assist Bantu education was taken in 1854 when it announced that subsidies would be paid to "missionary institutions that would undertake to train Bantu youth in industrial occupations and to fit them to act as interpreters, evangelists and school-masters among their own people."

(c) Changes.

The period 1850-1925 was marked by changes in all aspects of South African life. During this stormy period of South African history Bantu education was carried on by the missionary bodies but became increasingly the care of the governments concerned, because the Bantu were increasingly affecting the economic and political life of the country. The general trend of government intervention was to impose certain demands in respect of curricula, teachers and inspection.

Although during the period 1850-1925 the view was generally held that the State should not found institutions of its own but should control Bantu education by subsidising missionary bodies, nevertheless, towards the end of the period certain State institutions were founded.

(d) Later legislation:

Somewhat later legislation had been passed in all the provinces under which Government schools for the Bantu could be started. The Transvaal had one State school in 1907 and in 1921 mention is made of one Cape school functioning under a School Board. In 1919 Natal took over a limited number of Bantu schools as Government institutions.

In 1920 the Cape made all primary education for the Bantu free and shortly afterwards assumed responsibility for the full salaries of all approved teachers in aided mission schools, including those who had hitherto been paid from district council or local sources. About 1920 school books and requisites were supplied at 20 per cent of the purchase price.

Special curricula for Bantu schools were drawn up as early as 1886 in Natal, 1904 in the Transvaal, 1921 in the Cape and 1924 in the Free State.

(e) Missionaries.

Until 1850 the entire burden of financing schools

was borne by the missionaries with such help as they were able to obtain from their own sources. When the Colonial, Republican and Provincial Governments undertook to pay subsidies these funds were raised either by taxation or appropriated from general revenue.

This system continued after Union but with the expansion of Bantu education at a rate far greater than that of the population it was inevitable that either taxation had to be levied on the Bantu or that funds be drawn from general revenue. The Transvaal attempted to tax the Bantu in 1921 to meet the increased costs of education. The Union Government intervened and by Act 5 of 1921 debarred the Provincial Council from imposing direct taxation on the Bantu under certain conditions.

Act 41 of 1925 abolished all previous forms of Bantu taxation and imposed new and uniform taxes throughout the Union (general tax - £1, local tax - 10s. per hut.) It also created a special account, the Native Development Account, to be administered by the Minister of Native Affairs in consultation with the Native Affairs Commission. One of the purposes of the fund was the maintenance, extension and improvement of educational facilities amongst the Bantu.

(f) Local Taxes.

All local taxes were to be paid into the Local Fund and were to be used for assisting local councils. Into the General Fund the following moneys were to be paid:

(i) An amount of £340,000 annually from the Consolidated Revenue Fund (an amount equal to the expenditure on Bantu education of the four provinces in 1921-22.

(ii) One-fifth of the revenue derived from the general tax.

The significance of these Acts in 1922 and 1925 was profound. The taxation of the Bantu had been changed from a Provincial to a Union matter, and the provision of funds for Bantu education became entirely the responsibility of the Central Government. But the administration of education remained with the provinces. Nevertheless, the most important change was the acceptance by implication of the principle that any development or extension of Bantu education beyond the standard reached in 1921-22 should be financed out of direct taxation paid by the Bantu.

(g) Financial Difficulties:

The period 1926-1945 was marked by increasing financial difficulty due to the operation of a number of factors over which the Native Affairs Commission had no control.

The Bantu population increased from 5¼ million in 1925 to 7¾ million in 1945. The years from 1927 to 1931 were marked by a sharp drop in the national income. The urbanisation of the Bantu was taking place at a rapid pace. The consequent maladjustments, overcrowding, lack of housing, break-down of family control and juvenile delinquency led to a cry for more schools in the urban areas. In short, the desire for education by the Bantu and their needs for education grew far more rapidly than the funds available under the relevant Act.

The revenue derived from the general tax was increased from time to time as pressure on the Development Fund was increased. It was increased from one-fifth to seven-twentieths (1935-36) and then to two-fifths. In 1937 it was increased to three-fifths; in 1940 to two-thirds and in 1942 to five-sixths. Finally in 1943 the whole of the general tax was paid into the S.A. Native Trust Fund, and it was decided to earmark four-fifths of the general tax for education.

(h) New System of Finance:

Act 29 of 1945, however, marked the abandonment of this system of financing Bantu education. All funds made available to the Provinces for Bantu education were to be drawn direct from the Consolidated Revenue Fund and were no longer dependent on the general tax. The estimates were placed on the votes of the Union Department of Education, Arts and Science.

From 1920 the expenditure on Bantu education has increased from R680,000 to more than £18 million. In 1948 the Government became alarmed at the vast increase in expenditure on Bantu education and appointed a commission to investigate and report on its findings. Its report, generally referred to as the Eiselen Report, led to Act 47 of 1954, which made provision for the transfer of the administration and control of Bantu education from the several provincial

administrations to the Government of the Union (i.e. the Department of Native Affairs.)

8. The South African System - Cause, Summary and Impressions:

(a) Cause:

A national system of education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles, and of battles of long ago. What forces led to the present South African system of Bantu Education? What historical development had the present as its natural result?

The Cape of Storms, merely a compulsory refreshment station for East-Indiamen, became The Cape of Good Hope, the home for immigrants from many European nations.

These European nations had their national differences and strove to conserve what was peculiar to them - language, religion, culture. The French, the Dutch and the English fought their battles, but sank their differences as the Land of the Southern Cross became the home of protestant European civilization, their only common enemy being barbarism which incidentally was black, they being white.

Hans (1) says "the black population of Africa has neither national traditions nor a national language. Whereas their Northern neighbours, the Moors and Arabs, or even the Abyssinians, have national and religious traditions of their own, and recognised languages with classical literatures, the Black Africans are still in the primitive tribal stage of evolution. Although they are very capable, they have not yet evolved a culture or national traditions which could sustain competition with European civilization."

The history of South Africa is a history of "Kaffir Wars" - in the Cape, in Natal, in the Orange Free State and in the Transvaal. European onslaught could have - and would have - annihilated the barbarian tribes as they were busy annihilating themselves. The European, however, sought some way of living alongside his African neighbour - he with his years of culture and the resultant advantages; his neighbour with no such amenities.

Two things must be borne in mind - the European had

---

(1) Hans: Comparative Education, p.21.

long since ceased to look upon South Africa as a colony, although the name still erroneously lingered as in the "Cape Colony", the "Orange River Colony", and elsewhere. Colonisation as in the case of "British Overseas Colonies" was non-existant.

South Africa, in spite of the fact that she has for centuries had the English-Afrikaans diversion, has nevertheless always had a very real sense of "white" unity, based on the following co-ordinating facts:

(i) All members of this unity had a common protestant faith.

(ii) All were of similar tradition, there being less diversity amongst the Dutch, English and French immigrants than there would have been had the immigrants included a large percentage of, for instance, Russians and Italians.

(iii) South Africa was thousands of miles, and weeks if not months of travel, distant from Europe, so the idea of "home" across the seas was relegated to a wilfully difficult British minority. One of the Scottish ministers who bade farewell to the land of the Thistle and made the land of the Protea his permanent home, probably voiced the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of immigrants when, in reply to a question as to whether he was happy, he quoted,"Ik woon in het midden myns volks."(1)

(iv) Progressive education - and religious education, essentially - was a common need, and while the government was officially responsible for appointments of teachers in State Schools, the Church (mostly in the case of Europeans) and Missions (mostly in the case of Natives) were almost entirely in control.

(v) "Numbers count", and numbers certainly influenced the development of the South African Educational System. An exceptionally small number of Europeans, with centuries of culture behind them, were moving in from the South with the fixed idea of developing a vast area into their home. Simultaneously an exceptionally large number

---

(1) Andrew Murray of Graff Reinet. Incident quoted in "Unto Children's Children." Translation of 2 Kings 4:13, "I dwell among mine own people."

of natives, with no cultural background, were moving in from the North with no idea of developing the vast area into any cultivated permanent abode. That the resulting clash has led not to extermination but to the protection and development of the latter by the former, can only be seen as the result of many and various factors which have contributed to a system in which the lesser endowed and developed are being given the opportunities of educational development as illustrated by this chapter. The fact that the more cultured and developed are white, and that the less cultured and developed are black, is the fault of neither. The fact that the method in which education is being given is that of non-assimilation and of separate development is the result of those factors of religious and cultural heritage, basic beliefs and traditions, and political background which need not be ignored or nullified to assure the required degree of academic attainment and educational development.

(b) Summary:

Comparisons are misleading. Any comparison between the Republic and any of our African States immediately brings us face to face with the following problem - either we view that State as a politically independent unit, and then we will not find any similar situation of a ruling minority caring for the educational welfare of a non-ruling majority, or we view that State as a colony of some overseas (European) power, and then we will not find any similar situation of the minority ruling power living permanently in that area where it is caring for the educational welfare of the majority.

South Africa is unique as regards the factors which moulded her policy.(1)

Less than 20 per cent of the total population of the Republic is supplying more than 80 per cent with Lower Primary Schools, 361,423 pupils enrolled; Secondary Schools, 48,600 pupils enrolled; Teacher Training Colleges, 4,509 pupils enrolled; Vocational Training Centres, 1,831 pupils enrolled (a total of 1,513,571 pupils enrolled and Univer-

---

(1) Vide Hans: Comparative Education, Chapter 1.

sities where academic training at a par with that of European students, is being offered to the Bantu, but where, numerically, the supply exceeds the demand. Excluding the Universities, the educational institutions were maintained at an annual expenditure cost of R18,000,000.(1)

Increase figures for Bantu pupils at school show 44 per cent for the 1945-1953 period, and 65 per cent for the 1953-1960 period, the former being under Act No. 29 of 1945, and the latter under the Bantu Education Act of 1953. The total per cent increase (1945-1960) is 144 per cent.

Dr. Edgar Brookes challenges the assumption that the study of the aims and ideals of Native Education is something which can, at any rate up to a point, be separated from general educational philosophy. He says "there is no special philosophy of African Education, differentiating it from the rest of the world."(2) "The existence of a different sort of civilization to our own, unrelated to and uninfluenced by the changing phases of modern European thought and literature can hardly be imagined as practicable."(3) "Even if we consider such territories as Nigeria or Uganda, where the problems of race contact scarcely exist and where African life is not inextricably intermingled with European, it is clear that the general aims and ideals of education cannot differ materially from those accepted for other areas."(4)

This argument that aims and ideals for Bantu education do not materially differ from those for European education must admit that while this may be true for the content of education, allowance must be made for the requirements for education and the circumstances under which education is given. This Dr. Brookes also states, referring to T. Jesse Jones' "Education in Africa," in his statement: "We are bound to admit that the adaptation of general educational principles to the Bantu may lead to

---

(1) Table XXVI.
(2) Brookes: Native Education in South Africa, p.21.
(3) The Rhodesian Native Education Commission Report, par.845.
(4) Brookes: Native Education in South Africa, p.22.

differences of detail in syllabuses, to differences of stress in presenting the same syllabus. The broad outlook must be identical; but methods must occasionally differ, and the teacher must necessarily take into account the history, tradition, experience and environment of the children. So far as these differ as between a Bantu and a European child, so far must the details of school training differ - and no farther. Education must take account of differences, but must not create them." (1)

It is difficult to determine the extent to which "the teacher" can be expected to "take into account the history, tradition, experience and environment of the children." It would rather be the task of the government, through its educational authorities, to determine the "differences" which exist and the resulting essential differences in syllabuses and stress.

The difficulties confronting Native Education have been summarized as follows: (2)

(i) The relatively short school life of the Native - estimated liberally at an average of less than three years.

(ii) The necessarily small progress made during this short period - the majority of pupils not getting beyond Standard 1.

(iii) The high degree of "overageness" of Native pupils in comparison with European pupils in the same standards - they are from two to three years older on the average.

(iv) The marked disparity between the designation of Native and European school standards (a difference in some cases of as much as two standards) owing probably to the lesser effectiveness per unit of time of instruction given in Native schools than that in European.

(v) The heavy elimination of Native pupils in the later primary and post-primary standard ." "If these facts are disregarded, one cannot expect the Native school to succeed fully in equipping the vast majority of Natives for life - a life which for them is being rapidly disinte -

---

(1) Brookes: Native Education in South Africa, p.26.
(2) Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education. 1936.

grated by economic and cultural contacts," the Report concludes.

A senior officer in the Bantu Education Department summarized the progress and further aims of Bantu Education as follows:

(i) Illiteracy is being wiped out. Tremendous studies have already been made and within another two decades the work should be completed. This I consider a prestige, considering the millions that will have received instruction.

(ii) The community is becoming school-conscious, or shall we say education-conscious.

(iii) The community is taking an active part in and bearing responsibility for education.

(iv) The Bantu is learning slowly but surely that education is not something that is being done to him, but something he is being taught to do for himself.

In reply to my question as to whether there were many problems connected with the progress of Bantu Education, the officer replied: "Certainly there are. We are giving them our serious expert attention."

He enumerated the following:

(i) The need for continued and even closer co-operation between Bantu Education and Bantu Development.

(ii) The need for specialized training of men for specific responsible tasks in the Bantu Areas, along the lines of what is already being attempted in the Junior Certificate Technical work and the Technical High Schools.

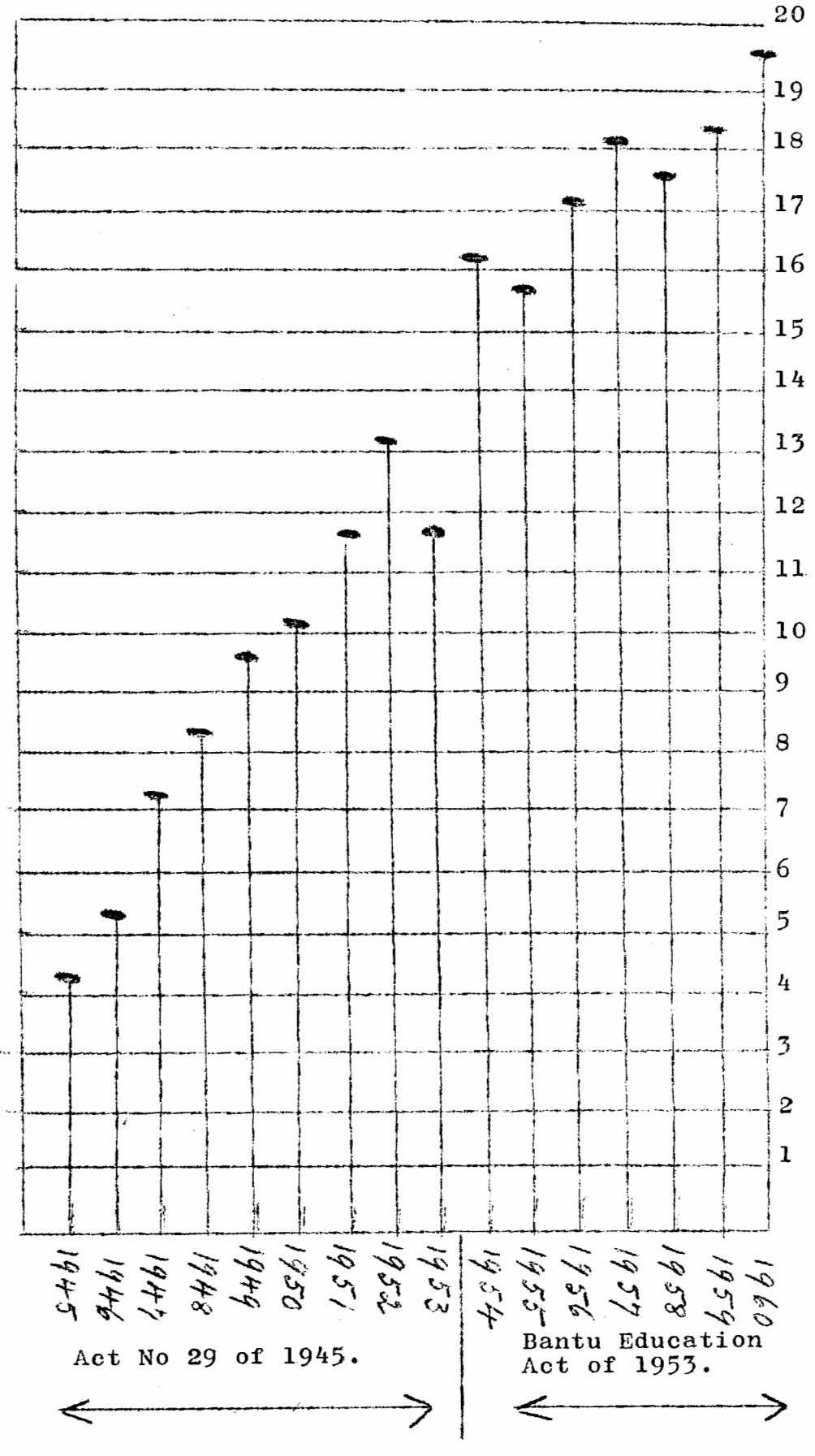
(iii) The Bantu does not appreciate the emphasis laid on the vernacular, and prefers English and Afrikaans because they are "bread and butter languages."

(iv) The European is retaining administration of Bantu education in European Areas, while the Bantu is taking over administration in Bantu Areas.

(v) The Technical High Schools are not producing the success and practical results which are being obtained by "on the job" training, with the obvious result that young Bantu artisans prefer "working" to "learning", as they phrase it.

(vi) There is still an alarmingly and unnecessarily high failure percentage in the higher classes.

TABLE XXXI: Expenditure on Bantu Education.
1945 - 1960.
(Amounts in Million Rand).



This is partly due to the policy of strict examination control with a view to the selection of the competent and industrious student.

(c) Impressions:

I have made it clear that South Africa is unique in this that it is, contrary to any other African State, the homeland of two very distinct groups, the Bantu and the European, both having entered a country which was not theirs, the former from the North, the latter from the South.

These two groups met, and their meeting would have resulted in a clash which would have stopped short of nothing but extermination, or at least subjection, of the culturally and educationally lesser developed, if numerically stronger, by the culturally and educationally more developed, if numerically weaker, (had intertribal warfare not been responsible for this extermination or subjection to an even greater extent that it actually was!) if there had not been one clear sense of duty - the Christian responsibility of the Europeans towards lesser developed peoples.

Sarcasm and sneering has often sought to interpret the educational endeavour of the European as the outcome of political pressure, and has ascribed ulterior motives to this endeavour. Wit and punning have been harnassed as in remarks such as these: "The European is too humane to deny the African education, but too human to allow him to reap its benefits", or "The European first fell on his knees and then on the aborigenees."

The attitude behind such attacks in itself betrays lack of true education, (1) and can bring no true educational progress and no lasting peace. Education will teach a man, white or black, to read and write. But it will do more. It will teach him to appreciate God-given opportunities and nationhood is certainly one of these, according to the South African Christian tradition.

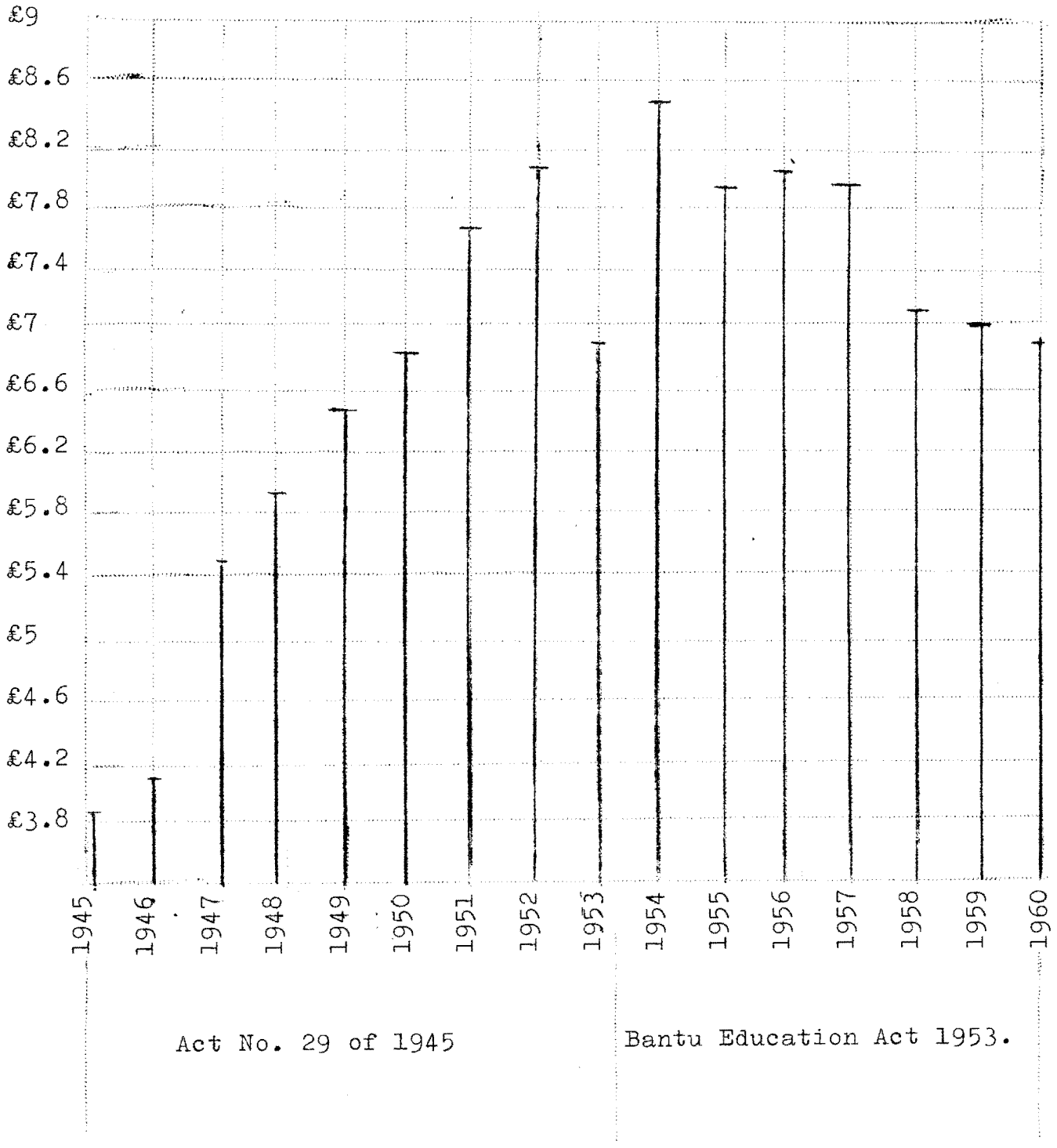
There are certain defects which are all too obvious. There is a definite colour prejudice bordering on colour antagonism - and too often that border is crossed! There

---

(1) "Education does not mean teaching people to know what they do not know; it means teaching them to behave as they do not behave." Ruskin.

TABLE XXXI: PER CAPUT COSTS

EXPENDITURE ON BANTU EDUCATION 1945-1960.



is a preconceived idea that there is intrinsic value in colour. Because the Bantu has often abused, or failed to use, the little education he has been allowed to receive, the argument has been that, given more education, his abuse will increase.

While this study has covered Bantu Education in the Republic of South Africa, there is the vast field of European Education - a picture which should be studied closely before a comparison can be attempted. There are, unfortunately, too many instances of European abuse of, or failure to use, the greater educational opportunities which that section of the community has been afforded. The greatest of these failures lies in the ingrained notion with which so many European children are reared that the Bantu are the hewers of wood and drawers of water, specially so designed by the Creator for the greater convenience of the Europeans.

This failure has prevented many a European from envisaging the Bantu as a separate, educated, responsible, developed, cultured nation.

.....