THE HISTORY AND THE PROBLEMS OF BANTU URBAN SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE EASTERN CAPE 1937-1954 (CISKEI REGION).

by

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Promoter : Prof. Dr. M.O.M. Seboni.

P R E F A C E .

1. Reasons for Choosing the Topic.

Much has been written about secondary education in England, Continental Europe, the United States, Canada, China and other countries mainly because[1]

> Secondary Education has been one of the most prized of all formal types of education ..... because it has been the rung of the educational ladder that has led to opportunity and preferment.

Very little research work has been done on Bantu secondary education in the Ciskei, and still less about Bantu urban secondary education. This is a shortcoming since the Ciskei has been one of the most important educational areas for the Bantu in the Union of South Africa and the territories outside her borders. It was here that the experiment of Bantu day secondary schools was carried out. It could aptly have been said of the Ciskei, too, that[2]

> experimental work (destined one day to blaze into a consuming fire) has been carried on, where men and women of faith and inspiration have lit up some dark corner of the field, and where teachers of genius have defied tradition and convention, gone their own way in scorn of consequence, and have lit a candle which will never be put out.

The Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools started amidst conflicting opinions as regards their advantages and disadvantages. Difficulties were encountered and efforts made to overcome them.

The present writer attempts to show how the problems of these schools were overcome and to assess the progress that was made.

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1) J.S.Brubacher: History of the Problems in Education, p.416.
2) M.L.Jacks: Modern Trends in Education, p.7.

2. Need for the Study.

There is a great need for the study of the history and problems of Bantu Urban Day Secondary education because for many years to come these schools will have to serve an increasing number of urban Bantu pupils. The results of the research may serve as a guide to teachers appointed to these schools. The important history of these institutions preserved only in the minds of old men and women, may be lost to posterity. There is also a great need to bring to light the unique problems confronting these schools.

3. Scope of Dissertation.

The dissertation limits itself to Bantu Urban Day secondary education, in specific areas of the Ciskei. Two secondary and two high schools have been chosen for special study.

Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools are those schools which are situated in areas under the jurisdiction of municipalities or town councils irrespective of whether the school admits largely pupils who are outside such an area or only those within it or both.

The entrance qualification to these schools has always been a pass in Standard VI (normally after eight years of primary or elementary schooling.). For the Bantu pupil the Junior Certificate Course was of three years' duration. The successful completion of the J.C. course qualified pupils to train as nurses, in the case of girls, and agricultural demonstrators in the case of boys. Both sexes could undertake studies for Native Primary Higher Teachers' Course, and the Senior Certificate Course or the Matriculation leading to university degrees.

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   (a) The Bantu Education Department Library, King William's Town.
   (b) The Howard Pim Library, Fort Hare.
   (c) The Rhodes University Library, Grahamstown.
   (d) The South African Library, Cape Town.

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   (b) The Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School, Grahamstown.
   (c) The Newell High School, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth.
   (d) The Welsh High School, Duncan Village, East London.

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H.M. Dyasi.

University College of Fort Hare,
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ABBREVIATIONS.

B.A.	- Bachelor of Arts.
B.Ed.	- Bachelor of Education.
B.Sc.	- Bachelor of Science.
Cf.	- Compare.
Co.	- Company.
C.P.	- Cape Province.
D.Ed.	- Doctor of Education.
Dr.	- Doctor.
e.g.	- For example.
etc.	- et cetera (and several others).
G.C.M.G.	- Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George.
Hon.	- Honourable.
Ibid.	- Ibidem (in the same place).
i.e.	- Id est (that is).
I.Q.	- Intelligence Quotient.
J.C.	- Junior Certificate.
K.C.	- King's Counsellor.
LL.B.	- Bachelor of Laws.
loc.cit.	- Locus citatum (place cited).
M.A.	- Master of Arts.
M.Ed.	- Master of Education.
M.P.	- Member of Parliament.
M.P.C.	- Member of the Provincial Council.
Mr.	- Mister.
M.R.C.	- Member of the Representative Council.
M.Sc.	- Master of Science.
N.A.D.	- Native Affairs Department.
No.	- Number.
N.P.H.	- Native Primary Higher.
N.P.L.	- Native Primary Lower.
op.cit.	- Opus citatum (work cited)

p.	- Page.
Ph.D.	- Doctor of Philosophy.
p.m.	- post meridian.
pp.	- Pages.
Prof.	- Professor.
Profs.	- Professors.
Rev.	- Reverend.
S.A.N.C.	- South African Native College.
S.C.A.	- Students' Christian Association.
S.G.E.	- Superintendent-General of Education.
S/N.	- Staff-nurse.
U.G.	- Union Government.
Vol.	- Volume.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT.

A. Forbes Grant Secondary School.

1. Geographical Situation.

This secondary school is situated in the Ginsberg Location in the King William's Town municipal area and on the western side of the Buffalo river. King William's Town is 36 miles from East London.

2. Beginnings of the School.

In the early 1930's, due to unfavourable farming conditions in the King William's Town district as a whole, large numbers of Bantu people moved into the town to seek employment. These people eventually settled permanently with their families in the location. There soon arose a need for secondary education not only for their children, but also for the children of those living nearby.[1] Although the children could have received secondary education elsewhere, the economic position of their parents made it impossible for them to do so. Secondly, the missionary institutions which provided such education could not admit all those who qualified for admission in the Ciskei. Thus there arose a dire need for a Bantu secondary school for the district of King William's Town. This need manifested itself when a few children enrolled with the King William's Town Technical College in order to follow the National Junior Certificate Course. For this purpose they were allowed the use of the buildings of the European Technical College in town. They could use these buildings for purposes of study at night only.[2]

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1) School Records, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, 1941.
2) Principal's Report, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, 1953.

It was therefore through the co-operation of the European owners of the school that continuation classes for Bantu pupils were started at King William's Town in March 1935.[1] There were 16 students enrolled.[2] These were:-

1.	Nomsa	Ngesi	(now Mrs. Kolobeni, King William's Town)
2.	Bessy	Mafongosi	(now deceased)
3.	Cecilia	Klaas	(S/N Hermans)
4.	Beulla	Zondeki	(now Mrs. Fetsha)
5.	Koleka	Majombozi	(now Mrs. Luzipho)
6.	Nonceba	Buzo	(now Mrs. Gushman)
7.	Mandisa	Kashe	(married in Johannesburg)
8.	Notopiya	Khaka	
9.	Mpindeli	Mhlomi	
10.	Dixon	Sondlo	(now connected with the ministry of the Wayside Pulpit Church of Jehova's Witnesses)
11.	Charles	Pamla	
12.	William	Siwundla	
13.	Calvin	Sihunu	
14.	H.P.E.	Bala	
15.	Mtutuzeli	Tsham	(Police constable)
16.	Xavier	Beja	

The first person to support the secondary education for Bantu pupils in King William's Town was the principal of the Technical College, the late Mr. Arthur Forbes Grant, M.A. who urged that the "classroom" Secondary School be named the "King William's Town Native Secondary School"[3]

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1) Interview with Mrs. N.A. Kolobeni, one of the pioneer students, 11/6/59.
2) Information obtained from pioneer students of the school; Cf. Correspondence with the Rev. D. A. Sondlo, R. 76, Location, Queenstown, 3/2/60.
3) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, King William's Town, 23/3/37.

To him goes all the credit as he played a very decisive role towards the establishment of a Bantu secondary school in King William's Town. He declared that he had dreamt a dream which might lead to the alleviation of the suffering of those Bantu pupils who desired education but could not gain admission into the missionary institutions of Lovedale, St. Matthews College, Healdtown Institution in the Ciskei, and others in the Transkei.

Mr. Forbes Grant communicated his dream to the Rev. and Mrs. W.C. Teka of the Methodist Church, King William's Town, and they in turn discussed the matter with others, including Mr. Robert Haya and Mr. and Mrs. P.M. Ngesi who were in charge of the Temperance Hotel at King William's Town. Later, arrangements were made for Mr. Forbes Grant to address the parents in the Methodist Church. His address had far-reaching consequences.

3. The Pioneer Staff.

In 1935 Mr. Arthur Forbes Grant took it upon himself to give instruction to Bantu pupils who attended classes at the Technical College. This noble work soon attracted others to itself.

In January 1937, he invited Miss. Nozipho Ntshona, B.A. (now Mrs. F.N. Lebentlele)[1] to assist him in giving instruction to the Bantu pupils in secondary school subjects. Miss. Ntshona accepted the invitation at a humble salary which never exceeded £10 a month.[2] With the rise in the roll, the staff also increased. Each of the following gave part-time assistance: a Mr. Retief, principal of the European primary school, and the Rev. Cannon Henley, M.A.,

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1) Interview with Mrs. F.N. Lebentlele, Maseru. 24/6/59; Cf. Principal's files, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, 1939.
2) Interview with Mrs. F.N. Lebentlele, Maseru. 24/6/59.

who was also a committee member. Later, the following joined the permanent staff: Miss. Mary Soga and Miss. Ellen Ngozwana, B.A. (now Mrs. C. Kisosonkole, M.P. in Uganda).[1] They also assisted in the organisation of extra-mural activities.

The teachers of the Higher Mission (Methodist Church) School at King William's Town under principal, Mr. G.G. Magobiane, helped with the organisation and also encouraged the pupils who had passed or were taking standard VI to avail themselves of the opportunity which the proposed school offered.

The fees payable by those taking the Junior Certificate were £4 per annum. Those studying for Senior Certificate paid £5 per annum.[2] There were 76 students enrolled at the beginning of the school.[3]

On the first committee of the school served the Rev. Cannon A.M. Henley, M.A. (Chairman), Mr. A. Forbes Grant, M.A. (Principal), two other European and one Bantu, namely, Mr. A.M. Jabavu.[4]

4. European Assistance.

Through the kindness of the European public of King William's Town, many of whom later became ardent promoters of the Bantu secondary education scheme in the town, the Bantu pupils were later allowed the use of the European school rooms and equipment in the afternoons. Classes were held at Cathcart Road directly opposite the Higher Mission School. During examinations, European and Bantu

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1) Interview with Mrs. F.N. Lebentlele, Maseru. 24/6/59; Cf. Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 27/3/37.
2) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 27/3/37.
3) op. cit.
4) op. cit.

pupils wrote in the same examination Hall.[1] The Europeans of King William's Town also assisted the school by:-

(a) allowing several students attending the school to live with their relatives in their backyards;

(b) making liberal donations, from time to time, of money to purchase books[2] for the needy and to enable pupils to visit East London to see the ships and the sea. Several families, in addition, gave some pupils some afternoon and week-end jobs to earn money for fees;

(c) they supported concerts which were arranged by the pupils themselves to help meet the book accounts of the needy. Mthuthuzeli Tsham, one of the students, conducted the school choir. He had spent a short time at Lovedale as a pupil in the Training School. One such concert which was held at the Brownlee Mission Station was very well supported.

Prominent among the European supporters and interested persons were a Mrs. Griffin (sister to Mrs. Beauchamp), the late Miss. Weir and Mrs. Lever, wife of the Native Commissioner at King William's Town.

5. The Curriculum.

The curriculum has been said to be one of the pivotal problems of education,[3] but for the purposes of this chapter the curriculum is so that it might be seen whether or not it satisfied the needs of all the children for whom

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1) Interview with Mrs. A. Nomama Kolobeni, Ginsberg Location, King William's Town. 3/6/59.
2) Bantu pupils purchased books at one-third of the selling price; interview with Mr. H. Mjamba, B.A., Principal of Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, 5/6/59.
3) W. Cunningham: The Pivotal Problems of Education, p. 281.

it had been planned. These needs were as formulated by Prof. Dr. J. Chris Coetzee in the assertion that:[1]

> uit die doel van die middelbare onderwys kan ons aflei dat die opvoedkundige daar voorsiening moet maak vir die religieuse, filosofiese, estetiese, intelekteule, staatkundige, sosiale, psigologiese, fisiologiese en biologiese opvoeding.

While what later came to be known as the Forbes Grant Secondary School was still a private institution, its students sat the National Junior Certificate examination.[2] The subjects offered were selected from the following: English A, Xhosa, History, Geography, Commerce, Physiology and Hygiene, and Biology. Owing to staffing difficulties at the beginning, however, only three subjects could be taken at a time.[3]

6. Extra-mural Activities.

Due to the small number on the roll of the school and also to the fact that the ordinary classes were conducted in the afternoons, no sporting activities could be organised. The pupils, however, took part in such extra-curricula activities as choral singing.

7. The Working Committee.

With the growth in numbers, the need for a new building became more urgent. By the end of 1938 the enrolment in the J.C. classes had increased to 57 pupils (19 boys and 38 girls)[4]. As a result the Borough Council of

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1) J. Chris Coetzee, Beginsels en Metodes van die Middelbare Onderwys, pp. 16-17.
2) Correspondence with pioneer students of the Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town.
3) The first subjects were Xhosa, English A, and Geography; Cf. Principal's files, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, 1939.
4) School Records, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town.

King William's Town at a meeting "resolved that application be made to the Central Housing Board for a sub-economic loan of £4,500, of which £2,000 would be for the school and £2,500 for a recreation hall" for the Bantu.[1] An application to the Department of Education to start a secondary school in King William's Town was made by the Borough Council. The Secretary for Education recommended that a working committee be constituted for the proposed scheme. In a Minute dated the 22nd March, 1937, the Secretary of the Borough Council stated that in the event of the school being erected, the Department of Education would recommend the payment of a rent not exceeding 5 per cent of the capital cost. With this in mind the Department sent some of its education authorities to investigate whether the need for a secondary school for the Bantu at King William's Town existed. The authorities reported favourably and a plan for the school was drawn by the Town Council in consultation with the education authorities.[2]

According to a report given by the Town Clerk at the King William's Town Borough Council meeting held on the 11th October, 1937, the body required by the Education Department, namely, the Working Committee, was soon constituted and approved by the Secretary for Education. The Town Clerk further reported:[3]

> Everything therefore appeared to be in order and the time opportune at which to make application to the Central Housing Board for the sub-economic loan for the building, the Education Department having intimated its willingness to contribute the rental up to 5 per cent. of the capital cost or on the basis of 6/6d per pupil per annum, whichever is lesser.

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1) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 19/6/37.
2) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 19/6/37.
3) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 23/10/37.

The Borough Council resolved that plans be prepared for the erection of a Bantu secondary school, due consideration being given to the cost of the building and the capital charges thereon on the basis laid down by the Secretary for Education and that application be made to the Central Housing Board for the issue of the sub-economic loan.[1] Consequently, a new secondary school for Bantu pupils was founded and it became Government-aided with effect from January, 1939.

The site of the new secondary school building having b een approved, building operations were started immediately. Eight classrooms were built, one of which was specifically to be used for the teaching of Domestic Science. The inside measurements of the smallest classrooms were 20 feet by 20 feet, and those of the biggest were 32 feet by 20 feet.[2] The other classrooms were 28 feet by 20 feet. Donations for this purpose were generously received from the residents of King William's Town and the neighbouring districts. The foundation stone of the secondary school, which the committee unanimously agreed to name The New Forbes Grant Native Secondary School in honour of its original founder, was laid on the 20th August, 1941 by the Governor-General, The Right Hon. Sir Patrick Duncan, G.C.M.G., K.C.[3]

8. The Laying of the Foundation Stone.

The laying of the foundation school for this school was such an important milestone in the history of Bantu secondary education in the Ciskei that it is only meet and right to give an account of it as it appeared in the

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1) loc.cit.
2) Specifications confirmed in N.A.D. Circular No. 24/302/3rd June 1958.
3) Information which was independently obtained was corroborated by the inscription on the Foundation Stone of the Forbes Grant Secondary School; Cf. Imvo ZabaNtsundu 13/9/41.

Imvo ZabaNtsundu.[1]

On August 20 (Wednesday), 1941 at 4.30 p.m. His Excellency attended at the site of the Forbes Grant Native Secondary School in the Native township and laid the foundation-stone of the building now in course of erection. Lady Duncan was also present. The chairman of the School Committee (Mr. Gordon Mears, B.A., LL.B.) presided over a large and representative gathering of both European and Bantu. Addressing His Excellency Mr. Mears said:

> It gives me great pleasure on behalf of the committee to welcome you to this function and to thank you that at short notice you should have so graciously consented to perform the ceremony of the laying of the foundation-stone to-day. We are glad that it has been found possible for Lady Duncan to accompany you on this occasion; for we know of her keen interest in all that appertains to the welfare of the Native people.
>
> The School Committee unanimously resolved that the school to be erected on this site should be named the Forbes Grant Secondary School in recognition of the work done by Mr. Forbes Grant which has culminated in to-day's function. The School Board kindly approved of this designation. At the beginning of 1937 Mr. Grant realised that there were many Native scholars in the town who had passed standard 6, and who are anxious to continue with education, but owing to lack of funds were unable to proceed to one of the recognised boarding institutions. With one assistant he taught some 20 students, but in the following year he engaged another assistant, and he himself had to collect the fees necessary for carrying out the work. Before this venture came under the Cape Education Department 26 students completed the course prescribed for the National J.C. In 1939 through the instrumentality of the Venerable Archdeacon Hanley, and other interested persons, the school was taken over by the Cape Education Department, and brought under the King William's Town School Board, whose Secretary, Mr. Scott, has given invaluable help and advice at all times. The committee is also fortunate in having as one of the members the Chairman of the School Board, Mr. C. Morgan, whose help and great experience

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1) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 13/9/41.

> in educational matters have been of particular benefit. The committee was wisely selected and European and African members have shown commendable interest in their duties, and have promoted to the best of their ability the interests of the school. Mr. Macpherson was appointed Principal, and he and his staff have worked unsparingly in difficult circumstances for the advancement of the school, which now numbers 80 scholars. At the end of this year candidates will be presented for the first time for the Cape Junior Certificate. In view of the development and the future prospects of expansion, the Department of Native Affairs made available a sum of money for the erection of a new school which it is estimated will cost in the neighbourhood of £6,000 when completed. The building is designed for about 260 students and will have in addition to six classrooms a physical science laboratory and a science room. This generous action by the Native Affairs Department is greatly appreciated by Europeans and Natives alike. In this connection special mention must be made of Senator Malcomess, who has worked untiringly for the provision of a sum of money for this and similar schools. The sincere thanks of the Committee are due to the Town Council, who have made available the site for this school, and a large area of ground for playing-fields. In addition the Council has shown its interest in the school and in the educational advancement of the Native people by providing a sum of £30 for bursaries.
>
> I have now great pleasure in asking your Excellency to lay the foundation-stone.

After Mr. Gordon Mears had completed his outline of the history of the school and had asked the Governor-General to lay the foundation-stone, Mr. J.W.H. Farrow, representing the architects of the building, Messrs. Farrow, Stocks & Farrow, presented His Excellency with an inscribed trowel, and Sir Patrick Duncan proceeded to lay the foundation stone. It was made of local granite and appropriately inscribed. He declared the stone well and truly laid and dedicated the building to the education and welfare of the Bantu. The school choir sang "Nkosi sikelela i-Afrika".

In the course of his address Sir Patrick Duncan

1)
said:

> It is a great pleasure for me to be present on this happy occasion. In the name of this school we perpetuate the memory of one who served the needs of the Native people, and who provided the means for the fulfilment of their desires. The plant which he nourished has flourished and to-day we see the further fruits of his labours.
>
> 'Peace has her victories no less renowned than war', and to-day we add to the many patriotic landmarks another monument commemorating a work of vital importance with which the name of Forbes Grant will for ever remain associated.

On the subject of spiritual development which the critics of the Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools had used against
2)
the establishment, he went on to say

> Two of the essential foundation-stones of any nation are religion and education. These are the keys which unlock the kingdoms of the soul and of the brain. They are handmaidens one or the other. Without spiritual ideals nations perish and bring terrible ruin in their train. Without educational development people cannot rise.
>
> My Government recognises the legitimate aspirations of the people for higher education, and this is one of many schools which are coming into existence from funds at its disposal in the large urban areas for advancement and upliftment of the Native people.
>
> But it must be remembered that education is not only a matter of book-learning. In its truest sense it embraces a practical knowledge of many things necessary to the health, happiness and prosperity of mankind.
>
> I trust that through the portals of the building which is shortly to be erected on this foundation, there will pass out an ever-increasing stream of qualified students burning to employ their talents for the service and upliftment of their fellow-men.

The chairman said it had been expected that Mr. Arthur Forbes Grant would be in attendance to say a few words, b ut he was absent, his courage having failed him at the last moment. In passing a vote of thanks Mr. A.M.
3)
Jabavu, M.R.C., and a member of the school committee said

> On behalf of the African community of King William's Town and district, I am privileged

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1) loc. cit.
2) loc. cit.
3) loc. cit.

> to express sincere thanks to Your Excellency for the auspicious and historic laying of this foundation stone. The event is regarded by your most humble Bantu proteges, Sir, as an epoch-making landmark in their upliftment. Through it, facilities for secondary education will be brought within the reach of a large group of parents than has hitherto been the case. The participation of Your Excellency's Government, collaborating with the municipal authority of this town, in nurturing the project to realisation, will stand as a monument of magnanimous service rendered by the superior race to its most grateful wards. (Applause).

At the end His Excellency requested the chairman to convey to Mr. A. Forbes Grant his congratulations and his good wishes for the institution of which Forbes Grant had been the father.

The proceedings terminated with the singing of "God save the King" which was followed by three lusty cheers for Sir Patrick Duncan and Lady Duncan.

The school was officially opened on the 12th October, 1941, by the Minister of Native Affairs, Colonel the Honourable D. Reitz, M.P.[1]

9. The Role of Gordon Mears.

Mr. (later Dr.) Gordon Mears was at this time Chief Native Commissioner for King William's Town. He, more than anyone else, was instrumental in making arrangements for the Governor-General of South Africa to lay the foundation stone of the new school. He also used his influence to obtain the money required for the foundation stone and its engraving.[2] He did all this because he was genuinely interested in the development of the Bantu community as a whole. He, inter alia, inaugurated in the Transkei the Bantu Eistedford and the annual inter-institution athletic sports meetings. The Mears School

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1) The South African Outlook, 1942, p. 144.
2) School Records, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, 1941.

for the training of African women as Home Demonstrators was named after him. The "Imvo ZabaNtsundu" once reported:[1]

> There has never been any question of Dr. Mears' service to the cause of African progress.

In connection with the Forbes Grant Secondary School, he was also assisted by his wife who, together with the late Mrs. Phillip, played an important role in organising the Wayfarer Movement in connection with the school.

The granting of the school by the Government together with the efforts of Dr. Mears marked the end of the private secondary school period. Afterwards the school came under the administration of the Cape Education Department.

10. Staffing 1939-1952.

Before the "granting" of the school not more than three full-time teachers were on the staff at a time,[2] and when it was taken over by the Cape Education Department, Mr. J.S. Macpherson, B.Sc., was appointed its first permanent principal. He had been an assistant teacher at the Healdtown High School near Fort Beaufort. Miss. Pinda Mpumlwana, B.A., was one of his first assistants. Others who served on the staff were Messrs. W.E. Payi, S. de Villiers Tiso, B.A., G.S. Budaza, M.A., V.C. Qunta B.A., L.L. Nonkwelo, B.A., L.L. Sihlali, B.A., H. Mjamba, B.A., W.T. Gqibitole, B.Sc., T.M. Gasa, F. Mciteka, B.A., N. Hongo, B.A., Mrs. J.S. Macpherson, Mrs. C.S. Ntloko, B.A., a Mrs. de Beyer, and a Miss Mantane.

In 1952 Mr. Macpherson resigned his position and Mr. H. Mjamba was appointed in his place with effect from 1st January, 1953.[3]

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1) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 15/5/48.
2) Principal's Report, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, 1941.
3) Principal's Report, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, 1953.

11. Staffing in the Mjamba Period.

In 1953 six new teachers joined the staff.[1] In actual fact, some of these had, at one time or another, been on the staff of the school.[2] From then on it was noticeable that the Forbes Grant Secondary School had a holding power on its staff because, in 1954 only Miss T.M. Buso, B.Sc.[3] was a new member of the teaching staff.

12. Staff Promotions.

Some members of the staff of the Forbes Grant Secondary School left on promotion. Among others were Mr. V.C. Qunta, B.A. who took up an appointment as principal of the Cowan Secondary School, Port Elizabeth, Mr. L.L. Nonkwelo, B.A. who became principal of the Lawson Secondary School, Fort Beaufort, and Miss Pinda Mpumlwana, B.A. who became principal of a kindergarten school at Siboto's, Herschel, Cape.

13. Enrolment 1939-1954.

The enrolment of the school increased gradually in the period 1939-1954 as shown in the following table[4].

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1) loc. cit.
2) These teachers were Messrs L.L Nonkwelo, B.A., W.E. Payi, S.M. Qaba, B.A., F. Mciteka, B.A., and Mrs. C.S. Ntloko, B.A. and another teacher whose name could not be traced; Cf. also Principal's address at the Coming of Age Ceremony, 5/6/59.
3) Interview with Mr. H. Mjamba, B.A., Ginsberg Location on the 5/6/59.
4) Principal's Address: Forbes Grant Prize-Giving Day, 1955.

TABLE I. ENROLMENT OF PUPILS : FORBES GRANT SECONDARY SCHOOL, 1939-1954.

YEAR	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
1939	19	38	57
1940	32	45	77
1941	29	51	80
1942	34	51	85
1943	39	54	93
1944	49	70	119
1945	74	117	191
1946	80	115	195
1947	85	138	223
1948	71	105	176
1949	75	108	183
1950	63	117	180
1951	64	142	206
1952	73	140	213
1953	75	127	202
1954	96	139	235

These above figures show the enrolment at the beginning of each year. They do not show the changes in the enrolment throughout one year. Enrolment figures fluctuated throughout the year. In 1953, the school opened with 201 pupils (75 boys and 127 girls) but it closed at the end of the year with 194 (71 boys and 123 girls). The increase in enrolment at the beginning of each year had been regular except in 1948 and 1953.

The following table shows the enrolment of the pupils at the end of each year:- 1)

1) Educational Statistics, Cape, 1940, p. 163.

TABLE II. AVERAGE ENROLMENT OF PUPILS : FORBES GRANT SECONDARY SCHOOL, 1939-1954.

YEAR	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
1939	24	45	69
1940	33	42	75
1941	-	-	77
1942	-	-	88
1943	-	-	94
1944	-	-	171
1945	71	118	189
1946	68	106	174
1947	-	-	-
1948	69	89	158
1949	68	98	166
1950	63	108	171
1951	52	135	187
1952	-	-	-
1953	71	123	194
1954	87	130	217

The above figures show the enrolment at the end of the last quarter of each year. Where the figures were unobtainable, a dash has been used.

14. Extra-curricula Activities 1939-1954.

(a) Girls.

The Wayfarer Movement was introduced at an early date,[1] and was associated with the name of Miss. Pinda Mpumlwana, B.A. (now Mrs. P. Siboto) who worked in collaboration with Mrs. G. Mears and the late Mrs. Phillip. The game of netball was also introduced in the school. The teams played against those of schools in the King William's Town district and as far as Wilmerton. Not only did the girls of ths school play the game well, but they also manifested a spirit of sportmanship[2] and humility. This

1) Principal's Report, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, 1941.
2) A letter to this effect was addressed to the principal, Mr. J.S. Macpherson by the Wilmerton Girls' School and was referred to in the Principal's Report for 1943.

long-standing tradition was maintained to the end of the period under review. In 1954, the Forbes Grant Secondary School netball team participated in the Inter-School Netball Tournament held at the Welsh High School, East London. The other teams came from the Welsh High School, Healdtown Missionary Institution, Mount Arthur Secondary School, Lady Frere, and the Newell High School in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth.

The girls of the Forbes Grant Secondary School also played tenniquoit which, however, never developed to the standard of netball.

(b) Boys.

The boys played only rugby and cricket. In 1943, the Forbes Grant Secondary School rugby team became the winners of the Ginsberg Cup[1] when they took part in the King William's Town Rugby Tournament. The matches were played on the Bantu Sports Field which had been laid out by the Borough Council of King William's Town.[2] The high standard of play exhibited by the team was attributable to the organisation of teams on the house system where the students competed for a trophy presented by Mr. J. Macpherson.[3]

15. Athletic Sports.

At first athletic sports were not taken to very seriously inasmuch as the neighbouring Missionary Institutions had only started to hold the Inter-Collegiate Athletic Sports competitions in 1930.[4] Only in 1954

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1) Principal's Report, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, 1943.
2) Ibid.
3) Inscription on the trophy.
4) M.O.M. Seboni: The South African Native College, Fort Hare, 1903-1954, (Unpublished D.Ed. Thesis of the University of South Africa, 1958) p.339.

did the Border Day Secondary Schools hold their first athletic sports meeting at the Fort Cox Agricultural School, Middledrift.[1]

16. Health Services.

For minor ailments the students of the Forbes Grant Secondary School received attention at the Ginsberg Location Clinic.[2] The principal in the report for the year ending December, 1954 stated, inter alia, that[3]

> the health of the students has been well-looked after without payment and without complaint, by the Location Clinic staff, the O.P.D. of the hospital, the Dental Clinic and Mr. R. Guzana of the Society of the Blind.

17. Financial Assistance.

Corporate bodies played an important part in the development of the school, and in 1941, 35 students benefited from bursaries awarded by corporate bodies.[4] In 1943, the Joint Council of Africans and Europeans donated money towards school prizes and instituted 15 bursaries. The Ciskeian Bunga Council awarded 13 bursaries, the British Kaffrarian Savings Bank made 10 bursaries available and the Kowie Medicines awarded 1 bursary.[5] The Child Welfare Society of King William's Town supported the school by supplying it with milk. A benefactor who

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1) Minutes of the Border Day Secondary School Sports Union, dated 15/8/54.
2) Interview with Mr. S. de Villiers Tiso, B.A., a former teacher of the Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town; Cf. Principal's Reports, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, 1941 and 1943. The hospital referred to in the quotation is the Grey Hospital, King William's Town.
3) Principal's Report, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, 1954. This information was confirmed by Mr. T. Mntwapi, an ex-student of the Forbes Grant Secondary School studying the B.A. degree at the University College of Fort Hare, 2/6/59.
4) Principal's Files, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, 1941.
5) Principal's Report, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, 1943.

chose to remain anonymous and to appear in the records as Mrs. "X" of Grahamstown, paid for the milk.

B. The Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School.

1. Geographical Situation.

The Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School is situated in the Grahamstown Municipal Location which is about one mile from the city.

2. Early History of the School.

From the early 1930's it was apparent that there was a growing need for a secondary school for Bantu pupils in the Grahamstown district.[1]

The present writer obtained information from several residents[2] to the effect that Mr. V.N. Cewu, president of the Albany-Bathurst Teachers' Association and principal of the Higher Mission School, Grahamstown, ought to be credited with having been the first person to perceive the possibility of establishing a secondary school for Bantu children in Grahamstown. He soon found a willing supporter in Mr. B.M. Foley, principal of the Weslyan Methodist School, Grahamstown.

Some informants stated that Mr. V.N. Cewu had conducted post-primary classes at the Higher Mission School, and that his experiment had elicited the support for the

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1) The need for "Government" (i.e. non-denominational) schools was also expressed in the Report of the S.G.E., 1937, p. 81. It mentioned that it was clear that the Missions could not cope with the expanding demands for Bantu secondary education especially in urban areas. The Cape Education Department was thus expressing its awareness of the necessity for founding these schools.

2) Among others were Mr. G.H. Nduna, Supervisor of Schools in the Grahamstown Circuit, Mr. B.E. Mahlasela, B.A., first principal of this secondary school, and Mr. P. Ngxiki, vice-president of the Albany-Bathurst Teachers' Association, in 1937, and assistant secretary of the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans.

secondary school movement later. Mr. B.E. Mahlasela, B.A., former principal of the Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School did not confirm this view. It appears that these classes were confused with those which Mr. Mahlasela himself conducted when he used a classroom of the Higher Mission School under Mr. V.N. Cewu. Mr. P. Ngxiki, too, denied that secondary school classes had ever been conducted prior to the arrival of Mr. B.E. Mahlasela.

The idea of starting a secondary school for Bantu children in Grahamstown was first suggested by Mr. V.N. Cewu at a meeting of the Albany-Bathurst Teachers' Association. Mr. P. Ngxiki is said to have moved a motion which was seconded, to the effect that efforts should be made to establish a secondary school for the Bantu children of Grahamstown. Early in 1937 a public meeting of parents was summoned and a working committee was elected.[1] The members of this committee included Messrs. A.A. Moyakhe and A.T. Nkosinkulu. The need for a secondary school was also expressed later by Mr. N.V. Ewen. He said that a good number of pupils passed their sixth standard before reaching the age at which they would be at a Missionary Institution, and many parents could not afford the fees payable at the colleges.[2]

3. The Grahamstown Working Committee.

After inquiring into the necessity for a Bantu Secondary School in Grahamstown, the working committee was given a mandate by the approving parents' meeting to lay the matter before the Joint Council of Europeans and

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1) On the advice of the Education Department a stable committee was set up later in 1937. This committee acted as a Board of Trustees until the school was in operation.
2) Umteteli Wa Bantu, 20/2/37.

Africans. The committee pointed out advantages which a local secondary school would offer. It would not only lighten the burden of fees payable at the Missionary Institutions, but would also bring secondary education to the "door of the child's home".

This suggestion was received warmly by the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans, and it elected some of its European members to co-operate with the working committee. It had also been agreed that the Albany-Bathurst Teachers' Association should take a lead in the development of the proposed scheme.[1]

The working committee approached the authorities of Rhodes University College inasmuch as certain of the professors[2] and students of the Rhodes University College were interested in conducting classes for Bantu teachers as part of their own project.[3] When the suggestion of a Bantu secondary school was placed before them, the Rhodes University College authorities received it with great enthusiasm.

4. The Board of Trustees.

The Board of Trustees was a committee which had been responsible for carrying out the Department's wishes and of the Bantu Parents' Association.[4] The members of this Board of Trustees were: Rev. G.H.P. Jacques, chairman (Joint Council), Mr. L. Gang (Magistrate), Rev. A. McRobert,

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1) Interview with Mr. P. Ngxiki, St. Matthews College, St. Matthews. C.P., 19/9/59.
2) Among others were Profs. D.M. Morton, E.D. Mountain, D. Hobart-Houghton and J.V.L. Rennie; Cf. also Principal's Reports, 1938-1956, Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School, Grahamstown.
3) The classes referred to were for lectures which were given on Thursdays by the Rhodes University College students to Bantu teachers and interested persons; Cf. Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 22/5/37 and 24/4/37.
4) Grocott's Daily Mail, 8/6/37.

(Toc H), Sister Frances Mary (Training College Social Studies Circle), Prof. D. Hobart-Houghton (Rhodes University College Social Studies Society) and Prof. E.D. Mountain. The Board of Trustees soon got into touch with the Education Department with a view to having the school aided by the Government. Mr. J.C. Rae, one of the ardent supporters of the secondary school movement approached the matter from a constructive angle, by presenting the case to the Chief Inspector for Native Education, Mr. G.H. Welsh, B.A. In a letter written to the Board of Trustees, Mr. Rae stated that the Cape Department was impressed by the enthusiasm of the workers on behalf of the project and the amount of money being raised.[1] He wrote:[2]

> Not only is the Department in favour of such a school, but the school will be tentatively placed on the list for this year's allocations when the estimates are being framed.

5. The Raising of Funds.

The sum of money needed for the erection of the school building had been estimated at £600, and it was hoped that the school would be free of debt. Funds had to be raised, and the methods used in raising these funds were various. The working committee had acceeded to the suggestion that the Albany-Bathurst Teachers' Association should stage concerts in order to raise the necessary funds[3] and that the parents should organise bazaars for the same purpose. The support of the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans, and the local branch of the Toc H was enlisted and a public appeal for donations was launched

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1) loc. cit.
2) loc. cit.
3) One such concert was held at the Drill Hall on the 12/5/37; Cf. Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 24/4/37.

over the signature of Prof. E.D. Mountain on the 8th June, 1937.[1]

The working committee did not only ask for donations from the Grahamstown community, but also sent an appeal to people outside Grahamstown. The appeal was published in the Imvo ZabaNtsundu and the South African Outlook.[2] The attention of the Bantu community in Grahamstown was drawn to the movement to provide facilities for secondary education for their children. Another appeal for funds signed by the Judge President (Sir Thomas Graham), the Bishop of Cape Town, Dr. Ella Britten, The Master of Rhodes University College, and the Headmasters and Headmistresses[3] of the European schools stated, inter alia:

> Grahamstown is well-known as an educational centre, but such fame as it has is limited to European Education. It is now desired to assist Native Education, not only in Grahamstown but also elsewhere, by establishing here a new school to cater for Native Secondary Education.

It was expected that the Grahamstown Municipality would assist by donating a suitable site for the proposed institution and that the Provincial authorities would contribute two-thirds of the annual expenses.[4] The remaining one-third would be provided by fees paid by the

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1) Principal's Reports, Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School, Grahamstown, 1954-1955.
2) The South African Outlook, 1/7/37, p. 124; Cf. Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 15/5/37.
3) This refers to the European schools in Grahamstown, e.g. The Grahamstown Girls Training School, St. Andrew's College, Graeme College etc.
4) This was in accordance with the Consolidated Education Ordinance No. 5 of 1921, Province of the Cape of Good Hope. As a rule the Cape Education Department aid was limited to payment of two-thirds of the cost of approved furniture and equipment and two-thirds the salary of approved teachers; Cf. Report of the S.G.E., 31/12/36, p. 43; but after 1938 the Cape Administration paid the full salary of approved teachers, and the full cost of approved furniture and equipment.

students.

6. Willing Helpers.

Immediately after the appeal had been launched, the Albany-Bathurst Teachers' Choir organised the proposed concerts to assist the raising of funds towards the construction of the envisaged secondary school building. It was frequently stated that it was because of Mr. V.M. Cewu's influence that this choir under the baton of Mr. (now the late Rev.) J.K. Zondi[1] who was principal of the Higher Mission School in succession to Mr. Cewu, staged concerts in the Grahamstown City Hall, the Grahamstown Bantu Location, at Lovedale and at Healdtown. The Graeme College and the St. Andrew's College invited the choir to sing in their halls.[2] The proceeds were donated to the funds of the proposed Bantu secondary school.

The choir was assisted on many occasions by the Wesley Quartette of the South African Native College, Fort Hare, under Mr. G.S. Bikitsha.[3] At one time at Grahamstown, it was also assisted in the singing items by Miss. Alice Lyle, M.Sc., Head of the Department of Zoology at Rhodes University College, Grahamstown[4] and former lecturer in Biology at the South African Native College, Fort Hare.[5]

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1) Before his death early in 1960, the late Rev. J.K. Zondi was Boarding Master at the Healdtown Institution, Healdtown.
2) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 24/4/37.
3) Interview with Mr. G.H. Nduna, Supervisor of Schools, Grahamstown Circuit, 1/8/59; Cf. M.O.M. Seboni: The South African Native College, Fort Hare, 1903-1954 (Unpublished D.Ed. Thesis, University of South Africa, 1958), p. 307; and Grocott's Daily Mail, 11/5/37.
4) Grocott's Daily Mail, 11/5/37.
5) S.A.N.C. Calendar, 1932, p. 12.

Among the many who contributed to the raising of funds for the erection of the secondary school were the following: the Rev. G.H.P. Jacques, the Mayor of Grahamstown, Miss. C.R. Garnett, Miss. May McDonald, Dr. Stanley Shuttleworth, members of the Rhodes Social Studies Society, the Training College Social Studies Group, the Toc H, Mr. F.H. Holland, Mr. and Mrs. A.W. Back, Major and Mrs. A.G. Mullins, Messrs William Gowie, W. Ross Gowie, G.A. Gowie, C.M. Gowie, Professor and Mrs. Haworth, Messrs. E.M. King, Smit, Wheeldon, and Rushmere, Mr. G. Clark Brown, Mr. and Mrs. D. Kidd, and Mr. R.B. Hellings.

It is interesting to note that the churches among the Bantu did not specifically assist in this scheme, although members of the congregations contributed if only as individuals representing no particular church. For instance in one of the concerts arranged by the Albany-Bathurst Teachers' Choir a number of ministers of religion were present.[1] The Weslyan Methodist Church, however, assisted by allowing the new secondary school classes to be conducted in the Higher Mission School building which was under its jurisdiction.

7. Appointment of Principal.

An application for a grant-in-aid was made to the Cape Education Department. It was through the action of Mr. J.C. Rae, M.P.C. that the matter was presented to the Chief Inspector of Native Education. The Chief Inspector requested the Education Department to grant the school. The Department agreed to this request and took over its

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1) The ministers present were the Rev. Mr. Tshume, Rev. Mr. Jorha, Rev. Mr. Yaya, Rev. Mr. Matshaka, and the Rev. Mr. Tsewu; Cf. Umteteli Wa Bantu, 20/2/37.

administration in January, 1938.[1]

Soon afterwards the question of principalship of the new secondary school came up for discussion. It was first necessary to decide whether the principal would be a European or a Bantu. The matter was discussed at a meeting of the Bantu parents of Grahamstown, over which Mr. V.N. Cewu presided, and after much protracted debate it was agreed that a Bantu person be nominated for the position. Those who were opposed to the arrangement expressed the fear that if the principal were a Bantu person, then the Cape Education Department and its inspectors would not show much interest in the school, and that as a consequence, it would be doomed to failure.[2] The decision, however, met with the approval of the Circuit Inspector, the professors of Rhodes University College and the sponsors of the secondary school movement who had worked very hard for the establishment of the institution.

Now that the principle of appointing a Bantu person as principal had been settled, the actual nomination of the principal was left to the school committee which was

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1) Report of the S.G.E., 1937, p. 105.
2) This was also the case at Aliwal North, Queenstown, and East London when the appointment of principals for the Bantu Secondary Schools there was under discussion. On the contrary, the Federation of South African Native Teachers which met in Bloemfontein in December, 1936 had resolved: "The Federation deplores the growing tendency to prefer European to Native principals in Native practising, training and secondary schools and to stress unduly the vernacular as a medium of instruction in the Native Teachers' Training centres." Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 23/1/37; Cf. Report of the S.G.E., 1938, p. 112. Further, Bantu parents at Ladysmith in a meeting, unanimously opposed the Natal Education Department when it appointed a European to the principalship of a school which was due to be opened in February, 1937, on the Helpmekaar Road; Cf. Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 23/1/37.

to be formed in accordance with the Consolidated Education Ordinance No. 5 of 1921 of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope.

This school committee was to work hand in hand with the Committee of Trustees appointed earlier. Two of the members of the school committee served in that capacity for the whole of the period under review. These were Mr. A.A. Moyakhe and Prof. E.D. Mountain.[1]

There is sufficient evidence to prove that one of the Bantu members of the committee proposed the name of Mr. B.E. Mahlasela, B.A., who had had teaching experience in primary, secondary and teacher-training institutions in the Cape and who had been the first Bantu graduate to act for six months as principal of a Training Institution in the Cape Province. Mr. Mahlasela's appointment made him the first Bantu graduate to become permanent principal of the first Bantu Day Secondary School in the Cape.[2] At the end of the period under review, the school had made satisfactory progress under its pioneer principal.

8. The Aided School.

In January, 1938, secondary classes were held in a classroom of the Higher Mission School.[3] Although accommodation was limited, the classes were conducted there up till March, 1938. There was no equipment whatsoever. Mr. P. Ngxiki who was at the time principal of

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1) Principal's Reports, 1954 and 1955, Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School, Grahamstown.
2) Cf. Correspondence with Dr. O.D. Wollheim, Prince George Drive, Retreat, C.P., dated 7/7/59; Cf. The Daily Dispatch, East London, 30/5/1958.
3) Interview with Mr. B.E. Mahlasela, B.A., Grahamstown, 1/8/59. This information was also corroborated by Mr. P.E.B. Ngxiki, St. Matthews College, St. Matthews. C.P. 12/9/59.

the St. Philip's Primary School, Grahamstown, gave the principal of the secondary school some registers and and lent him blackboards and desks. Even after it had been taken over by the Cape Education Department, the school experienced difficulty as far as equipment was concerned because the Cape Education Department took long to attend to correspondence on the matter and by the time it paid attention to the requirements of the school the roll had risen by leaps and bounds.

In March, 1938, the secondary school classes moved into a building which had been used by the municipality after it had ceased to serve as a public school. In the meantime, the new secondary school building consisting of two classrooms, was under construction. The money collected towards the building of the new rooms was the result of a joint effort on the part of the Bantu and Europeans in Grahamstown.[1] They received no financial assistance in connection with the building either from the municipality of Grahamstown or from the Cape Education Department at Cape Town .

The building was completed and occupied in September, 1938.[2] By 1941 another classroom had been added.

9. Growth of Staff.

Although at the beginning there were few on the staff, by the end of the period under review there were as many as seven teachers on the staff. The following table shows the growth of the staff.[3]

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1) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 15/5/37; Cf. Grocott's Daily Mail, 8/6/37.
2) Interview with Mr. B.E. Mahlasela, B.A., first principal of the Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School, Grahamstown, 1/8/59.
3) Educational Statistics, Cape.

TABLE III. TEACHING STAFF, GRAHAMSTOWN BANTU SECONDARY SCHOOL, 1938-1954.

YEAR	MALE TEACHERS	FEMALE TEACHERS	TOTAL
1938	1	0	1
1939	2	0	2
1940	3	0	3
1941	-	-	4
1942	-	-	4
1943	-	-	5
1944	-	-	6
1945	-	-	5
1946	5	1	6
1947	-	-	-
1948	6	1	7
1949	6	1	7
1950	6	1	7
1951	6	1	7
1952	-	-	-
1953	6	1	7
1954	6	1	7

Where figures were unobtainable, a dash has been used. The constancy in the number of teachers from 1948 onwards was due to the meagre rise in the enrolment during the corresponding years.

10. Growth of Enrolment.

The number of pupils on the roll at this school increased gradually as shown in the following table:[1]

TABLE IV. ENROLMENT AT THE GRAHAMSTOWN BANTU SECONDARY SCHOOL, 1938-1954.

YEAR	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
1938	22	15	37
1939	28	33	61
1940	39	41	80
1941	-	-	83
1942	-	-	87
1943	-	-	89
1944	-	-	124
1945	64	62	126
1946	53	66	119
1947	-	-	-
1948	69	82	151
1949	66	98	164
1950	65	81	146
1951	67	69	136
1952	-	-	-
1953	68	66	134
1954	81	90	171

1) Ibid.

The figures for the years 1947 and 1952 were not available. Similarly, separate figures for boys and girls enrolled during the years 1941, 1942, 1943 and 1944 could not be ascertained. The drop in the enrolment from 1950 was due to the development of the Ayliff Secondary School in the neighbouring Peddie district.

11. The Role of Rhodes University College.

The part played by Rhodes University College in the founding and development of the Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School deserves special mention because apart from serving as a source of inspiration to the founders of the school, the staff of Rhodes University College helped the school in many other ways. The first donations came from the Rhodes professors and lecturers. Further, were it not for the influence exerted by some of them, the Albany-Bathurst Teachers' Choir might have experienced great difficulty in obtaining permission to use the City Hall for concerts.

Several of the Rhodes University authorities played a leading part in helping to bring appeals for donations to the notice of the general public. For instance, the appeal of 8th June, 1937, was launched over the signature of Prof. E.D. Mountain of Rhodes University College, Grahamstown; some served on the school committees, others on the Board of Trustees and others showed interest by donating school prizes.[1] The S.C.A. meetings were conducted under the guidance of the Rhodes University College students. These students conducted lectures for the

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1) Principal's Report, 1955, Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School, Grahamstown.

primary and secondary school teachers every Thursday. The contribution of members of Rhodes University College cannot be over-estimated, especially that of Prof. E.D. Mountain.

12. Enthusiastic Supporters.

The Circuit Inspectors of schools were of great help in the development of the school. They suggested extensions and improvements. Dr. S.B. Hobson, Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Cape Province, and Dr. P.J. Schnell in particular, went out of their way to see that extensions to the school building were effected. Within a space of thirteen years, eight classrooms had been added to the original three. This was a great achievement considering that the Education Department of the Cape Province did not show keen enthusiasm about extensions to buildings of Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools.

The staffs of the European schools in Grahamstown played a no less important part in lending support to developments at the school. Sister Frances Mary of the Grahamstown Training College and a Miss. Slater of the Victoria Girls' High School took a leading part in the movement; for instance, the nucleus of the school library consisted of books and gifts of money received from their schools. In 1954, the Victoria Girls' High School donated a sum of £12/10/- towards the purchase of books for the Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School library.[1)]

The Kingswood College and the Grahamstown Training College allowed the Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School free use of equipment in their laboratories for two years

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1) loc. cit.

after science classes were introduced in 1946, and for several years afterwards the Grahamstown Training College assisted the school whenever it ran short of science apparatus or chemicals.[1]

13. Extra-curricular Activities.

The authorities of the school saw early the necessity for games and athletic contests which, apart from having a socialising influence,[2]

> exert among us an important influence in moulding individuals, preparing them for social life, for co-operation, for submission, and for leadership .....

The boys played rugby against teams in the locality as well as against the Newell High School, the Cowan Secondary School of Port Elizabeth, and the Bantu Secondary School at Cradock. Some of the boys were later elected to play in the matches between combined Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools teams and those of the boarding Missionary Institutions in the Ciskei such as St. Matthews College, Lovedale Institution, Fort Cox Agricultural College, and the Healdtown Missionary Institution.

The girls played netball against teams from these schools with the exception of Fort Cox Agricultural College. They took part in the annual netball tournaments for Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools in the Eastern Cape and Border area.

Tennis was played by both boys and girls, but it never enjoyed the popularity of the other games, largely because the intending players lacked the necessary equipment. The tennis teams, however, played matches against

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1) Ibid.
2) W. McDougall: An Introduction to Social Psychology, p. 297; Cf. E.H. Erikson: Childhood and Society, pp. 182-184, and also M.T. Reaney: The Place of Play in in Education, pp. 9-10.

the Port Alfred and the Grahamstown Bantu Lawn Tennis Teams.

The Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School sports teams participated in the annual athletic contests against the neighbouring Cowan Secondary School, Newell High School, Kabah Secondary School, and the Bantu Secondary School at Cradock.

C. The Newell High School.

1. Geographical Situation.

The Newell High School is situated in the New Brighton Location, 4½ miles from Port Elizabeth.

2. Origins of the School.

Up to 1942, Port Elizabeth and her neighbouring towns were served by one secondary school for non-Europeans. This was known as the Non-European Secondary School.[1] It was situated in town. The Bantu had found this school unsatisfactory for a number of reasons. Firstly, the Coloureds had much more say in its affairs than the Bantu. Secondly, since the school was situated in town, attending it became too expensive for Bantu children residing in the New Brighton and Korsten locations. Thirdly, the school quickly became over-crowded. For these reasons the need for a secondary school for the Bantu pupils of New Brighton was felt acutely.

(a) Community Efforts at New Brighton.

As the need for secondary education for Bantu pupils in Port Elizabeth became more and more acute, a committee consisting of Bantu and Europeans was set up.[2]

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1) This school later became the Paterson High School for Coloureds.
2) Members of this committee included the Rev. Mr. Newell, Rev. Mr. Cowan, Messrs. S.M. Nongogo, Andrew Smith Cewu and H.M. Zwide.

This committee, working hand in hand with the European School Board, tried to persuade the Cape Education Department to start a secondary school for Bantu pupils in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. Their efforts, however, were not successful.

(b) The Bantu Presbyterian Church.

It was at this time that the Rev. G.B. Molefe, M.A. took up an appointment as Minister of the Bantu Presbyterian Mission Church at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. He realised immediately the dire need for a Bantu secondary school in New Brighton and he asked his church to allow him to conduct secondary classes in the church building. The request having been granted, he commenced classes early in 1942. Thus with the co-operation of the authorities of the Presbyterian Mission Church in Port Elizabeth, continuation classes for Bantu pupils were started in New Brighton.

3. The Church Private School (January 1942-April 1943).

(a) Staffing.

At the beginning there were only two teachers, the Rev. G.B. Molefe, M.A., who acted as principal, assisted by the late Mr. S.M. Nongogo, a retired teacher. The Rev. G.B. Molefe taught Latin, English, History, Arithmetic, Biology and Physiology and Hygiene, while Mr. Nongogo taught Xhosa and portions of some of the subjects. In the course of the year a Miss. Douglas, a European teacher, volunteered to give instruction in English, but she did not do this for a long time. Except for Mr. S.M. Nongogo, who received a small remuneration out of the fees paid by the students, the teachers did their work free of charge.

(b) The Curriculum.

The school offered the following subjects of examination:- Latin, English, Xhosa, History, Arithmetic, Biology and Physiology and Hygiene. The candidates sat for the University Junior Certificate examination after two years of study.

(c) Enrolment.

During the first six months of 1942 there were seven students but by the end of the year the number had risen to 12, 5 of whom were girls. All the students came from New Brighton and Korsten Locations. In 1943 the school opened with 53 pupils on the roll. Although some of the new students had passed only standard VI, some had failed and others had passed Form I elsewhere, but in order to facilitate effective organisation and instruction, all of these had been placed in Form I.

(d) School Fees.

The students paid £2 per annum as fees.[1] This is of great interest because throughout the Ciskei, Bantu Urban Day Secondary School pupils were required to pay £2 fees per annum. This amount did not cover the cost of books.

(e) Control of Students.

Strict discipline was enforced. For example, the students of the new private secondary school were not allowed to attend bioscopes or any other social activities not directly concerned with the school. Attendance in defiance of these regulations was punishable. Girls wore black gym-dresses with white shirts or blouses, or black skirts with white shirts. The boys wore grey flannel

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1)Strictly speaking, this was intended to be a mere contribution towards the funds of the school and not school fees as such. At the Jabavu Secondary School, Fort Hare and at the Kama Secondary School, Middledrift, pupils paid up to £3/10 per annum by special arrangement.

trousers, khaki or white shirts, and black blazers.

(f) School Equipment.

The school had no equipment of its own. Old blackboards and easels were borrowed from neighbouring primary schools. In place of desks, church benches were used.

(g) Extra-Mural Activities.

The children played tennis in a tennis court within the church premises. During the holidays they played matches against Port Elizabeth Bantu students attending the Healdtown Missionary Institution, Fort Beaufort. No other matches were played.

(h) Outside Assistance.

The school received very little assistance from the Bantu community. Its critics referred to it as "that Molefe thing". Some European residents of Port Elizabeth offered it assistance. Mrs. F. Holland, a city councillor, and the chairman of the Native Affairs Committee in Port Elizabeth at the time, donated money to assist some students to purchase school books and to pay fees.

4. Development Towards Government Recognition.

At the beginning of 1943 the roll had risen to 53. Consequently the Rev. G.B. Molefe, M.A., consulted with the Circuit Inspector, Mr. G.J. Louw, B.A., with a view to obtaining government aid for the school. Mr. Louw placed the matter before the European School Board which immediately took a keen interest in the project. The European School Board, on behalf of the Bantu Presbyterian Church Private School, applied to the Cape Education Department for recognition of the school. A Departmental Inspector, Mr. P. Armstrong, was sent to investigate whether the need existed for a Bantu Secondary School in

New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. In his report Mr. P. Armstrong pointed out an urgent need for the establishment of such a secondary school. In April, 1943, the Department of Education, Arts and Science made a grant to the Cape Education Department towards the establishment of a Bantu secondary school in New Brighton. At the same time it gave financial assistance to the Bantu Presbyterian Church Private School, then known as the New Brighton Secondary School. The site for the new school having been decided upon, building operations were started at New Brighton. By the end of 1944, 4 classrooms, a Woodwork and a Domestic Science classroom were ready for use.

5. Staff Position. (1943-1947).

The following table shows the growth of the teaching staff of the Newell Secondary School at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth.

TABLE V. GROWTH OF THE STAFF : NEWELL SECONDARY SCHOOL, PORT ELIZABETH, 1943-1947.

YEAR	FEMALES	MALES	UNIVERSITY GRADUATES	TOTAL NO OF TEACHERS
1943	-	3	2	3
1944	1	6	4	7
1945	-	-	-	-
1946	2	7	4	9
1947	3	9	6	12

Figures for 1945 were not obtainable and are represented by a dash. In 1943 there was no female teacher at the school.

6. Staffing 1947-1954.

The staff of the Newell High School increased gradually between the years 1947 and 1954. The growth is shown in the following table:

TABLE VI. GROWTH OF THE STAFF OF THE NEWELL HIGH SCHOOL, PORT ELIZABETH, 1947-1954.

YEAR	FEMALES	MALES	UNIVERSITY GRADUATES	TOTAL NO. OF TEACHERS
1947	3	9	6	12
1948	3	10	6	13
1949	3	11	7	14
1950	3	12	7	15
1951	4	11	7	15
1952	-	-	9	-
1953	-	-	7	-
1954	-	-	7	-

The figures for the total number of teachers and the number of female teachers for the years 1952-1954 were not available.

7. Enrolment.

Increase in the enrolment is shown in table VII. 1)

TABLE VII. ENROLMENT OF PUPILS, NEWELL HIGH SCHOOL, PORT ELIZABETH, 1943-1954.

YEAR	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
1943	-	-	51
1944	-	-	184
1945	103	134	237
1946	129	141	270
1947	-	-	-
1948	167	171	338
1949	204	211	415
1950	200	244	444
1951	213	261	474
1952	-	-	-
1953	132	164	296
1954	172	209	381

The figures stand for the end-of-the-year enrolment. Where figures were unobtainable a dash has been used. The drop in the enrolment in 1953 is accounted for by the fact that all the students doing Form I were transferred that year to the new Cowan Secondary School, also in New Brighton. This was to ease congestion at the Newell High School.

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1) Educational Statistics, Cape, 1943-1954.

8. Extra-mural Activities.

Up to 1946 extra-mural activities at the Newell Secondary School consisted, for the boys, of rugby and cricket against the New Brighton location teams, and net-ball and tenniquoit for the girls. There were no organised athletic competitions against other day secondary schools, but in New Brighton friendly contests were held against primary schools. It was only in 1947 in preparation for athletic sports competitions against the Coloured Secondary and High Schools in Port Elizabeth that the Newell High School organised practices for athletics much more seriously. There was also the feeling that the time had come for the day secondary schools to try their strength against athletic teams of the Missionary Institutions.

(a) Boys.

(i) Rugby.

From 1947 to 1949 the boys played matches against second league teams around Port Elizabeth. In 1948 and 1949 the Newell High School Rugby Team, known as the Spes Bona, won the trophy for the second league championships. The same team played two matches against Healdtown Institution, Fort Beaufort, in 1947 and 1948, and the Langa High School, Cape Town,,in 1948. In 1949, they played against the Senator Welsh High School, East London.

In 1950, the Newell High School Rugby team played in the first division of the league competitions, Port Elizabeth, for the first time, and won the much-coveted Grand Challenge Shield. In that season, they also played against the Lovedale Institution rugby team, but

lost the match. The same team played the first team of the South African Native College now known as the University College of Fort Hare.[1)]

Competing in 1952 in the first South African Bantu Schools Tournament held in Port Elizabeth, the Newell High School rugby team became joint winners with the Senator Welsh High School rugby team.

(ii) Cricket.

This was one of the most important games at the Newell High School. Although the school team played in league matches in Port Elizabeth, it did not enjoy as much success as did the rugby team.

(iii) Soccer.

This was never a popular game at Newell High School. Consequently, it did not develop to any extent.

(b) Girls.

The girls played netball, softball and tenniquoit.

(i) Netball.

Until 1952, netball teams of the Newell High School did not exhibit a high standard of play. As from 1953, matches were played during netball tournaments, against the Cowan Secondary School at New Brighton, and other Secondary Schools in the Ciskei region.

(ii) Softball.

This game was introduced in 1954 and no inter-school matches were played in that year.

(iii) Tenniquoit.

This game enjoyed a very short period of popularity before it was abandoned in 1954.

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1) College Records, S.A.N.C., Fort Hare, 1950.

(c) Athletics for Boys and Girls.

Up to the end of 1946 the athletic teams of Newell High School competed against primary schools in New Brighton. By 1947, however, the standard of performance had improved and the Newell High School Athletic team came top against three Coloured Secondary and High Schools at the Westbourne Oval, Port Elizabeth.

The house system in athletic sports was introduced in 1948. The students were divided over a few years into three houses, namely, the Holland, Boast and Hugh Parker houses.

In 1953 and 1954, at the instigation of the Newell High School, the Cowan Community Secondary School at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, and the Kabah Secondary School at Uitenhage held their inter-school athletic sports contest for the first time.

(d) Tennis.

This game was played only by a few students. In 1949 a representative team was selected to play against the Healdtown Missionary Institution tennis team.[1]

D. The Senator Welsh High School for Natives.[2]

1. Geographical Position.

The Welsh High School is situated in the municipal area of East London in the old Duncan Village, a location for the Bantu situated two miles from the East London city.

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1) The results of this match could not be traced.
2) The term 'Native' is used technically, but it has since fallen into disuse. In writing of this school, therefore, the phrase 'for Natives' will be omitted.

2. Early Secondary Education.

Efforts to start a secondary school for Bantu pupils of East London and district began as early as 1921.[1] Up to 1937, these efforts were spasmodic, and because of lack of support from the public, the school closed down.

Among others, the late Rev. Dr. W.B. Rubusana, the Rev. C.M. Lubisi, Messrs. B. Ngcukana, E.W. Payi, W.G. Khaka, D.S. Mtyongwe and William Siyo were associated with these efforts. Meetings to discuss the establishment of a secondary school preceded the enthusiasm which culminated in the raising of funds in order to send a deputation headed by the Rev. C.M. Lubisi to Cape Town.[2] Unfortunately it failed to persuade the Superintendent-General of Education to support their efforts by way of granting the proposed secondary school.

3. The Rubusana Experiment.

The part played by the Rev. W.B. Rubusana can never be over-estimated. He was so enthusiastic about secondary education that he started an unofficial standard VII class at the United Higher Mission School, of which he was manager.[3] This was about 1930. He invited a number of suitably qualified teachers to support him, and to teach the embryo secondary school class. Among these were Messrs. J.M. Dippa, Felix Mahlangeni, W.M. Rubusana and Cameron Nyaluza. The scheme was severely thwarted by the

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1) Correspondence with Mr. R.H. Godlo, 3, Fingwana Street, Kabah Location, Uitenhage, C.P. dated 7/8/59. He was a former member of the Natives Representative Council and one of the first committee members of the Welsh High School, East London.

2) loc. cit.

3) In answer to questions put to him by the Select Committee on Native Education in 1908, the Rev. W.B. Rubusana stated that he was manager of a number of schools in the East London district; Cf. Report of the Select Committee on Native Education, August, 1908, pp. 209-211.

Cape Education Department's refusal to "grant" the school official recognition.[1] Consequently, the classes were abandoned.

4. The Ebenezer Majombozi Private Classes.

Although it was very doubtful whether the Cape Education Department would later establish a Bantu Secondary School in East London, the Bantu continued to express their dire need for such a school. In 1934, Mr. Ebenezer Majombozi, B.A., who afterwards became one of the first teachers of the Welsh High School, conducted private secondary classes with a view to drawing the attention of the European School Board to a need which was real and genuine. His classes did not suffer the fate of the previous efforts. Informants everywhere expressed the belief that these classes gave rise to the present Welsh High School.

5. The East London School Board.

The first European to realise the need for a Bantu secondary school in East London was Senator the Honourable W.T. Welsh by whose initiative a committee of Bantu parents was formed to investigate the need for secondary education by East London's Bantu population. Senator the Honourable William Thompson Welsh had always been interested in affairs concerning the Bantu people. After being Assistant Magistrate in King William's Town from 1902 to 1907, he became Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories

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1) This is not surprising since it was the policy of the Cape Education Department to discourage the establishment of urban undenominational schools; Cf. Report of the S.G.E., 1936, p. 29. In his The South African Native College, Fort Hare, 1903-1954, p. 331, Dr. M.O.M. Seboni stated that this policy was not implemented by the Cape Education Department alone but that the Natal Education Department had also adopted it.

and President of the Native Appeal and Divorce Courts. In August 1933 he was elected to the Provincial Council. In 1919 and 1920 he served as a member of the Low Grade Mines Commission which, by a majority, recommended the abolition of the colour bar operating in the Gold Mines. He was also chairman of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-1936 which made very important recommendations concerning Bantu education. He instituted scholarships for higher education on a large scale and established two additional agricultural schools at Teko and Flagstaff, all important landmarks in the education of the Bantu. He erected and furnished, with funds obtainable from the Deferred Pay Board, a home for Bantu nurses in Umtata. He was connected with a number of educational institutions for the Bantu. For instance, he was a member of the Fort Hare Governing Council, and Deputy Chairman of Lovedale and Blythswood Governing Councils.[1] He was also in favour of the development of the Bantu people as shown also by his actions after his appointment as a member on the Committee of the Governor-General's National War Fund in September, 1940, when he pressed "for extension of its benefits to African Members of the Native Military Police".[2] He concerned himself much with the living conditions of the Bantu in East London locations.[3] The Bantu people themselves loved him

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1) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 11/9/37; Cf. Correspondence with Dr. O.D. Wollheim, first principal of the Welsh High School, Prince George Drive, Retreat, C.P dated 6/9/59.
2) The South African Outlook, 1941, p. 42.
3) D.G. Bettison: A Socio-economic Study of East London, Cape Province, with Special Reference to the Non-European Peoples. (Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, 1947), p. 92.

so much that they called him "Zam'uxolo" i.e. Peace-maker.[1]

Part of the investigation into the need for secondary education for the Bantu people of East London was carried out by the European School Board through the good offices of the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans and interested individuals. Having satisfied itself that the need for a secondary school for Bantu children in East London existed, the East London School Board unanimously decided, at its meeting held on the 27th August, 1937, to take over the Bantu Secondary School it proposed to establish in East London. The motion had been proposed by the Senator the Hon. W.T. Welsh who stressed that the establishment of such a school could be of great benefit to the Bantu and also to the East London population as a whole. The Imvo ZabaNtsundu stated that the motion was a result of a petition from the Bantu parents of East London.[2]

The article in the above-mentioned paper read as follows:-

> A petition signed by 230 Native parents had been sent to the Board by the chairman of the Native Secondary School Investigation Sub-Committee.
>
> This investigation discloses that, of the total Native population, conservatively estimated at 20,000, 10,000 are children who could attend school. Of these 10,000 children, only 2,100 receive any education at all. This education is of a primary nature and is made available by Church schools. This would show that 79 per cent. of the children in the East London district have no education facilities whatsoever. The 21 per cent. receiving primary education from the Church schools are unable to continue their education owing to the lack of a secondary school in the district, as a large number of parents cannot, for financial reasons, send their children to the

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1) This quality was shown when he bridged a cleavage between the Bantu and the Europeans of East London; Cf. D.G. Bettison: op.cit.

2) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 4/9/37.

> secondary schools established elsewhere ..... The petitioners respectfully submitted that the urgent need for secondary education may be ascertained from the fact that private persons, realising this urgent need have established a secondary school in the East Bank Location, East London, and have commenced with 28 regular pupils.

The approving School Board assumed responsibility for the school which was to have "a vitalising influence upon the whole life and outlook of the locations."[1] A school committee was duly elected in terms of the Ordinance,[2] the Secretary of the School Board acting as Returning Officer at the elections.

6. The Petition Committee.

The Petition to the East London School Board which suggested that the proposed school should come under the School Board's wing, was drafted by a committee of four, namely, the Rev. G.G. Ndzotyana (now of Cape Town), Messrs. R.H. Godlo, D.S. Mtyongwe, and B.S.N. Whitnall. Mr. Whitnall happened to be, at the time, secretary of the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans. Three years later he was elected chairman of the Joint Council for three years (in succession to Senator Welsh). He maintained close contact with, and in a way influenced the members of the School Board, City Council, Provincial Council, Parliament, and Senators representing the Bantu, especially Senators C.H. Malcomess[3] and W.T. Welsh. His efforts to get the school established were further enhanced by the fact that by virtue of his position as a member of

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1) The South African Outlook, 1/10/41, p. 221.
2) This refers to the Consolidated Education Ordinance No. 5 of 1921, Province of the Cape of Good Hope.
3) Senator C.H. Malcomess played a leading part in the establishment of a number of Bantu Secondary Schools especially in Urban areas, e.g. The Bantu Secondary School, Queenstown, The Malcomess Secondary School, Kokstad, and the Malcomess Secondary School, Aliwal North. He was well-known for his conviction that "a happy and contented African people is a blessing and an asset to a town".

the above-mentioned councils, he had greater access to the Education Department in Cape Town, and the Department of Education, Arts and Science in Pretoria.

Application for recognition was duly made to the Cape Education Department by the School Board on behalf of the Petition Committee. In its favourable reply, the Cape Education Department also expressed its willingness to pay the full salary of a Bantu teacher plus cost of equipment, provided accomodation for a secondary school at the East Bank Location could be guaranteed. The Secretary of the School Board forwarded the information to the Joint Council for Europeans and Africans which put the matter before the East London City Council. The letter to the City Council stated that[1]

> the council (Joint) was strongly of the opinion that the very favourable terms offered by the Education Department should not be allowed to lapse, and that an appeal was, therefore, made to the City Council to grant the use of part of the location hall for secondary school purposes The number of pupils expected to enrol was 27. There was also submitted a letter from the secretary of the School Board asking whether the Council would be prepared to lease a portion of the location hall to accommodate a secondary school, which it was proposed should be established as from January next.

The City Council accepted the recommendation that the communications be referred to a joint meeting of the East and West Bank Locations Advisory Boards for consideration, and that they be informed that the Council was favourably disposed towards the proposal for a trial period of one year.

7. Government Recognition.

With the Cape Education Department having intimated its willingness to "grant" a secondary school for Bantu

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1) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 18/12/37.

pupils in East London, the onus was on the East London people to see that the conditions laid down by the Cape Education Department were complied with. It was Senator W.T. Welsh who exercised and directed his energies towards the growth of the already existing private secondary school. The growth of the school consisted in the creation of its building and the appointment of additional teachers. It has been said that he "jealously guarded the interests of the school". Eventually the Cape Education Department, having satisfied itself that suitable accommodation had been provided, "granted" the school in 1938. It was then known as the East London Secondary School.[1] Soon building operations started where the school stands to-day.

8. Appointment of the Principal.

Applications were invited for the position of principal and a number of Bantu and Europeans applied.[2] Dr. O.D. Wollheim was appointed by the School Board before the school committee came into existence.[3] He had always been interested in the promotion of the underdeveloped peoples and the Bantu. His interest was such that he acquired a knowledge of Xhosa.[4] Before his appointment he had founded and taught at the Osborne Native Secondary School near Mount Frere in the Transkei. At the time of his appointment to the position of principal at the new secondary school in East London he was in possession of a Higher Primary Teachers' Certificate and a B.A. degree, both of the University of Cape

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1) Educational Statistics, Cape, 1938, p. 171.
2) Correspondence with Mr. R.H. Godlo, 3, Fingwana Street, Kabah Location, Uitenhage, dated 7/8/59.
3) loc.cit.
4) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 23/10/48.

Town. He had had seven years' primary school teaching experience and eight years' experience as an assistant in a High school and Training college. He was, in addition, a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Cape Town, for which he had already submitted a thesis of an educational nature.[1] Dr, O.D. Wollheim's appointment proved to be an asset to the East London Bantu community because in his various capacities he was concerned with many constructive projects, among which were the Duncan Village Feeding Scheme, the Gompo Institute, the use of Bantu skilled labour at the Consolidated Textile Mills, Wage Board determinations, the Legal Aid Bureau at East London, sub-economic housing in many Border towns and many bursary schemes.[2]

9. The School Committee.

Since the school had come under the Cape Education Department's administration, it had to have a school committee.[3] Early in 1939 this committee was duly elected and consisted of the late Mr. A.H. King (of Messrs Baker, King, and Co.) as chairman, Mr. R.H. Godlo (vice-chairman), Dr. O.D. Wollheim (Principal), D.S. Mtyongwe, W.M. Rubusana (son of the famous W.B. Rubusana), G.W. Jamela and W.S.M. Bashe.[4] It operated for three years in terms of the already quoted ordinance and its members were re-elected with minor changes up till the end of the period under review.

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1) Correspondence with Dr. O.D. Wollheim, Prince George Drive, Retreat, C.P. dated 1/9/59.
2) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 23/10/48.
3) This was in accordance with the Ordinance of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1911-1951. Vol.1. 1911-1921 (No.8) paragraph 75 (b) p. 538.
4) Correspondence with Mr. R.H. Godlo, 3, Fingwana Street, Kabah Location, Uitenhage, dated 7/8/59; Cf. also correspondence with Dr. O.D. Wollheim, Prince George Drive, Retreat, C.P., dated 7/7/59.

10. The "Aided" Secondary School.

While building operations were in progress, the committee of parents, through the School Board, induced the City Council to allow classes to be conducted temporarily in two basement rooms of the Peacock Hall in Duncan Village.[1] Classes were conducted under the temporary principalship of a Mr. de Villiers who was appointed for six months to act until a permanent principal could be found. When the two basement rooms proved too small, the Municipality allowed the school to move upstairs into the main hall where two Form I classes were taught facing opposite ends of the hall, with the Form II classrooms downstairs in the basement. The principal's office was a cloakroom behind the stage.[2] At the beginning of 1939, classes were started at the new building which was at the time only partially completed.

11. Enrolment at the Welsh High School.

When secondary classes were held for the first time in the Peacock Hall, 25 pupils were enrolled.[3] In 1939 when the classes were moved to the new building, the enrolment had risen to 27 pupils. Before the end of the year it reached the figure of 56. The increase in enrolment was so rapid that in 1940 there were more than 100 students and by July 1941 there were 185 students on the roll.[4]

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1) Correspondence with Dr. O.D. Wollheim, Prince George Drive, Retreat, C.P., dated 7/7/59; Cf. D.G. Bettison: op.cit., p. 49. and also Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 18/12/37.
2) Correspondence with Dr. O.D. Wollheim, Prince George Drive, Retreat, C.P., dated 7/7/59.
3) The South African Outlook, 1/9/41, p. 191; Cf. Correspondence with Dr. O.D. Wollheim, Prince George Drive, Retreat, C.P., dated 7/7/59 and also Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 26/4/41.
4) The South African Outlook, 1/9/41, p. 191.

The average yearly enrolment is shown in the following table:[1]

TABLE VIII. ENROLMENT OF PUPILS, WELSH HIGH SCHOOL, 1938 TO 1954.

YEAR	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
1938	15	29	44
1939	34	44	78
1940	64	74	138
1941	-	-	169
1942	-	-	243
1943	-	-	250
1944	-	-	277
1945	172	167	339
1946	174	133	307
1947	-	-	-
1948	158	130	288
1949	179	145	324
1950	183	156	339
1951	176	119	295
1952	-	-	-
1953	168	151	319
1954	153	135	288

No separate figures for boys and girls for 1941-1944 were available. Similarly figures for 1947 and 1942 were unavailable. The figures illustrate the average enrolment at the end of the 4th quarter.

12. The Staff of Welsh High School.

When the school started in July 1938, there were only two teachers, namely, Dr. O.D. Wollheim (Principal) and an assistant. The annual increase in enrolment was accompanied by a corresponding increase in the number of members of staff with the result that by July 1941 there were seven teachers in all.[2]

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1) Educational Statistics, Cape.
2) loc.cit.

The following table illustrates the growth of the staff:-[1]

TABLE IX. STAFF OF THE WELSH HIGH SCHOOL, 1938-1954.

YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
1938	2	0	2
1939	2	1	3
1940	3	2	5
1941	-	-	8
1942	-	-	9
1943	-	-	11
1944	-	-	11
1945	9	3	12
1946	10	3	13
1947	-	-	-
1948	10	4	14
1949	11	3	14
1950	11	3	14
1951	11	3	14
1952	-	-	-
1953	10	4	14
1954	12	2	14

Where figures were not available a dash has been used.

13. High School Status.

Before the school was established, only the need for providing the Junior Certificate Course had existed, but soon afterwards the need for a school offering the Matriculation Course was increasingly felt. The pupils who passed the Junior Certificate Examination then found it extremely difficult to gain admission into schools offering the Senior Certificate Course, and the possiblity of having more pupils subjected to the same frustration made matters worse. This became most acute when, in 1940, the number of those on the roll of the school soared to over 100. At this time the school had been re-named the Welsh Secondary School.[2]

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1) Educational Statistics, Cape.
2) Educational Statistics, Cape, 1940, p. 171.

Consequently, the School Committee urged the East London School Board to recommend the institution of a standard nine class. After investigating the matter, the School Board consented and duly put in an application supported by the Inspector of Schools, to the Cape Education Department. This request was, however, turned down by the Education Department,[1] but after "further pressure had been brought to bear upon them from various quaters including the demands of the parents," the Cape Education Department sanctioned the inauguration of the required class.[2] Soon afterwards a memorial tablet of the Welsh High School was laid by the Senator the Honourable William Thompson Welsh in the presence of a large crowd of Bantu parents and pupils of the school. In laying the tablet Senator the Hon. W.T. Welsh said[3]

> we shall not be satisfied until provision is made for every child to secure at least primary education.

He also thanked the School Board which had made efforts to get the secondary school granted a high school status and urged the parents to co-operate with the principal and his staff.[4]

14. Official Opening of the High School Building.

The opening of the school, which marked another step in the development of Bantu secondary education in East London, was fittingly performed by the Senator the Hon. C.H. Malcomess on the 26th July, 1941.[5] The school was

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1) Correspondence with Dr. O.D. Wollheim, Prince George Drive, Retreat, C.P., dated 1/9/59.
2) Correspondence with Dr. O.D. Wollheim, Prince George Drive, Retreat, C.P., dated 1/9/59.
3) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 26/4/41.
4) loc.cit.
5) The South African Outlook, 1/9/41, p. 191; Cf. Educational Statistics, Cape, 1941, p. 360.

named after Senator the Hon. W.T. Welsh, in recognition of his services towards the Bantu people. The occasion was fully reported in the Imvo ZabaNtsundu as follows:- [1]

> An opening ceremony of the Welsh High School at East London was held the other Saturday, July 26 and an impressive address was delivered by Mr. D.L. Smit, Secretary for Native Affairs.
>
> Mr. Smit, after expressing pleasure to be at East London to take part in the opening of the school, said:
>
> 'I am privileged to be the representative who conveys to you from the Government the sincere and cordial congratulations on the completion of this building.
>
> Some of the older residents will remember that I spent two long periods of my official career at East London, and I may therefore claim to be one of you. In those days the schools here did not provide for secondary training, and it is very gratifying to me to come back and witness the opening of this modern school building, which has been built with money from funds controlled by the Department of Native Affairs. We all hope this school will mark the birth of real progress among the Native people of East London and that the seed that is being sown will grow into a big tree that will branch out into many departments of education. The State has not been able to meet all the needs of Native Education, but what has been done by the Government here to-day is an example to the Native people that opportunities for higher education are being provided, and earnest of bigger things to come.

Mr. D.L. Smit went further and addressed the children about the aims of education, saying [2]

> To the young men and women here to-day, I say that the object of the education you will receive here is to teach you self-respect, to fit you for occupations that will enable you to earn a decent living and to make you good citizens. By becoming good citizens I mean that you remember that you are members of a community, and that the greatest service you can render to God is to serve your fellow men. It is not the people who wear clothes and think more highly of themselves than they ought to think who count in this world. The

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1) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 9/8/41.
2) loc.cit.

> The best people are those who do not mind about high things but give a helpng hand to their less fortunate fellows without expecting reward. Among many Africans who have achieved eminence in work for their own people I need only mention a few of those no longer with us Tiyo Soga, Tengo Jabavu and John Knox Bokwe - names which, like many others are honoured and revered by white and black alike. Remember that you are favoured beyond the vast majority of your compatriots in having an opportunity and fit yourselves in every possible way for your future vocations in life and to work not only for your own benefit but for the benefit of your people and country.

In wishing the staff all success in their work he proceeded as follows:- 1)

> I offer my best wishes to your Principal and his teaching staff. The Greeks had a proverb: 'Those whom the Gods hate they make schoolmasters,' and I have no doubt that with all the difficulties of their work your teachers must often think this saying indeed the truth. But theirs is a great profession because it deals with the things of the mind and the character. To them is given the responsibility of moulding the soul of the Native youth, and it is their work to make good citizens of them in the fullest sense of the word.

He then commented on the choice of the name of the school saying 2)

> I congratulate you for having named the school after my old friend, Senator Welsh, whom I have known since my early childhood. We owe a great deal in education to Scotsmen, and Senator Welsh is a Scotsman with a big heart who has spent a whole lifetime in the service of the Native people. We owe a debt of gratitude to him and Senator Malcomess for the great interest they have always taken in the progress of Native Education in these territories and for their unceasing efforts towards improving the lot of the Native throughout the Union.

Senator Malcomess in his address, stressed among other things, the need for mutual understanding and peace between white and black. He stated that the only way to achieve this was to realise the necessity for providing

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1) loc.cit.
2) loc.cit.

education for the Bantu children, so that leaders trusted by all could emerge to devote their time and energy to the promotion of their own people.[1] In addition

> he outlined the work of the representative of Natives in the Government in stimulating the establishment of many other secondary schools for Africans, and acknowledged their indebtedness to Mr. Smit for his ready help and sympathy.

In passing a vote of thanks Chief Sitimela thanked those who had taken part in the proceedings and the guests for their interest. Afterwards Mr. D.L. Smit announced that he would provide £300 for the laying out of the school grounds, an announcement which was received with great gratitude and pleasure by the principal and staff. The ceremony was well attended by a representative gathering. Among the distinguished visitors was the principal of the South African Native College (now known as the University College of Fort Hare), Dr. A. Kerr, M.A., LL.D., D.D.

15. Extra-curricular Activities.

The value of extra-curricular activities in a secondary school can never be over-estimated; they help not only to satisfy the social characteristics which are so well-developed at the adolescent stage, but also to afford leisure time occupations.[2] They also afford an opportunity for the teacher to understand the children better because it is in play that they show their true nature,[3]

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1) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 9/8/41.
2) L. Cole: Psychology of Adolescence, pp. 264-265; Cf. E.S. Borgadus: Sociology, p. 180; J. Dewey: Democracy and Education, p. 307; A.F. Meyers and C.O. Williams: Education in Democracy, pp. 264-266 and A.H.T. Glover: New Teaching for a New Age, p. 19.
3) P. Nunn: Education, Its Data and First Principles, p. 80; Cf. C.W.Waddle: An Introduction to Child Psychology, p. 136; and also H.H.Horne: The Psychological Principles of Education, p.48.

and finally extra-curricular activities work towards the principle of mens sana in corpore sano.[1]

The autorities at the Welsh High School must have had these values clear in their minds because two hours (from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m.) a day were reserved for extra-mural activities.[2]

The boys played rubgy (they refused to play soccer) and the girls netball.[3] In summer the boys played cricket. The first inter-racial cricket match in East London was played between the Welsh High School and the boys of Selborne High School, East London, in 1944.[4] In addition to these games athletic sports for boys and girls were arranged. The school was divided into three houses which competed annually for the award of three floating trophies,[5] namely, the sporting shield, the academic shield and the cultural shield, in order to encourage competition. The award of the sporting shield was based upon the results of matches between the varicus house teams in rugby, net-ball and athletic sports competitions.

Matches were also played against other schools such as the Newell High School, Port Elizabeth, in 1948, and the University College of Fort Hare in 1954. The school rugby teams took part in the Inter-School Rugby Tournament held in Port Elizabeth in 1952.

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1) L. Cole: op.cit., p. 264; Cf. M.O.M. Seboni: The South African Native College, Fort Hare, 1903-1954 (Unpublished D.Ed. Thesis, University of South Africa, 1958), p. 141.
2) Correspondence with Dr. O.D. Wollheim, Prince George Drive, Retreat, C.P., dated 7/7/59.
3) Correspondence with Dr. O.D. Wollheim, Prince George Drive, Retreat, C.P., dated 1/9/59.
4) Loc.cit. The Selborne High School is a European Institution.
5) Correspondence with Dr. O.D. Wollheim, Prince George Drive, Retreat, C.P., dated 7/7/59. The houses were Nkululeko, Zenzele and Nkuthalo.

In addition to sports the principal of the school tried hard to develop extra-mural activities of a cultural nature, and shields and prizes were awarded to the representatives of the houses which produced the best dramatic sketches and choral singing. The whole school gave performances annually in the City Hall in East London and from time to time it broadcast from the Grahamstown Studio. The school choir sang at the stone laying of a new township in East London under the baton of the principal, Dr. O.D. Wollheim.[1]

Boxing was introduced but soon abandoned. The teaching staff tried the experiment of developing stick-fighting into a proper sport. After a year, however, the principal ordered that it be stopped as it had been reported to him that some of the pupils complained that he was trying to redirect their development back into the forgotten past once more.[2] The improvised equipment for this sport consisted of shoulder and arm pads made from thick sheep skin as well as heavy helmets for protection; sticks had to be very light and a system of scoring similar to that of boxing was developed.

With the aim of developing avocations the Scout and Guide groups for boys and girls, respectively, were introduced. In addition, there was a debating society which met once a week. There were good reasons for all these activities.[3]

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1) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 13/9/41.
2) Correspondence with Dr. O.D. Wollheim, Prince George Drive, Retreat, C.P.; dated 1/9/59.
3) loc.cit.

> The whole idea was to try to turn the school more and more into a community centre which should serve as a point of attraction to the scholars, their parents and their friends in the whole area.

In short, it was an attempt at socialising the school or bringing the outer world into the school.

CHAPTER II.

ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANISATION.

1. Administration Categories.

It has aptly been stated that[1]

> responsibility for, and control of, schools for the Bantu is a very involved matter.

The administration of Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools in the Ciskei fell into three categories, namely, that of Private Schools, Subsidised Mission Schools and Government Schools. All the four selected secondary schools, namely, the Forbes Grant Secondary School, the Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School, the Newell High School and the Welsh High School, started as private schools, and, with the exception of the Newell High School,[2] all became Government schools without first becoming subsidised Mission Schools.

2. Private Schools.

Private Schools were schools started by religious bodies, tribes or communities or by individuals.[3] These schools did not come under the control of Governmental officers but if they so desired they could apply for recognition by the Education Department in order to become registered. This gave their work official recognition and entitled them to qualify for state-aid.[4]

3. Subsidised Mission Schools.

These were[5]

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1) Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951, U.G.No. 53/1951, p.44.
2) The School was established by the Presbyterian Church of South Africa under the Rev. G.B. Molefe, M.A.
3) Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951, U.G.No. 53/1951, p.44.
4) Ibid., p. 64.
5) loc.cit.; Cf. E.G. Malherbe: Education in South Africa 1652-1922, p. 88; E.G. Pells: 300 Years of Education in South Africa, pp. 130-137; and also J. Chris. Coetzee: Onderwys in Suid-Afrika, 1652-1956, p. 427.

schools founded by Church organisations or mission societies and housed in buildings which are owned by the respective societies and in respect of which the State either pays or does not pay any subsidy towards rental. These schools operate according to the syllabus prescribed by the education department concerned.

4. Government Schools.

These were schools either started by the government or bought by the government from church societies or owners.[1] In the case of the four selected secondary schools, the buildings had been erected by the government through the Cape Education Department, except in the case of the Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School where the buildings were erected by the community from donations received from various quarters.

5) Control of the Schools.

(a) Provincial Control.

In the Ciskei all the Bantu urban day secondary schools were under the Cape Provincial Council,[2] which also controlled European education.[3] There was a "Department of Public Education" at the head of which was a Superintendent-General of Education.[4] He was assisted by the Chief Inspector of Native Education.[5] In addition,

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1) Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951, U.G. No. 53/1951, p. 44.
2) Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education, 1936-1937, U.G. No. 29/1936, p. 36.
3) P.G. Le Clus: Kaaplandse Sekondêre Onderwys in die Twintigste Eeu, p. 16; Cf. Consolidated Education Ordinance No. 5 of 1921, (Province of the Cape of Good Hope) Part 1; and also Ordinance of the Cape of Good Hope, 1911-1951, Vol.1, p. 500.
4) Ordinance of the Cape of Good Hope, 1911-1951, Vol.1, p. 500; Cf. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education, U.G. No. 29/1936 p.36. This office was first created in the Cape in 1839 according to C. de K. Fowler: School Administration, p.12; Cf. E.G. Malherbe: History of Education in South Africa, 1652-1922, p.72.
5) Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Native Education, 1935-1936, U.G. No. 29/1936, p.36.

there was an Advisory Board on Native Education. On this board served representatives of Missions controlling schools in the Cape Province. The Board advised the S.G.E. in matters which he referred to it, but it could, on its own initiative, bring before the Department its view on any topics affecting Bantu education.[1]

(b) Local Control.

Secondary education in the Transkei was under the control of Managers and committees or of European school boards and committees.[2]

(i) Managers.

The appointment of managers was a very simple process. In every case the recognition of any person as a manager of any school was subject to the approval of the S.G.E. In the case of a church or a missionary body a minister was nominated by the church to be head of the school.[3] Such a minister was designated by the Department as a Manager.[4]

(ii) Functions of School Managers.

The functions of school managers were:[5]

(i) To provide for and supervise the religious and moral instruction of pupils.

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1) loc.cit. Even a Governing Council of a Missionary Institution could put its view to the Education Department as was done by the Governing Council of Lovedale Institution at its meeting of November, 1940, when it successfully persuaded the S.G.E. to appoint a committee to discuss the problem that rapid expansion of Bantu Day Secondary Education had caused; Cf. South African Outlook, 1/5/41, p. 78.

2) In this case the King William's Town, Grahamstown, East London and later the Port Elizabeth School Boards.

3) Sometimes such nominees were known as Governors. They were principals of the schools, but in the case of Boarding Institutions they were in charge of the Boarding Department only, e.g. at the Healdtown Missionary Institution etc.

4) I.D.M. Mkize: The Cape African Teacher, (Unpublished M.Ed. Dissertation of the University of South Africa, 1942) p. 6.

5) Report on the Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education 1935-1936 (U.G.No.29/1936), p.37; Cf.

(ii) The provision and maintenance of all necessary school buildings.

(iii) The nomination, for approval by the Education Department, of teachers to be appointed.

(iv) The furnishing to the Education Department of all required records and returns.

(v) The conduct of correspondence with the Education Department and teachers on all matters affecting their schools.

(vi) To effect, on behalf of the Education Department, payment of all approved teachers' salaries.

(vii) To exercise a general supervision over their schools.

Only the Newell High School had a Manager, and only while it was still a private school. The Manager, the Rev. G. B. Molefe, M.A., was also its principal. Managers had much power over their teachers, especially regarding their conduct.[1] Further, a manager could dispense with the services of a teacher, if he so desired, after consultation with the S.G.E. and give the teacher concerned three months' notice of termination of his appointment.[2]

Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951 (U.G.No.53/1951), p.45; and also I.D.M.Mkize: op.cit., p.25.

1) The following were considered acts of misconduct:- 1.Insubordination, 2.Neglect of duty, 3.Misconduct, 4.Immorality, 5.Habitual intoxication, 6.Using his position as a teacher to further private or party political aims or to encourage disobedience or resistance to the laws of the State and 7.Engaging in any work for remuneration or profit outside of his position as a teacher which, in the opinion of the S.G.E., was prejudicial to the proper performance of his duties or to his position as a teacher. (These appear in Sub-section (a) Section 353 of the Consolidated Education Ordinance No.5 of 1921.)

2) That some managers misused this right was the cause of much discontent; I.D.M.Mkize: op.cit.,p.26, stated that "cases are not wanting when the reason for giving a teacher notice to leave has been for the purpose of creating a post for some unemployed relation to the manager;" Cf. M.C.Nongauza: An Investigation into facilities for Adult Education among Africans in the urban centres and its influence upon their social life. (Unpublished B.Ed. Dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1952), p.52. Even in selecting teachers the

6. European School Boards.

The undenominational or government schools were under European School Boards[1] which also controlled European secondary schools in the Cape Province.[2] The constitution of the school boards was laid out in the Consolidated Education Ordinance No.5 of 1921 of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope.[3] Their powers were wide.[4] The Forbes Grant Secondary School, the Welsh High School and the Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School were, from the beginning, under school boards.[5] The Newell High School started as a missionary school but after its "granting", it became a Board school.

7. School Committees.

All the Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools in the Ciskei were under local school committees,[6] the duties of which differed depending on whether or not the school was under a manager or school board. In the case where the

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missionary schools invariable selected from those who owed allegiance to their particular religious denomination; Cf. Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 23/1/37.

1) Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951, U.G.No. 53/1951, p.44.

2) P.G. Le Clus: Kaaplandse Sekondêre Onderwys in die Twintigste Eeu, p.17.

3) Ordinances of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1911-1951, Vol.i, pp.503-523; Cf. C. de K.Fowler: School Administration, pp.23-26 and also P.G. Le Clus: op.cit; p.17.

4) They could, "subject to certain provisions set forth in the Ordinances," establish and maintain undenominational public schools for Non-Europeans; Cf. C.de K Fowler: op.cit, p.27.

5) Report of the S.G.E., 1940, p.17.

6) Correspondence with Principals of Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools; Cf. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-1936, U.G.No.29/1936, p.36; Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951, U.G.No. 53/1951, p.44; and also Sub-section (b) of Section 326 of the Consolidated Education Ordinance No.5 of 1921 and C. de K. Fowler: op.cit,p.37.

school was under a manager, the committee acted only in a purely advisory capacity,[1] especially "regarding all matters in connection with the appointment of teachers."[2] Besides being responsible for the maintenace of the school buildings, the school committees also helped the principal in enlisting community co-operation and received suggestions from the Principal for improvements in the school. It is, however, doubtful whether such school committees for the Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools in the Ciskei were properly constituted, for it has been reported that:-[3]

> although in some places there are school committees functioning with varying success, there is a general reluctance on the part of a great many managers to encourage the formation of properly constituted committees, or if existing, to seek their advice on matters affecting the school.

In the case of the Newell High School it was the community who were unwilling to have anything to do with the school while it was still under the Manager, the Rev. G.B. Molefe, M.A. This was because of interdenominational jealousies and rivalries.

8. The Inspectorate.

In a system where the Education Department paid the teachers and subsidised the schools, it was necessary that departmental officers should visit such schools in order to supervise and examine the work of the teachers. For this purpose the Cape Education Department appointed field workers known as Inspectors of Schools. Only Europeans

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1) Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-1936, U.G.No. 29/1936, p.37.
2) Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951, U.G.No. 53/1951, p.46.
3) I.D.M.Mkize: op.cit., p.27.

could be appointed to such posts. In the Ciskei they were[1]

> responsible, within the areas allotted to them for the professional supervision and inspection of all Government or Aided Schools.

Unlike in the other provinces of the Union of South Africa, a school inspector in the Ciskei was responsible for schools of all races in his circuit.[2]

9. Inspectors' Special Qualifications.

Since they were to be professional advisers, school inspectors were selected from teachers of considerable experience.[3] They had to be fully bilingual. In an area where the schools were largely Bantu schools, knowledge of a Bantu language was a strong recommendation. Then, as now, there was no special training for inspectors of schools.

10. Functions of Circuit Inspectors.

There were no functions defined by regulation as specifically applicable to inspectors in Bantu schools, Since an inspector was responsible for all schools of all races, it was taken for granted that in all schools his duties were the same.[4] It was

> lawful for the Superintendent or for an inspector of schools or for any person duly authorised thereto in writing by the Superintendent-General, to inspect and report on any school or educational institution aided under the provisions of this Ordinance; and the Superintendent-General or inspector or person so authorised shall have the right of entering any such school or institution

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1) Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-1936 U.G.NO. 29/1936, p.37.
2) Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951, U.G.No. 53/1951, p.79; Cf. I.D.M.Mkize: op.cit., p.20.
3) I.D.M.Mkize: loc.cit.,
4) Section 6 of the Consolidated Education Ordinance No.5 of 1921; Cf. I.D.M.Mkize: op.cit., p.21. and the Report of the Provincial Education Committee, 1946, Province of Natal, p.165.

> at any time during school hours, of examining into the state of the buildings and school premises, the organisation and methods of instruction, of ascertaining the progress of the children under instruction and enquiring generally into the efficiency of the school in regard to the district or locality in which it is placed, and of calling for such returns as he may require, in order to obtain satisfactory information on these subjects.

The Inspector of Schools was, therefore, also an administrative officer of the Cape Education Department.[1] Circuit inspectors visited schools in their areas at least once a year for the above-mentioned purposes. At times the Bantu urban day secondary schools were visited by a panel of three or four school inspectors who inspected everything from the school grounds to demonstration lessons given by teachers. They criticised, made suggestions, and advised teachers.

11. The Itinerant Headmasters.

Although these headmasters were confined to work in the primary schools, they deserve special mention. When it was realised that the work of the school inspectors had grown out of proportion as indicated by such entries in their reports as "there was no opportunity to inspect the school work", it was clear that not only had the work grown in extent, but it had also become more difficult, particularly in Bantu schools. The complaint was voiced that[2]

> dieselfde inspekteur moet soms mondelinge eksamens afneem in tale waarvan hy letterlik geen woord verstaan nie, en 'n ordeel uitspreek oor 'n wetenskap waarvan slegs die naam aan hom bekend is.

The Cape Education Department was thus driven by dire necessity to appoint Bantu Itinerant Headmasters whom

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1) Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951 U.G.No. 53/1951, p.79; Cf. P.G.Le Cluse op.cit., p.252.
2) P.G. Le Cluse: loc.cit.

it called Departmental Visiting Teachers.[1]

12. Functions of the Departmental Visiting Teachers.

The original function of the Itinerant Headmasters was "follow-up work, under the direction of the Circuit Inspector."[2] In other words, they had to visit the schools some time after the inspector had visited them in order to check whether the inspector's recommendations were carried out, and to attend to whatever problems the teachers met in connection with the recommendations. Later they assisted in the conduct of inspection, guided and advised teachers and gave demonstration lessons.[3] In many areas, however, the Departmental Visiting Teacher was, to all intents and purposes, an inspector.[4] Although their work was confined to the primary school, the Departmental Visiting Teachers played an important, though indirect role in the laying of the foundation and the raising of the educational standard in the primary school, thus preparing ground for secondary school work. There were no special qualifications for Departmental Visiting Teachers.[5]

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1) These teachers were in no way similar to the itinerant or vagabond teachers of the 18th century described by E.G. Malherbe: Education in South Africa 1652-1922, p. 46; Cf. M.E.McKerron: A History of Education in South Africa (1652-1932), p.141; E.G.Pells: 300 Years of Education in South Africa, p.141. On the other hand, they had distinguished themselves while teaching.

2) Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951 U.G.No. 53/1951, p.80; Cf. M.O.M.Seboni: The South African Native College, Fort Hare, 1903-1954 (Unpublished D.Ed. Thesis of the University of South Africa, 1958), p.236.

3) Report of the S.G.E., 1926, p.20.

4) Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951 U.G.No. 53/1951, p.80; Cf. I.D.M.Mkize: op.cit., p.23.

5) There is, however, evidence that female teachers were at one time trained as Female Visiting Teachers on similar lines to the Jeanes system of the U?S.A. extended to the Rhodesias, Uganda and Tanganyika. Two female teachers were awarded bursaries by the Ciskei General Council to study at All Saints College for the Female Visiting Teachers' Course. These were Misses

13. The Curriculum.

The curriculum is one of the main problems of education.[1] It has aptly been likened to

> a tool in the hands of the artist (the teacher) to mould his material (the pupil) according to his ideal (objective) in his studio (the school).

As a fundamental problem the curriculum gives rise to a number of other problems which cannot be solved unless it has been determined. It is, however, a fact that there is a minimum standard of knowledge that can be acquired by every child who is fit to settle down as a reasonable and respectful human being. He must know how to read, write, count, or behave in the company of others and to carry out his duties towards the improvement of society. The subjects concerned with these minimum standards of knowledge form the core curriculum.[2] In addition to core subjects, other subjects come in for the general betterment of the individual and his society.

The curriculum is important from yet another point of view. It is by examining the curriculum that the aims of any educational system can be discovered. It has been said[3]

> die inhoud van middelbare onderwys word in die eerste plek deur die doel van die onderwys en in die tweede deur die voorwerp daarvan bepaal.

There are also other guiding principles in the construction of a curriculum for the children of a known community;

Miriam Jonas (teacher at the Brownlee Mission station, King William's Town) and Majiza (teacher at Amatola Basin); Cf. Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 6/11/37.

1) W. Cunningham: The Pivotal Problems of Education, p.281; Cf. L.M.Chamberlain and L.W.Kindred: The Teacher and School Organisation, p.262; and also Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools, 1938 (London).
2) W. Cunningham: loc.cit.
3) J. Chris Coetzee: Beginsels en Metodes van die Middelbare Onderwys, p.16.

these include [1]

(i) the standard attained in their previous education,

(ii) the variations in physical and mental capacity,

(iii) the duration of school life, and

(iv) the relation of school work to life in a modern community.

14. Curricula of the Selected Bantu Secondary Schools.

During the period under review the selected Bantu urban day secondary schools in the Eastern Cape followed the secondary course of the European schools of the Cape Education Department. The following subjects of examination were offered:- [2]

TABLE X. SUBJECTS OF EXAMINATION : DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, 1937-1954.

Afrikaans A or B.	Hebrew
Agriculture	History
Arithmetic	Latin
Art	Mathematics
Biology	Metalwork
Bookkeeping & Commercial Arithmetic	Music
Laundrywork	Native Languages A or B [3]
English A or B	Nederlands
French	Needlework
General Science	Physics and Chemistry
Geography	Physiology and Hygiene
German	Shorthand theory and typewriting
Greek	Woodwork

1) Publications of the Scottish Council for Research, pp. 2-6.
2) Secondary School Courses, Department of Public Education, Cape of Good Hope, 1948, p.2.
3) The Bantu Languages were included in the list of "modern languages", the others being French, German, Hebrew.

The selection of subjects was controlled by regulation.[1] Candidates had to take the following subjects:-

(i) an official language on a higher grade;

(ii) the other official language (Bantu candidates may offer a second modern language)

(iii) (a) any two of the following:-
Biology,
Physiology and Hygiene,
Physics and Chemistry,
OR
General Science.

15. The Core Curriculum.

The compulsory subjects constituted the core curriculum of the secondary school course of the Cape Province. All the selected Bantu urban day secondary schools had to offer English A as the first official language.[2] English was preferred to Afrikaans because, firstly, the Cape was predominantly English-speaking and a knowledge of English was a pre-requisite for future employment and further educational advancement. English was spoken freely in many Bantu homes. Secondly, English was used as the medium of instruction in Bantu urban day secondary schools and in the teacher-training institutions, and the teachers in these schools came mostly from the Missionary Institutions and the South African Native College (now the University College of Fort Hare) where the medium of

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1) Secondary School Courses, Department of Public Education, Cape of Good Hope, 1948, p.4. It is interesting to note that the Report of the Natal Educational (Provincial) Committee (1946) considered Religious Instruction, Physical Training, Arts and Crafts, Languages, Science ans Social Studies as core subjects. (pp. 63-64); Cf. P.G.Le Clus: op.cit. p.257; and also J.R. Lynch: Differentiated Education in the Transvaal Secondary School, 1900-1950 (Unpublished D.Ed. Thesis of the University of Potchefstroom, 1952), p.226.

2) Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education 1935-1936 U.G.No. 29/1936, p.81.

instruction was English. With the exception of Fort Hare, and, perhaps, the Lovedale Institution which accepted Coloured students, no Afrikaans was taught in the selected Bantu urban day secondary schools in the Ciskei before 1940.[1] In the Native Primary Higher Teachers' Course, Afrikaans was offered for the first time in 1938.[2]

The Bantu urban day secondary schools in the Ciskei offered Bantu Languages, in this case, Xhosa, on the higher grade.[3] The Bantu Languages had to be included in the core curriculum because they formed the pupils' mother tongue whose importance in the education of the child cannot be over-estimated, inasmuch as[4]

> (ii) it is the medium in which much of our thinking is carried on, ... and
>
> (iii) it plays such an important part in almost every experience of every child and in the communication of those experiences to those around them .....that improved skill in expression and in communication of his experiences enables the child to attain to greater mastery of his experience, both inner and social, and to grow in self-control and confidence.

To complete the core curriculum, the Bantu urban day secondary schools offered Biology, and Physiology and Hygiene because these did not involve expensive laboratories and apparatus for practical work. Physical Science (Physics and Chemistry) was not offered because its fruitful study involved the use of laboratories and expensive

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1) loc.cit.
2) Report of the S.G.E., 1938, p.45.
3) The Bantu Language was offered in two grades mainly because the syllabus was deemed to be unsuitable for Bantu pupils in many respects and too difficult for European pupils desirous of sitting examinations in the Bantu Language; Cf. Report of the S.G.E., 1937, p. 107.
4) P. Gurrey: Teaching the Mother Tongue in Secondary Schools, p.6.

apparatus. The second reason was the unavailability of suitably qualified Bantu science teachers. The first two Bantu students to obtain the B.Sc. degree at Fort Hare graduated at the beginning of 1936.[1] Another consideration in the case of some schools was that this subject would prevent the inclusion of subjects which were said to be more closely related to the child's environment,[2] e.g. agriculture and woodwork for the boys and domestic science for the girls.

At the beginning Arithmetic (major or minor) was preferred to Mathematics, but later Mathematics gained preference in all the four selected Bantu urban day secondary schools. Preference for Arithmetic was due partly to the fact that some Bantu urban day secondary school teachers had passed the Native Primary Higher Teachers' Course and the Native Primary Lower Teachers' Course which had laid much stress on Arithmetic, and partly to the influence of Professor H.J. Rousseau formerly of the South African Native College, Fort Hare, now of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Salisbury. He emphasised such practical subjects as agriculture, needlework and domestic science as against Latin and Mathematics which could not so easily be related to the child's environment. The influence of Inspector F.J. de Villiers who later became Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Cape made itself felt in the new Bantu secondary schools which leaned heavily towards agriculture and other practical subjects.[3] Finally, "Arithmetic was a subject which had a very prominent place in the curriculum"[4] of the primary school, and in the early history

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1) Fort Hare Calendar, 1949, p.55.
2) Report of the S.G.E., 1938, p.43.
3) Ibid., p.45.
4) Report of the S.G.E., 1939, p.24.

of the Bantu urban day secondary schools it had an honoured place in the curriculum of all Cape schools.[1] It was given a coup dé grace when it ceased to be examined externally in the Primary Higher and Lower Teachers' Courses.

History and Geogfaphy were a natural choice since they were prominent in the primary schools and led naturally to the Native Primary Higher Teachers' Course.

With more teachers coming from the University College of Fort Hare, the curriculum in the day secondary schools gradually changed and the academic course which included Mathematics, Latin and Physical Science superseded the general course which included History, Physiology and Hygiene, and Geography. At some of the Bantu urban day secondary schools, as at the Grahamstown Secondary School, both the academic and the general courses were offered as parallel courses as early as 1946.

16. Other Subjects in the Curriculum.

In addition to the core curriculum a candidate had to take[2]

> an equivalent of three major subjects from the following list, two minor subjects being equivalent to one major subject:-

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1) loc.cit.
2) Secondary School Courses, Department of Public Education, Cape of Good Hope, pp.4-5.

TABLE XI. LIST OF MAJOR SUBJECTS, OF THE CAPE JUNIOR CERTIFICATE COURSE, 1937-1954.

French	Greek
German	History
Hebrew	Mathematics
Latin	Music
Southern Sotho	Needlework
Xhosa	Shorthand Theory (English & Afrikaans) & Type-writing.
Tswana	Shorthand Theory (English & Afrikaans)
Bookkeeping and Commercial Arithmetic	General Arithmetic
Cookery, Housewifery, Laundrywork	Agriculture
Geography	Woodwork
Art	

TABLE XII. LIST OF MINOR SUBJECTS, OF THE CAPE JUNIOR CERTIFICATE COURSE, 1937-1954.

Arithmetic or Commercial Arithmetic	Physiology & Hygiene (if not taken under (iii))
Biology (if not taken under (iii))	Agriculture
Cookery & housewifery or Cookery & Laundry-work	Metalwork
Art	Needlework
History.	Physics & Chemistry
	Woodwork
	Geography

It was further expected that each school would include instruction in some non-examination subjects,[1] such as music, vocational guidance, religious instruction and Physical Training. Physical Training was compulsory for all pupils. In all the four selected urban day secondary schools all these subjects, except vocational guidance were offered. There was no evidence to show that vocational guidance was ever taught.

The above curriculum afforded a wide choice of subjects, the only limitations being the facilities available at the individual schools. Thus only the Newell

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1) loc.cit.

High School offered Woodwork, and none of the four selected urban day secondary schools offered Arts and Crafts. This was due to the fact that there were no suitable qualified teachers who could be appointed to teach the subject. Even the Missionary Institutions offered only the traditional courses.

17. Relation to Community Needs.

A good understanding of the relation of this curriculum to the cummunity needs will be possible if each subject will be dealt with separately.

(a) The Languages.

A striking feature was that all the children took an official language on the higher grade.[1] This could not have been an easy proposition for all children whose mother-tongue was none of the official languages. It was easy to understand why every candidate was required to have instruction in one or both official languages when one bears in mind that the curriculum was meant mainly for European children whose home language was either English or Afrikaans.[2] The study of a foreign language has always presented difficulties to pupils as was shown in the study of Xhosa by European pupils in the Cape Secondary Schools.[3] For political and other reasons the knowledge of an official language of the country is highly desirable. It is necessary to bear in mind the aims of language study, that is, to train[4]

> pupils to think logically and to express themselves logically and clearly in speech and writing.

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1) loc.cit.
2) Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951 U.G.No. 53/1951, p.72.
3) Report of the S.G.E., 1937, p.107.
4) Junior Secondary Courses, Department of Public Education, Cape of Good Hope, 1953, p.95.

The importance of these aims in a multi-racial country like South Africa cannot be over-emphasised. It is a fact that education being a part of politics can determine the future of a people.[1] It was Aristotle who wrote:

> That the education of the young is a matter ... which has a paramount claim upon the attention of the legislator will not be disputed. The neglect of it in existing states is prejudicial to their polities. For the educational system must always be relative to the particular polity, as it is the character proper to each polity which is its habitual preservative.

Furthermore, the Bantu having been brought into contact with Western culture needed to understand the language of the Europeans so that he might be able to profit by the treasures which the Europeans might offer through their language. For harmonious development each racial group had to understand the other, and there was no better channel through which they could do so except through a sound knowledge of one another's language, as G.H. Schmidt pointed out:[2]

> Muddled thinking and expression, in their turn, hinder or destroy understanding among men, with implications not only for the classroom but for harmonious living in the world at large.

Apart from this, English and Afrikaans were used in the law courts, post offices, business and in all Government Departments. These languages were generally recognised as media of instruction beyond the primary school stage.[3]

The inclusion of a Bantu language in the curriculum was very significant. Every child must receive at some

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1) J.E.C.Welldon: The Politics of Aristotle, p.22; Cf. J. Burnet: Aristotle on Education, p.1.
2) The Language Medium Question, p.95; Cf. E.H.Brookes: Native Education in South Africa, p.85; and also C.T. Loram: Education of the South African Native, pp.227-228.
3) According to the Bantu Education Act No.47 of 1953, the mother-tongue was to be the medium of instruction in all Bantu schools in South Africa.

stage in his education instruction in the mother-tongue; but there was always an outcry against the alleged unsuitability of Bantu Languages as media of instruction for advanced learning.[1] Eventually it was generally conceded that[2]

> vir elke leerling is die belangrikheid van grondige onderrig in sy moedertaal sekerlik nie te oorskat nie. Immers, die moedertaal van elke leerling is sy vernaamste omgangsmiddel met sy medemens, en sonder hierdie omgangsmiddel sou die gemeenskaplewe en alle beskawing onmoontlik. Die moedertal kan ook beskou word as die sleutel tot die letterkunde wat, op sy beurt, beskou kan word as die skatkamer waarin die wysheid, die skoonheid en die humor van sy eie volk en voorgeslagte in die loop eeue bewaar gebly het.

The third subject in the core curriculum was science. Scientific knowledge is a pre-requisite for the progress of any nation. Many problems are solved, and avenues which would otherwise be closed are opened up by scientific knowledge. The aims of teaching science in Bantu secondary schools have been clearly stated as follows:-[3]

(a) Science should arouse the interest of the pupils in the wonders of the world around them.

(b) Science has a practical value - it points the way to improvement in agriculture, hygiene, housing, sanitation and other fields of endeavour.

(c) Science gives valuable mind training - it should train pupils to -

(i) observe carefully,

(ii) make accurate reports on records of what they observe, and,

(iii) learn to draw accurate conclusions from their recorded observations thus developing clear and logical thinking.

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1) Junior Secondary Courses, Department of Public Education, Cape of Good Hope, p.95; Cf. G.H.Welsh: The Blackman's Schools, pp.39-40; Cf: Eastern Province Herald, Port Elizabeth, 19/9/60.
2) Junior Secondary Courses, Department of Public Education, Cape of Good Hope, p.9.
3) Bantu Education (Draft Syllabuses for Junior Certificate), 1957, p.50.

(d) Science helps to train good citizens ..... They (pupils) need well-disciplined minds in order to become good citizens.

(e) Science helps to remove superstition and the fear of the unknown.

For industry to flourish, for new discoveries to be made, a knowledge of science is indispensable.

18. Aesthetic Appreciation.

Arts and Crafts in the curriculum are also indispensable. Except at the Newell High School where Woodwork was offered, the selected Bantu secondary schools offered neither Arts and Crafts, Metalwork, nor Woodwork even as minor subjects. The dual reason for their exclusion was lack of equipment and the unavailability of suitably qualified Bantu teachers to undertake the teaching of these subjects. This was very regrettable inasmuch as[1]

> Handicraft is of fundamental value in any curriculum. It strikes deep into the primary instincts of mankind, and is a force in his survival through subjugation of his surroundings to secure food and shelter. This survival was achieved through the use of hands in making useful implements and tools.

For these subjects to be successfully taught and learnt, the school must have sound financial resources for the purchase of materials and tools. The four selected Bantu urban day secondary schools did not have the necessary funds.

The aesthetic value of art can never be over-estimated. It is through works of art that children learn to appreciate, and artistic appreciation is a virtue that can make every individual popular with both friend and foe. Art readily taps the creative ability of an individual,[2] and fills him with vigour and enthusiasm when

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1) Ibid., p.21; Cf. P.R.Cole: The Method and Technique of Teaching, p.344.
2) Report of the Provincial Education Committee (Province of Natal), 1946, pp.62-63.

he sees his own ideas expressed through the dexterity of his own hands. He attains self-expression and more often than not, self-satisfaction.[1] Professor Sir T. Percy Nunn declared that the happiness of an individual lies in his ability to place himself favourably in society - a type of behaviour known as self-assertion - which children achieve in play. Play is an art, a skill, the performance of which needs intelligence and the control of bodily movements.

Art has a moral value too, in that it teaches the individual to subordinate himself to certain requirements in the use of his abilities; it teaches the pupil to discipline himself. This is the type of discipline that is self-imposed and is, in all probability, much more than lasting. The children might carry artistic appreciation over to other subjects.[2] They might wish all that they do to appear neat and beautiful, and make their work attractive, and to judge fairly whether that work is good or bad. In conclusion it might be said that those[3]

> who through experience can recognise and appreciate craftsmanship, will undoubtedly display good taste in their homes and in planning their environment; and, more important still, they will leave behind them a worthy heritage for future development.

The rest of the curriculum was closely related to community needs.[4] A community needs to have lawyers,

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1) Education : Its Data and First Principles, p.80; Cf. J.R.Lynch: op.cit., p.227.
2) This transfer will depend naturally on the methods employed in the teaching of the subject; Cf. H.E.Garrett: Great Experiments in Psychology, p.141; and A.I.Gates: Psychology for Students of Education, pp.364-367.
3) Bantu Education (Draft Syllabuses for Junior Certificate), p.21.
4) The curriculum in Bantu schools in general has, down the ages, been criticised as being too 'bookish'; Cf. G.H.Welsh: The Blackman's Schools, p.47; and M.C. Nongauza: op.cit. p.70.

medical practitioners, engineers, businessmen, etc. in order to meet some of its difficulties. The schools of such a community must teach, among others, Latin, Mathematics, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Homecraft and Commercial subjects.[1] They must do so because

> there has been hardly any modern society, autocratic or democratic, which has not laid great store by its schools.

19. Cultural Subjects in the Curriculum.

Physical Training, religious instruction, music and art are what is meant by cultural subjects. They are not mere classroom activities, but ought to form a link between the school and real life. They are intended for the general development of the individual, especially of his taste and appreciation. As secondary education aims at developing the whole child,[2] it should neglect neither the aesthetic side of the child nor his need to distinguish between good and evil. Cultural subjects come in to fill this gap.

Nunn puts this point succinctly when he says that the school[3]

> must be thought of primarily not as a place where certain knowledge is learnt, but as a place where the young are disciplined in certain forms of activity - namely, those that are of greatest and most permanent significance in the wider world.

Therefore cultural subjects must form an important part of the curriculum since[4]

> these are the grand expressions of the human spirit, and theirs are the forms in which the creative energies of every generation must be disciplined if the movement of civilisation is to be worthily maintained.

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1) J.S.Brubacher: History of the Problems of Education, p.612.
2) Report of the Commission on Technical and Vocational Education, p.43.
3) T.P.Nunn: op.cit., p.263.
4) loc.cit.

20. Moral and Religious Education.

(a) Meaning of Religion.

Before a thorough meaning of morality can be arrived at, it is necessary to clarify the meaning of religion because[1]

> since religion is the only adequate basis of morality, to attempt to teach morality without religion can be but fraught with failure.

There have been countless attempts at a definition of religion. Cunningham defines religion as follows:[2]

> Religion is the sum total of beliefs, sentiments, and practices, individual and social, which have for their object a power which man recognises as supreme-superior, on which he depends, and with which he can enter (or has entered) into relation.

Religion is some binding force, binding man to God. Since man has bound himself to God, all his acts, beliefs, etc., must be acceptable to God. The teaching of Christian religion was indispensable for the pupils of the Bantu urban day secondary schools in the Ciskei because, like all other adolescents, they were prone to have fears and uncertainties about their worth, and likely to have poor knowledge of right and wrong and to engage in delinquent acts.[3]

(b) Meaning of Moral Education.

Morality has a similar meaning to that of religion. It means[4]

> conformity with the patterns which the society to which the individual belongs has accepted as beneficial.

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1) W.Cunningham: The Pivotal Problems of Education, p.225.
2) Ibid., p.221; Cf. J.R.Lynch: op.cit.,p.193; R.H.Lowie: The History of Ethnological Theory, pp.102-104; I. Schapera: The Bantu Speaking Tribes of South Africa, p.247. and W.R.Sorley: Moral Values and the Idea of God, p.493, and also E. Stanley Jones: The Christ of the Indian Road, p.167.
3) L. Cole: Psychology of Adolescence, p.367.
4) W. Cunnungham: op.cit., p.225; Cf. W.R.Matthews: The Hope of Immortality, p.41.

Religious instruction should therefore include these teachings.[1] Even psychology has it that

> man craves for a power superior to himself to whom he can pay homage and under the shelter of whose authority he finds security.

It needs to be impressed upon the children that[2]

> there are objects of supreme and universal worth which rightly claim our reverence and service, together with a sense that, though in our weakness and unworthiness we must ever be their 'unprofitable servants', yet to deny their claims or to fail in loyalty to them is shameful and dishonouring.

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1) W.Cunningham: op.cit., p.225. Children are by nature inclined to do what is biologically right; Cf. C.W. Waddle: An Introduction to Child Psychology, p.210.
2) T.P.Nunn. op.cit., p.213; Cf. C.W.Waddle: op.cit., p. 210.

CHAPTER III

INHERENT PROBLEMS.

1. Conditions in the Homes.

(a) East London.

The children attending the Welsh High School came from East London locations, from rural villages around the town, and from various parts of the Transkei. The locations which supplied the largest numbers were Duncan Village, Tsolo, West Bank, Cambridge, Amalinda, Nxaruni (Nahoon), Mooiplaats, Tshabo (near Berlin), Kwelera (Kwelegha), and Tshulumnqa (the Great Place of the Chiefs of the AmaXosa). A few also came from Ndevana and Mount Coke. Those who came from far-off places had to board and lodge with relatives or friends living in the locations of East London. In actual fact, therefore, all the children attending the Welsh High School, East London, lived in East London.

In the locations the conditions in the homes had not changed from those described by various writers prior to the period under review. The dwellings were small, overcrowded[1] and only a handful used electric lights. Structures with no window spaces whatsoever, and containing many glaring insanitary features were not an uncommon occurrence. Many of them were neither planned nor built

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1) R.E.Phillips: The Bantu in the City, p.93; Cf. D.G. Bettison: A Socio-Economic Study of East London, Cape Province, with Special Reference to the Non-European Peoples (Unpublished M.A.Dissertation of Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, 1950), p.32; B.Davidson: Report on Southern Africa, p.84; S.H.Frankel: The Economic Impact on Under-developed Societies, p.125; Race Relation News, Vol.XVIII, No.5, pp. 59-60, May 1956; Teachers' Vision, Vol.XVIII, No.4, December 1951, p.17; and M.D. Hobart-Houghton: Life in the Ciskei, A Summary of the Findings of the Keiskamahoek Rural Survey, p.37.

with any regard to health requirements.[1] Most of the dwellings were three- or four-roomed,[2] and occupied either by a family or a family with lodgers or just mixed persons.[3] Almost all the families lived with two or more lodgers who paid rent to them, and this rent helped to supplement the family's income.[4] After the lodgers had returned from work in the afternoon, the same homes would be the noisiest of places that one could imagine, a noise which would not end until very late at night. In most of the homes both the economic and social standards were frightfully low.[5] These conditions were an off-shoot of the economic and social structure of the Ciskei as a whole where "poverty, congestion and chaos were the worst in the whole Union."[6] These conditions were reflected in the homes, where meals were not only irregular but also of a poor quality. In addition, there were no study facilities of any kind. The candles or paraffin lamps which were used for lighting up at night were often bought by the children themselves and even

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1) C.W. de Kiviet: A History of South Africa, Social and Economic, pp.230-231, describes the locations well when he says "Their poverty condemned them to living conditions which not even the abundant sun and fresh air of a South African town could make them healthy ..... Here in their airless, overcrowded, and promiscuous locations disease and pauperism bred each other in a vicious circle."; Cf. Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 13/12/37, and also the Daily Dispatch, East London, 22/1/41.
2) D.G.Bettison: op.cit., p.32.
3) D.G.Bettison: op.cit., p.156.
4) Interview with Mr. A.Sonaba, a former student at the Welsh High School, East London, now a student at the University College of Fort Hare, 14/10/59; Cf. Daily Dispatch, East London, 22/1/41. The average income of parents scarcely more than £37 : 10/- per annum.
5) D.G.Bettison: op.cit., p.162; Cf. Correspondence with Dr. O.D.Wollheim, Prince George Drive, Retreat, C.P., 7/7/59; and B.Davidson: op.cit., p.118. These conditions were, however, not a monopoly of the Ciskei; Cf. J.B. Stroud: Psychology in Education, pp.62-63 and also Leo Marquard: The Story of South Africa, p.242.
6) W.M.Macmillan: Complex South Africa, p.137; Cf. B.Davidson: op.cit., pp.118-119. Starvation in the locations

then they used them sparingly.

(b) King William's Town.

In King William's Town there were only two locations within the municipal area, namely, the Brownlee Mission Station and the Ginsberg Locations. The Zwelitsha location was established in 1947. The two locations were more than four miles apart. Although the Ginsberg location was sufficiently large to supply the new secondary school with the required number of pupils, some pupils came from Zwelitsha and the neighbouring non-municipal locations and these pupils formed a large percentage of the school's population. Some of these locations were, among others, the following: Noncampa, Zinyoka, Zeleni, Mlakalaka, Ngqokweni, Tamara, Rode, Ncemera (Peelton), Pirie, Mngqesha, Tshatshu, Ntinde, Mnqaba, and Phewuleni. As these locations were a long distance away from the Ginsberg location where the school was situated, the pupils attending the Forbes Grant Secondary School had to board with relatives or friends living in the Ginsberg location[1] or Zwelitsha. Some found boarding and lodging facilities in the Temperance Hotel at the Market Square, King William's Town. This was run for some time by Mr. and Mrs. P.M. Ngesi and later by Mrs. Elizabeth Buzo until she was caused to close down by the Group Areas Act. For many years, Pelem's Hotel provided board and lodging for a number of pupils attending the school. In the locations the dwellings were small and consisted of only two or three rooms. At that time King William's Town was gradually becoming industrialised,[2] and the number of indus-

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was, however, not confined to the Cape towns. It was common in Johannesburg; Cf. The Daily Dispatch, 17/5/41.

1) Most of the pupils from Tshatshu walked daily to and from school.

2) Principal's Report, 1953, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town.

trial workers who lodged in the Ginsberg location was growing at an alarming pace. Consequently, provision for accommodation with families dwindled year by year; so much so that some pupils lived in town with relatives who worked as domestic servants for the Europeans.[1]

Not all the homes appreciated the value of education. Some appeared to tolerate the pupils for the sake of the boarding and lodging fees they paid.[2] Pupils complained that they had little time for attending to their school work at home as they were required to do odd jobs and to run errands that usually fell to the lot of domestic servants. The girls washed dishes and family clothing, cooked for the family and its boarders and looked after the young children of the home. The boys tended whatever stock was reared, were sent about to shops, and often were required to work in place of the host if he was unable to report on duty. Those who boarded at the Hotels complained of the quality of food supplied to them.[3] In addition, there was the usual noise of all public places where travellers and workers board. At both the Pelem's and the Temperance Hotels the condition was made worse by the fact that visitors and others had to pass through the students' rooms to and from their bedrooms. The students were allowed to study only in the sitting room whose atmosphere was not conducive to study. There

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1) Interview with Mr. V.Z.Gitywa, B.A., a former student of the Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, and curator of the F.S.Malan Museum, Fort Hare, 15/10/59; and Mr. T.Mntwapi, a former student of the Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town.
2) Interview with Mr.T.Mntwapi, 15/10/59.
3) The boys boarding at the Pelem's Hotel were accused of stealing bread to allay the pangs of hunger.

were many occasions when visitors deliberately disturbed students.[1]

(c) Port Elizabeth.

The living conditions in Port Elizabeth were worse than those in East London. Since Port Elizabeth was a much more industrially developed city than East London, it attracted more workers, both black and white. To go into the reasons why the Bantu moved into the city in large numbers would be going too far beyond the scope of this dissertation; suffice it to say, as in the case of the poor whites,[2] economic uncertainties were at the root of it all. The workers stayed in the townships of New Brighton, Korsten,[3] and Kwazakele (Site and Service). Each of these townships was divided into a number of areas. In New Brighton, for example, there was the part known as 'Ilali eBomvu' (the Red Location) occupied by migrant labourers whose homes were not in Port Elizabeth (these people were referred to as 'amagoduka', a term which meant people who worked for a limited period after which they would return to their homes in the Reserves),[4] the White location occupied by migrant and resident low class families, and the McNamee Village occupied by the so-called

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1) At the Temperance Hotel a man was in the habit of bullying the pupils and disturbing them while they worked.
2) R.W.Wilcocks: The Poor White Problem, pp.118-119 (Report of the Carnegie Commission on the Poor White Problem in South Africa, Part II); Cf. also I.Schapera: Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa, pp.167-171.
3) In 1959, Korsten was being demolished as a slum area. It was once described as "the worst slum in the world" in Race Relations Journal, Vol.9, No.1. (1942), p.36.
4) Cf. E.H.Brookes: "The Health of the Bantu" in Race Relations Journal, Vol.XXI, No.2, 1954, p.10.

well-to-do families.[1] In New Brighton most of the houses were three-roomed and had electric lights. There was also a men's hostel in the White Location. At Korsten the dwellings were mere shacks built of iron and wood, overcrowded and very untidy. At the Site-and-Service Scheme the houses were not much better, or any bigger. One of the rooms was used as a kitchen, lounge and sitting room, while the other was a bedroom. In the Red Location there were beer-drinking parties which went on for a fortnight. Some of the participants temporarily lived where the party was held. The people took turns in organising these parties. Needless to say, these drinking sessions were accompanied by noise and fights.[2] Under these conditions the pupils' work and rest were interrupted. The pupils attending the Newell High School were victims of these unhealthy conditions since many came from places outside Port Elizabeth, e.g. Uitenhage, Queenstown, Peddie, King William's Town, the Transkei, De Aar and Cape Town. The majority of the pupils came from McNamee Village in Port Elizabeth. Some pupils lived with their brothers, cousins and brothers-in-law, and others with friends working in Port Elizabeth. A few lived in town with friends who worked as domestic servants. In the cases where the pupils lived with workers, they had to cook all the meals and do all the general housework of the home. Most of

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1) Interview with Messrs J.Msi, formerly of Port Elizabeth, studying for the B.A. degree at the University College of Fort Hare, Fort Hare, 20/10/59; L.D.Ngcongco, B.A.(Hons), a former student at the Newell High School, Port Elizabeth, now a Research Assistant under the Nuffield Foundation Schemes, Fort Hare, C.P., 20/10/59; and M.Semane, from Vidgiesville, 21/10/59.

2) Interview with Mr.T.Mntwapi, 15/10/59; Mr.V.Z.Gitywa, B.A., a former teacher at the Cowan Secondary School, Port Elizabeth, 15/10/59; and Mr.R.R.V.Mankahla, 378, Ferguson Road, New Brighton, 20/10/59.

the pupils who did not live in McNamee were required to serve visitors with liquor if they happened to live at a place where liquor was sold.[1] Visitors searching for liquor would come at any time of the night and the pupil would be asked to help in serving them. In connection with pupils living with a brother or a male cousin, cases of neglect as a result of lack of parental care were not wanting.[2]

(d) Grahamstown.

When the Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School was opened, its pupils came from, among other places, Peddie, Uitenhage, Adelaide, Cradock and the locations of Grahamstown, namely, Fingo Location, Zwelitsha, Joza (King's Flats), Ntab'ezono (Makana's Kop Hill), and Tantyi. Very few houses had electric light. The rooms were small and over-crowded. On the whole, the living conditions were slightly better than those obtaining in Port Elizabeth, East London and King William's Town.

(e) Educational Implications of these Conditions.

The pupil's environment plays such an important part in his educational development that its influence must be assessed somehow whether the methods used to do so are crude.[3]

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1) Interview with Mr.L.D.Ngcongco, B.A.(Hons.), Location, De Aar, 20/10/59; Miss P.Mazele, B.A., of New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, 20/10/59 and Mr.G.I.M.Mzamane, M.A., Lecturer in the Department of Bantu Languages, University College of Fort Hare, Fort Hare.
2) Interview with Mr.V.Z.Gitywa, B.A., Fort Hare, 15/10/59.
3) J.E.Adamson: The Individual and Environment, p.273; J.R.Lynch: Differentiated Education in the Transvaal Secondary School (Unpublished D.Ed. Thesis of the University of Potchefstroom, 1952), p.118; Hans Nachtsheim: "Heredity and Environment in the Life of Man" in Universitas, Vol.2, No.4, 1958/1959, p.407; B.King: Russia goes to School, p.30; and A.S.Neill: The Problem Teacher, p.134.

Under the conditions described above, fruitful study was difficult. The pupil needs physical and mental energy in order to do well at school, and if it is to have the necessary energy, it must be well-fed.[1] In the case of many pupils who attended the selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools, uncertain, unbalanced, and hurried meals were the order of the day. This lowered the learning capacity and work output of the pupils. The noisy homes militated against study which required quiet, spacious and well-ventilated rooms.[2] Since many pupils complained generally of boarding and lodging conditions, they were not altogether so happy as to enjoy vigorous mental activity, and peace of mind. Insufficient sleep is a serious handicap to pupils who study. Sufficient sleep for a student, especially after a good day's work, is most refreshing. This has aptly been confirmed in[3]

> slaap is die beste en sekerste medisyne teen alle vermoedheid veroorsaak deur leer en ander werk.

Pupils lacked time for study and for the traditional homework. Those who lived a long distance away from the school were obliged to miss breakfast always and the midday meal frequently. This facilitated the onset of physical exhaustion - the despair of teacher and student. Teachers could do very little to improve the conditions and, to say the least, learning was seriously impaired.

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1) W.N.Taylor: Textbook of Hygiene for Teachers in Africa, p.236; Cf. C. von Bonde and J.P. de Villiers: A Textbook of Physiology and Hygiene, p.117; J.Chris Coetzee: Inleiding tot die Algemene Empiriese Opvoedkunde, p.219; E.G.Malherbe: Education of the Poor White (Report of the Carnegie Committee on the Poor White Problem in South Africa, Part III), pp.111-170; A.I.Gates: Psychology for Students of Education, pp.378-380; and C. Burt: The Subnormal Mind, p.122.
2) A.I.Gates: op.cit., p.384; Cf.C.Fox: Educational Psychology, Its Problems and Methods, p.333.
3) J.Chris Coetzee: op.cit., p.219.

2. Conditions Outside the Home.

The conditions in the homes and outside cannot be held to be mutually exclusive. The pupils mixed with undesirable elements, namely, the tsotsi element,[1] the habitual drinker, the fearless and shameless lover, the robber and the incorrigible thief. They lived with some as neighbours.[2] There was always the intoxicating attraction of the bioscope, the lure of employment, and the countless social functions in the Communal Hall in the evenings. As most of these amusements cost money, pupils might be tempted to steal and set out on the way towards delinquency.[3] These gatherings, with their often heightened emotionality, to say the least, acquainted the pupils with distorted, if not degraded standards of morality and conduct. As far as bioscopes were concerned, it may, however, be borne in mind that some of the films were of educational value, although there was usually a preponderance of the less desirable ones for pupils. The 'tsotsi' problem was particularly out of control at night,[4] As a result, pupils feared to study at school at night for fear of being molested by these gangs in the streets. Those pupils who had come from the country districts found themselves in a state of confusion.[5] These are but some of the inconveniences to which pupils of the Bantu urban day secondary schools of the Ciskei were put, inside and outside the home. In spite of these, however, fair progress was made.

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1) R.Davidson: Report on South Africa, p.117. The Bantu term tsotsi is used to describe the delinquent and the criminal irrespective of race.
2) The South African Outlook, 1/5/41, pp.106-108.
3) C.Burt: The Subnormal Mind, p.171, and The Young Delinquent, pp.128-139.
4) It was reported in Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 11/10/47 that people found dead on streets had been killed by Tsotsis.
5) Principal's Report, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, 1953.

3. Boarding and Lodging Facilities.

In most of the town locations there were very few boarding houses owned by Bantu parents. Even in the few that were available, facilities for study were non-existent. The fees paid ranged from £2 to £4 per pupil per month, so that in actual fact in some instances, it was more costly for a pupil to attend one of these schools than to board at a Missionary Institution. Boarding and lodging were so unsatisfactory that by the time the pupil completed the Junior Certificate course (a three-year course) most of them had lived with no less than three or four different families.

4. Parent-Teacher Relationship.

The coming of the pupil to school created immediately a relation between the parent and the teacher. It would, however, have been insufficient to have had the relationship developing no further than this. Parents very often wanted to know what their children were doing and why they did it.[1] In addition, teachers met parents on occasions such as school concerts, parents' days and school shows. It was thus necessary that strong friendly relationships should exist between the teacher and the parents.[2] In the case of the Bantu urban day secondary schools of the Eastern Cape parent-teacher relationships were not clearly defined at first, but later, about 1948, parent-teacher associations were formed.[3] At the inaugur-

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1) J.E.Adamson: The Individual and Environment, p.2; Cf. B.Taute: Skoolhoof, Assistent, en Professie, p.98; L.M.Chamberlain: The Teacher and School Organisation, p.463; and L.Cole: Psychology of Adolescence, p.287.

2) V.Anderson and D.R.Davies: Patterns of Educational Leadership, p.100; Cf. J.R.Lynch: op.cit., p.240; and P.B.Jacobson, W.C.Reavis and J.D.Logsdon: The Effective School Principal in Elementary and Secondary Schools, pp. 19-20.

3) Mr.S.S.Rajuili, B.A., in The Teachers' Vision, Vol.XVIII, No.3, (September, 1951), p.11. A Parent-Teacher Association meeting was held at Newell High School on 17/8/47, Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 6/9/47.

al of the Cape Bantu Teachers and Parents Association, Mr. S.S.Rajuili, B.A., made important statements. He said, inter alia,[1]

> The C.A.T.A. must in conjunction with the people make efforts for an economic uplift of the general mass of the Bantu; they must help them form co-operative efforts in their economic struggles; and in my opinion there is no class in better position to do so than teachers.

But a year before this meeting the general aim of the Bantu Parent-Teachers' Association in the Cape had been stated as:[2]

(i) To form a bond between the home and the school;

(ii) To consider together subjects which are of interest to all who have to deal with children;

(iii) To work together in various projects which may arise e.g. school feeding scheme, medical examination of school children, school sports and games etc.;

(iv) To give an opportunity to parents to get an intelligent insight to educational problems, and to give them advice in connection with the education of their children;

(v) To form the basis of an interested group in the study of matters such as Content, Financing, Administration, etc. of Native Education and to enable the general public to be in a position to have an intelligent grasp when matters educational are discussed;

(vi) To act as a link between the authorities of Day Schools and Boarding Institutions and Colleges on the one hand and Parents on the other; and generally to protect and promote the interests of scholars and the authorities at these institutions;

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1) The Teachers' Vision, Vol.XVIII, No.3, (September, 1951), p.11.

2) E.G.Jijana: "The Education of the African Child" in The Teachers' Vision, Vol.I, No.1, (April-June, 1955), an article by "Parent" urged parents to take an active part in the education of their children, pp.10-11.

(vii) To work in close co-operation with all educational organisations in regard to existing education establishments and in running education extension schemes such as Adult Education classes at Night Schools etc. to fight against illiteracy among the people;

(viii) To co-ordinate generally the work and efforts of teachers and parents in the improvement of African and further the interest of African children irrespective of denominational sects, by the close co-operation of parents and teachers.

These organisations, however, had their critics.[1] But the school committees of the Bantu urban day secondary schools worked hand in hand with the teachers. In Grahamstown, some teachers occupied leading positions in parents' organisations, for example Mr. P.E.B. Ngxiki and Rev. J.K. Zondi were Vice-President and Secretary of the Grahamstown Bantu Parents' Association respectively,[2] while other teachers were just ordinary members. In the Ciskei, the teachers were, from the start, representatives of the Bantu parents' opinion. They enjoyed a great deal of prestige and the respect of the parents and the community as a whole, but opportunities for discussing school affairs and activities with them were not always available. That much confidence was placed in the teacher was shown by the number of instances that parents brought unruly children to teachers with the request that they be disciplined. The parents regarded them as people who knew all the answers to their problems, and who acted in loco parentis[3] who played no active part. Cases of parents who were not particularly friendly towards teachers, were not wanting. When some opposition to the school was evident, it invariably turned out that the attitude

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1) The Teachers' Vision, Vol.XVIII, No.2, (December, 1950), p.21.
2) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 5/6/41.
3) E.G.Pells: 300 Years of Education in South Africa, p.139.

of parents was derived from happenings outside the school. The lack of active and intelligent support from the home was often due to ignorance of school law. Through the parent-teacher associations the teachers clarified to the parents the role they were expected to play in the education of their children, for example, supplying the children with the necessities of life - a good and balanced diet,[1] favourable conditions for study and encouragement of the pupil to strive to further his or her education. The teachers themselves desired to know more about the pupils they taught and their homes, so as to be able to interpret their behaviour intelligently and in the full understanding of the fact that each had his own personal idiom[2] and problems.

The relationships between the parents and the teachers were, on the whole, most cordial.[3] The parents reposed great confidence on the teachers as leaders of educational thought.

5. Denominational Influence.

It would give a very incomplete picture to write about Bantu urban day secondary education anywhere in South Africa without viewing the problem of Missionary

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1) Umteteli Wa Bantu, 27/4/46 reported that a certain child went to school drunk, and when the teacher inquired into the matter the child replied: "There is never any food at home except beer which is sold, and as a result I always help myself to it."

2) A.A.Roback: Psychology of Character, p.511; Cf. K. Young: Personality and Problems of Adjustment, pp.444-445.

3) Occasionally parents and teachers crossed swords over problems of discipline e.g. in Umteteli Wa Bantu 27/4/46, a teacher wrote to the paper defending teachers against the accusation that they were unable to discipline children. He attributed lack of discipline among pupils to their homes, and "parents who assume an air of superiority with their children when talking ill about a teacher whose position they envy".

participation. The two have been aptly considered as very closely connected.[1] Much as it had actively assisted the flourishing missionary boarding Institutions, missionary enterprise, through some of its representatives, did all it could to discourage the establishment and growth of the Bantu urban day secondary schools in the Eastern Cape, that is, the Ciskei Region, round about 1940 and 1941. The verbal battle which took place between the representatives of missionary institutions on the one hand, and the sponsors of the Bantu urban day secondary schools on the other, warrants verbatim quotation. One of the protagonists of the missionary institution system, Mr. X, wrote[2]

> There is the question of boarding-school versus day-school. Given a good home, the loss of those opportunities of learning lessons of leadership, self-reliance, self-control, citizenship, unselfishness, esprit de corps which a boarding-school with the right tone

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1) M.O.M.Seboni: The South African Native College, Fort Hare, 1903-1954, (Unpublished D.Ed. Thesis of the University of South Africa, 1958), p.2; Cf. E.H.Brookes: Native Education in South Africa, p.103; C.T.Loram: Education of the South African Native, p.46; The South African Outlook, 1/5/41, pp.78-79; M.C.Nongauza: An Investigation into Facilities for Adult Education among Africans in Urban Centres and its Influence Upon their Social Life, (Unpublished B.Ed. Thesis of the University of Cape Town, 1952), p.51; and also H.Davies: Great South African Christians, p.V.

2) The South African Outlook, 1/4/41, pp.78-79. The proposed committee to consider the advisability of continuing with the scheme of Bantu urban day secondary schools consisted of the following: Mr.G.H.Welsh, B.A., Chief Inspector (chairman), assisted by two other inspectors, Messrs. H.S.Storey, B.A., and J.C.Ross, M.A.; representatives of churches, viz., the Rev. Canon A. Hoadley, of Umtata, the Rev. A.A.Wellington of Healdtown, Dr. A.W.Wilkie, of Lovedale; heads of Bantu [illegible] secondary schools viz., Mr.B.E.N.Mahlasela, B.A., of Grahamstown, Dr.O.D.Wollheim, of East London, Mr. Wiggett of Umtata; and also the head of Fort Hare University College, Dr.A.Kerr; two representatives of European public opinion, viz. Mr.E.I.Barrett, former Ciskei Commissioner and Dr.W.G.Bennie, ex-Chief Inspector ; two Bantu representatives from either side of the Kei, viz. Councillor E.Qamata, M.R.C., Transkei, and Prof.D.D.T.Jabavu, Ciskei; and Mr. Gordon Mears, Ciskei Commissioner.

offers to a unique degree, may be compensated for by the influence of a home and by the daily contact with parents of high ideals. A day school may teach its pupils just as high an ethical code as a boarding school. But are all the homes from which the pupils in our town secondary schools come, good? And do they all live at their homes? It is disquieting to learn that in some cases fifty per cent of the 1941 entrants are lodged in town with strangers or with relations who are not particularly keen on having them - to put it mildly. Of course one can sympathise with parents living outside these urban areas who cannot afford the £25 per annum boarding and tuition fee charged at institutions together with the cost of railway fares, required clothing, etc.; and who, for a couple of pounds a year, can get as good tuition for their children as that given in a boarding school. Their chances of success in the Junior and Cape Senior Certificate examinations - which is, of course, the one great aim of our secondary courses - will be just as good in the one type of school as in the other. And, at least in one school (in the Orange Free State) the African staff overcome the difficulty in the way of finding the needful quiet and light for home work by themselves arranging for its being taken and supervised, out of school hours, on the school premises.

But will the spiritual influence of these town day-schools be as effective? In a town environment - and we know what a "town environment" means in the majority of our urban locations - helpful to a country-bred boy in forming good habits of conduct?

Not for a moment would we advocate that the secondary schools under missionary supervision be the privilege of the well-to-do Native only - let ability and personality be the sole determining factors in any entrance test. But would the Government be not better advised to help the poorer parents by means of bursaries and scholarships at boarding schools rather than by multiplying the number of day schools which can exercise no control over their pupils during nineteen out of twenty-four hours of the day? The establishment of school hostels in towns might to some extent counteract the dangers of the present situation, but that again - without Government subsidy - might make the cost of secondary education prohibitive to most parents. A system of recognising only those homes known to the school authorities to be of a healthy moral tone, might be a help, but the difficulty of persuading families of good character to take in strangers where little financial return is offered, and seldom given, is said to be almost insuperable.

Evidently "X" was not in favour of the establishment of

Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools. On the surface his educational ideas were sound. It is educationally desirable that the pupils' homes should leave nothing to be desired, and also that qualities of leadership, self-reliance, self-control, citizenship and unselfishness should be developed.[1] On studying "X's" account closely, however, it becomes abundantly clear that "X" was under the impression that a being is the product of his environment only and that heredity plays no part at all. While it would be wrong to ignore the effect of the environment, it must be acknowledged that inborn qualities act as a limiting factor in the development of the qualities mentioned by "X".[2] It would be good for "X" to know that[3]

> you cannot make a silk purse out of a soar's ear, neither can you gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles.

Further, "X" failed to realise that a good home does not always produce a self-reliable, controllable and unselfish citizen, and that it is in the earliest stages of life, during the pre-school years, that the home makes an indellible mark on the child.[4] At least for the first thirteen years of life the secondary school pupils lived with their parents and afterwards were invariably at home during school holidays.

"X's" stand was, if anything, a happy but extremely dangerous blindness to reality, and one which would

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1) T.Raymont: Modern Education. Its Aims and Methods, pp. 27-34; Cf. J. de W.Keyter: Opvoeding en Onderwys, pp.105-109; R.W.Livingstone: Education and the Spirit of the Age, pp.5-6; and also A.W.Rowe: The Education of the Average Child, p.42.
2) J.Adams: The Evolution of Educational Theory, p.128; Cf. J.E.Adamson: The Individual and the Environment, pp.8-9; P.Sandiford: Educational Psychology, pp.150-151; and also R.R.Rusk: Introduction to Experimental Education, p.175.
3) P.Sandiford: op.cit., p.13.
4) N.L.Munn: Psychological Development, pp.463-469; Cf. C.W.Waddle: An Introduction to Child Psychology, p.214; and also L.P.Thorpe:Child Psychology and Development,p.322.

require a lot more experimental evidence before it can be accepted by educationists.

In reply to "X's" onslaught, Mr. R.H.Godlo, one of the most ardent supporters of the Bantu urban day secondary schools in the Ciskei, writing from East London said,[1]

> Everybody will welcome the move to call a meeting as representative as possible to clarify the atmosphere and to hammer out a policy; but the publication of the article prior to the meeting was a mistake, which might tend to prejudice the minds of those serving upon the Committee and which certainly has pointed the way to what might develop into a quarrel instead of a matter which might have been settled amicably by reasonable discussion and give and take.
>
> "X" speaks of the question of boarding-school versus day-school. Why should it be a question of "versus"? As far as I am aware, the day-schools have had nothing against the boarding schools, and, in fact, have gone to extraordinary pains not to infringe the rights of other Institutions in any way. Any difficulties which may have arisen in their near past are such as can be easily settled by reasonable discussion and by simple amendments to the existing legislation and policy. Why, then, the "versus" and the nasty insinuations against the day-schools?

The writer went on to show how void of truth "X's" statements were concerning the disadvantages of day secondary schools by saying[2]

> It is universally accepted to-day that boarding schools are "necessary evils", and, except for the "Old School Tie" complex and intellectual snobbery as epitomised in such Institutions as Eton and Harrow, the only scholars attending boarding schools are children of parents who live far from a good school or who for other reasons feel that it is better for their children not to be at home. Such reasons might be unhappy marital relations, an unhealthy climate or any other of a thousand good and proper reasons.
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> "X" states that day-schools present no opportunities for "learning lessons of leadership, self-reliance, self-control, citizenship, esprit de corps." Does he imply thereby that only that small percentage of European and Coloured scholars who are in boarding establishments are

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1) The South African Outlook, 1/5/41, p.106.
2) loc.cit.

> learning these very fine qualities? The argument is too puerile and ridiculous to warrant further attention, except to point to the British nation at this moment exhibiting all these fine characteristics in the highest degree from the lowest and humble sweep to the greatest leaders, very many of whom have been in ordinary day-schools and some of whom have risen from the humblest and most poverty-stricken homes in slums as filthy and degraded as the Town locations which "X" scorns.
>
> The writer asks whether all the homes from which the pupils in the town secondary schools come, are good. Of course, they are not. Utopia only existed in the mind of Sir Thomas More. In any case, the mere fact that parents are willing to sacrifice the wages their children might earn after passing Std.VI in order to send them for secondary education proves that their homes cannot be so bad. Does not, too, a large percentage of the boarding-school pupils come from such homes? If these children have been kept from harm and have retained their decency until they have passed Std.VI, why should they then suddenly lose it when they go to Std. VII? This, in effect, is "X's" argument for he implies that scholars in boarding-schools, (whether they come from town or country homes) will imbibe a high ethical code, but not those attending a day-school (again whether they come from town or country homes).

Commenting on "X's" very wild estimation of the percentage of pupils who lived with families which barely tolerated them, Mr. R.H. Godlo had this to say:[1]

> I challenge "X" to prove his figure of 'in some cases 50% of the 1941 entrants are lodged in town with strangers or with relations who are not particularly keen on having them - to put it mildly.' To the best of my knowledge, these figures have not been published and they could only be proved after visits to the schools concerned and protracted and individual cross-examination of scholars and parents. The searcher after such figures would be confronted with the problem of one parent in a country location while the other, turn and turn about, was in the town to earn; a child who was born in the town and sent to a country location for part of his primary education and vice versa; the large number of orphans who have no bona fide home and who drift from relation to relation and countless other such difficulties.

The impractical suggestion of assisting a large number of pupils who come from poor homes by awarding countless bur-

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1) loc.cit.

saries was severely criticised as follows:[1]

> "X" suggests that it would be better to assist poorer parents with bursaries so that their children might attend boarding-schools, all of which at present are Church-controlled. I have nothing but the greatest admiration for the work done by the Church in African education, for, had it not been for the Church, there would simply have been no Native Education. In the past the Church nobly and with sacrifice took upon itself an arduous and thankless task which it was the duty of a Government to perform. But surely the theory that the Church is responsible for education has for centuries been exploded in all civilized countries, and surely the Church, now that the Government becomes more and more willing to take over its rightful function, will in the near future step back with good grace and hand over more and more of what it has always been anxious to call a burden.
>
> "X" wonders whether the spiritual influence of these town day-schools will be effective. The time comes when every man and woman has to learn to stand on his or her own feet, and in my own opinion the pupil who has attended a day-school has the advantage, because, for a part of his day, he is given full responsibility for his conduct and because he is brought up against temptations and difficulties which he must at some time or other learn to withstand. It is better that he should learn this gradually while he has guidance and help of good teachers than that he should be pampered and policed day and night for several years and then turned loose upon an unfriendly world completely bewildered and with nobody to turn to for help and guidance. The insinuation that town day-schools can exercise no control over their pupils for nineteen out of twenty-four hours is also a gross exaggeration, because the school day extends in most cases over six or seven hours per day, with sports until five o'clock and then evening studies after that. In any case about eight of "X's" nineteen hours is spent in sleep.

In conclusion Mr. R.H. Godlo wrote:[2]

> "X's" article was so obviously a thinly-veiled attack upon town day-schools and an attempt to vindicate the present missionary controlled boarding institutions that I feel that in all fairness you should give this letter at least as much publicity as his article. Why the institutions should require any vindication is more than I can imagine. They have had a long and useful innings, and if during all that time they have not found it possible (through no fault of theirs) to cheapen the cost of

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1) loc.cit.
2) loc.cit.

> higher education for the African or to make proper provision for all such Africans as can benefit by it, then they can have no possible desire to strangle the newly-formed day-schools. Moreover, I do not think these institutions have ever opened their doors to children living in their own locations as day-scholars - a situation which would be unthinkable in European and Coloured education, and yet "X" would have us believe that he would not "advocate that secondary schools under missionary supervision be the privilege of the well-to-do Native".

Denominational influences were a problem from yet another angle. The fact that the selected Bantu urban day secondary schools were non-denominational in character made some parents reluctant to send their children to these schools. They preferred sending them to schools which were conducted by their own religious denominations.[1] In accordance with the regulations of the Cape Education Department,[2] however, these schools always included religious instruction in their curricula. The lessons in this subject were conducted by teachers and not by denominational representatives. Further, religious group activities such as the Students' Christian Association which enjoyed a good deal of popularity, also served the spiritual needs of the pupils. In conclusion, the rivalries, narrow sectionalism and petty jealousies that were prevalent among denominational schools were absent in these secondary schools.

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1) It is interesting to note that in the U.S.A. the competition between denominations led to the establishment of a number of schools in the Southern States; until this was thought to be waste of money and effort; Cf. C.T. Loram: Education of the South African Native, pp.75-76.

2) Junior and Senior Certificate Handbook, Department of Public Education, Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1948, p.4. The schools, however, were not compelled to have religious instruction, it was hoped that they would.

6. Co-operation of Feeder-Primary Schools.

The staff and members of school committees of the four Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools often realised quite early the need for enlisting the co-operation of neighbouring primary schools. In order to achieve this, they arranged sporting activities and concerts with these schools.[1] They also co-operated with primary school teachers in the Cape African Teachers' Association.

In this manner, the teachers and pupils came to know one another better and a friendly atmosphere prevailed. Primary teachers encouraged their pupils to proceed to the Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools in their localities.

In King William's Town the primary schools which supplied the Forbes Grant Secondary School with pupils included the Higher Mission (Methodist Church) School and primary schools in the neighbouring locations of Mlakalaka, Mngqesha, Tshatshu, Tamara, Peelton, Ngqokweni and Izeli.

The Welsh High School drew its pupils from primary schools in the East London Municipal Locations of Duncan Village, Tsolo, West Bank and Cambridge. A fair number came from villages within the radius of twenty miles from East London, such as Berlin, Mooiplaats, etc.

In Grahamstown there was much co-operation between the local primary schools and the secondary schools inasmuch as the principals of the primary schools and their assistants were the sponsors of the secondary school movement which had brought the Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School into existence. Pupils from the St. Phillips Higher Mission (Anglican) School, the Weslyan Methodist

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1) Later this practice was followed at the Jabavu Secondary School, Fort Hare. The school choir staged concerts jointly with Primary Schools at Lovedale, Dyamala and Krwakrwa in the Victoria East District.

Higher Primary School, the Higher Mission Primary School and others in the Albany District attended this secondary school.

In Port Elizabeth co-operation between the Newell High School and the primary schools was shown by the number of pupils who came forward year by year from the primary schools to the secondary school. These were drawn from the Upper United School, Molefe Higher Primary School, the Cowan Primary School, the Korsten (E.C.) Primary School, the John Masiza Primary School (Walmer) and the primary schools at Veeplaats and Uitenhage. A fair number also came from Grahamstown and Peddie.[1)]

Some pupils, however, came from districts far away from the locality of the selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools. There were various reasons for this. In some cases it was because the pupils had relatives living in the urban areas, but in other cases, it was because the parents preferred the school to all others nearby.

7. Stability of Teaching Staff.

One of the main difficulties with which these secondary schools had to contend was the instability of the teaching staff. Changes of the staff occurred at the end of the year, although changes at the end of each school quarter were not uncommon.

At the Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, where the teaching staff was most stable as compared with that at each of the other three selected Bantu urban day secondary schools, six new teachers joined the staff in 1953.[2)] All the vacancies they filled were already

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1) Admission Registers, Newell High School, New Brighton.
2) Principal's Report, 1953, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town. Information corroborated by Messrs. S.M.Qaba, B.A. Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, 5/6/59, and L.Nonkwelo, B.A., Lawson Secondary School, Fort Beaufort, 14/11/59.

existing "grants". Among others who had been on the staff of this school and who left between 1948 and 1954 mention might be made of Messrs. G.S. Budaza, M.A., V.C. Qunta, B.A., S. de Villiers Tiso, B.A., N. Hongo, B.A., W.E. Payi and Miss P.N. Mpumlwana, B.A.

At the Grahamstown Secondary School also there were frequent changes. Among those who, at one time or another, served on the staff were Messrs. P.N. Tshaka, B.Sc. (Hons.), L.K. Siwisa, B.A., M.H.K. Xotyeni, B.A., M.L. Mkentane, B.A., V.V.T. Mbobo, B.A., B.Econ., and M.M. Mti.

The most unstable staff of all seems to have been that of the Newell High School, New Brighton. Among those who had served on the staff were Miss Margaret Malgas, B.A., (now Mrs. P.G. Stamper), Misses M.C. Nongauza, B.A., B.Ed., R. Mnyani, B.Sc., G. Makhuluma, B.A., and C. Ntuli, Mrs. N. Mkele (neé Finca), Mrs. O. Mvusi (neé Jolobe), Mrs. V. Gundwana, B.Sc. (neé Samuels), Messrs. M. Zondi, B.A., G. Socenywa, B.A., C.M. Singapi, B.A., B.Ed., D. Manase, S. Siwisa, B.A., D. Luphuwana, B.Sc., D.M. Peter, B.A., S. Mpati, F. Booi, B.Sc., G.C. Mchunu, B.Sc., J. Danana, B.A., G. Mpondo, L.Z. Ngqobongwana, B.A., M. Lujabe, B.Sc., and L. Mqotsi, M.A.

The Welsh High School also experienced an abnormally large number of staff changes. Among important changes were that of Dr. O.D. Wollheim, first principal of the school, who retired in 1948. He was replaced by Mr. B.S. Grové, B.A., B.Ed.[1] Others who served on the staff were Messrs. V.A. Kwinana, B.A., P.M. Ngaloshe, B.A., S.M. Ben-Mazwi, B.A., E.E. Majombozi, B.A., D.D. Peter, B.A., H.W. Pahl, B.A., B.Sc. (now Inspector of Schools), S. Ndungane, B.A., D. Siwisa, B.A., L.M. Mashologu, B.Sc.,

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1) Mr. B.S. Grové resigned in 1957.

Mr. D. Malunga, B.A., Mr. E.S. Vabaza, B.A., C.K. Funani, B.A., and Miss V.N. Kabane, B.A. (now Mrs. Ngcobo).

8. Economic Position of Parents.

To discuss any scheme of education for the Bantu without making reference to their economic position would be to ignore a fact which has played, and continues to play, an important part in the development of their education.

Having moved to the towns[1]

> as a temporary labourer, content to earn sufficient to pay his tax and satisfy other urgent needs

the Bantu man gradually became a permanent urban dweller. Up to the end of the first half of the period under review, however, a large section of the Bantu urban population formed migrant labour.[2] Since migrant labourers did not bring their families to the urban areas, and had to send a portion of their earnings to their families in the Reserves,[3] they had little remaining to support the schools financially. The permanently urbanised section of the population did not have much to spare either. Among the many reasons for this shortage of money, competent authority states that the wages of the Bantu labourers were low.[4] To state that the effects of these conditions were acutely felt in the schools would be to labour an obvious truth. Pupils did not have sufficient money

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1) I. Schapera: The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa, p.405; Cf. C.W. de Kiewiet: A History of South Africa, Social and Economic, p.196; W.M. Macmillan: Complex South Africa, an Economic Footnote to History, p.228; D. Hobart Houghton: Life in the Ciskei, A Summary of the Findings of the Keiskamahoek Rural Survey, 1947-1951, pp.37-38; Lord Hailey: An African Survey, p.596; E. Hellman: Rooiyard, A Sociological Survey of an Urban Native Slum Yard, p.5; and also Summary of the Report of the Commission for Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas Within the Union of South Africa U.G.No. 61/1955, p.102.

2) D.Hobart Houghton: op.cit., p.39; Cf.D.G.Bettison:op.cit. p.85.

3) D.G.Bettison: op.cit., p.173

4) G.W.Bromfield: Colour Conflict, Race Relations in Africa,

to buy books and pay the nominal fees chargeable at the Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools. Excursions to distant places were very difficult to organise and to bring to fruition because the pupils could not afford the fares. Some pupils had to obtain part-time employment in order to supplement the home income, whereas in some families with whom the pupils boarded sub-letting was unavoidable. This resulted in a number of boarders staying with one family.

Under such conditions study facilities were not congenial. The erection of classrooms, and these were expensive, had to be a slow process especially where the funds were dependent much on donations from the public. It was also because of the economic position of the parents that subjects which involved the use of expensive equipment, e.g. Woodwork, Metalwork, etc., were not offered in these schools.

9. Growing Interest and Changing Attitude of Parents.

At the beginning of the period under review many Bantu parents in the urban areas took very little, if any, interest in the establishment of the urban day secondary schools. There were several reasons for this lack of interest, but the main one was that suggested by Leo Marquard when he said[1)]

> the masses live so much below bread-line, and in such insecurity, that they are less concerned with political and social rights than with finding food.

The lack of interest on the part of the public greatly retarded the growth of these schools. Many parents were keen that their children should pass at least the sixth standard which gave an indication that they were old enough

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pp.66-67; Cf.D.G.Bettison: op.cit., p.173.

1) The Story of South Africa, p.242.

to work and to supplement the family income. The pupils did odd jobs for money, chiefly the selling of newspapers in the streets. As is always the case where there is lack of intelligent support from the home, the Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools suffered from a multitude of setbacks.[1]

In course of time, however, the Bantu parents began to realise that a higher educational standard and achievement for their children was a stepping stone to better paying jobs.[2] They thus began to take a keener interest in these schools, and their indifferent outlook gradually changed. This resulted in ever-increasing numbers of pupils applying for admission to these schools. This rapid change in the swing of the pendulum created another problem: the schools were faced with the problem of having to admit more pupils than they could accommodate. There was also the danger of admitting pupils who would not profit much from a day secondary school course. There was, and still is, no other method of selecting Bantu pupils for admission to secondary and high school except through the standard VI examination.[3] If any pupils were refused

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1) Cf. B.King: Russia Goes to School, p.140; and also W.O. L.Smith: Studies in Education - Part III: The Teacher and the Community, p.11 and p.16.

2) In order to bring about this higher standard of education Senator the Hon. C.H.Malcomess advocated compulsory education for the Bantu. Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 7/6/41, reported him as saying "Another question is that the Hon. Senator (i.e. Sen. le Roux van Niekerk) objects to Native higher education. The African people are suffering and they have not sufficient doctors or nurses. They must have doctors and nurses or what is to become of us? Our secondary industries in this country depend upon African labour"; Cf. I.Schapera: Western Civilisation and the Natives of South Africa, p.169.

3) Under the new system of Bantu Education pupils who passed std. VI were to be classified into 1st, 2nd and 3rd classes and only those who passed in the first two classes would be admitted to secondary schools.

admission due to lack of space, the school would run the risk of being unpopular with at least a certain section of the community. The schools had thus to choose between one of two evils - overcrowding and lack of community support. At the Newell High School, New Brighton, where this problem was on the verge of creating an ugly situation, another secondary school, the Cowan Secondary School, New Brighton, had to be hurriedly established in 1952.

10. Social Activities.

For the purposes of this dissertation, social activities will be taken to refer to a body of community activi- which involve a number of persons and are performed in places specially set aside for group activities.[1] Among these are dancing, attendance at bioscope shows, sport and religious activities.

In the areas where the selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools were situated, pupils engaged in some or all of these activities. Those in which the pupils participated included:

(a) Dancing.

(i) Folk-Dancing:

Among the Bantu in general, certain group activities characterised certain age-groups, and they invariably included folk-dancing and folk-song.[2] Adults engaged in folk-dancing on certain important occasions, but the boys and the girls took evenings off for their amusement. Members of both sexes came together under conditions which severely tested the lessons that their homes had taught

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1) F.Clarke: Education and Social Change, p.40; Cf. A.K.C. Ottaway: Education and Society, p.101.
2) Cf. J.H.Soga: The AmaXhosa Life and Customs, pp.313-314, and pp. 236-238.

them concerning character and morality. In the towns, however, folk-dancing did not always occupy a prominent position, but the pupils used to engage in it as an item in the programme of school concerts.[1] When folk-dancing in schools threatened to disappear due to a multiplicity of factors, a substitute had to be found since music and dancing take such a large place in Bantu culture.[2] The European way of dancing, namely, ballroom dancing, jive and rock 'n roll, became a great attraction.

(ii) Ballroom Dancing.

In the townships in which the selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools were situated social functions were organised by private organisations,[3] usually on Saturday evenings. In East London these dance parties took place in the Peacock Hall, at the Weir Hall in King William's Town and in the Zwelitsha Communal Hall; in Port Elizabeth they took place in the T.C.White Hall and at the War Memorial Hall; and at Grahamstown, in the Communal Hall and at the St. Phillips' Mission Hall or the Methodist Church Hall. If the right of admission to these dances were reserved, it was never enforced because adults and secondary school pupils attended as the whim seized them. When secondary school pupils attended these social func-

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1) In the Annual Bantu Eisteddford Competitions in the Transkei it used to be a very important item also.
2) E.W.Smith: Knowing the African, p.128; Cf. A.Paton and D.Weiner: South Africa in Transition, pictures No. 14 and 15; R.H.W.Shepherd: Children of the Veld, pp.59-65; and also H.Tracey: African Dances of the Witwatersrand Gold Mines, p.1.
3) I.Schapera: The Bantu Speaking Tribes of South Africa, p.433; R.Piddington: An Introduction to Social Anthrop Vol.I, p.211 refers to such private organisations as "voluntary associations"; Cf. also R.H.Lowie: Primitive Society, p.309.

tions, they invariably came into contact with the undesirable elements of the township communities. Dance parties afforded recreation to pupils starved of leisure occupations in crowded homes. It was thus not surprising that the majority threw themselves wholeheartedly into the enjoyment and excitement which charaterise such dance functions. At a tender age some pupils fell prey to the evils of drink, gambling, petty stealing and vandalism. In short, they, too, started on the path of becoming delinquents after attending many of these functions.[1] The fact that the social functions were usually held in the evenings meant that they interfered with the pupils' hours of rest, study and sleep.

To think that no efforts were made to conduct these social functions more commendably would be to nourish an illusion,[2] but even the parents' or teachers' efforts to restrain the pupils from attending these dance-halls often resulted in estrangement of relations between them and their off-spring. From these facts it is clear that the absence of a strong public opinion which the individual would hesitate to offend and of a stable urban social order, set the stage for chaos.[3]

(b) Attendance at Bioscope Shows:

In the four urban centres selected there were regular film shows in the townships' Communal Halls. Although films can be of educational value, they can also serve a harmful purpose.[4] To state that the secondary school

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1) C.Burt: The Young Delinquent, pp.154-155; Cf. R.E. Phillips: The Bantu in the City, p.192.
2) I.Schapera: op.cit., p.432.
3) Cf. J.S.Heywood: Children in Care, p.15.
4) A.K.C.Ottaway: op.cit., pp.119-121; Cf. C.Burt: op.cit., pp.148-149.

pupils of the schools concerned patronised bioscope shows would be to labour an obvious fact.[1]

They were thus exposed to whatever evil attended bioscope shows or films. They imitated the film stars, copied their mannerisms, behaviour and often fanciful dress.[2] Further, some films gave rise to strong emotional strains. Attendance at such shows gave rise to disciplinary problems not only in the home but also in the schools. Some pupils who found that they would be refused permission to attend stole away in the evening, and others who lacked the admission fee resorted to much petty pilfering. Above all, the pupils found the temptation to leave school in order to seek employment very attractive. As a result large numbers of them left school too early from the point of view of their age and intellectual achievement, in order to seek employment. All this resulted from the attendance at bioscope shows which were not suitable for adolescents. Burt has described aptly conditions obtaining at bioscope shows in general when he said:[3]

> Throughout the picture-palace programme, the moral atmosphere presented is an atmosphere of thoughtless frivolity and fun, relieved only by some sudden storm of passion with accasional splashes of sentiment. Deceit, flirtation, and jealousy, unscrupulous intrigue and reckless assault, a round of unceasing excitement and the extremes of wild emotionalism, are depicted as the normal characteristics of the everyday conduct of adults.

Children are known to have acquired a distorted view after seeing unsuitable films.

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1) Cf. A.Gessell, P.D.Ilg and L.B.Ames: Youth, the Years from Ten to Sixteen, pp.446-448.
2) A.K.C.Ottaway: op.cit., p.120; Cf. C.Burt: op.cit., p.144; and also G.S.Hall: Adolescence, Vol.I., p.335.
3) C.Burt: op.cit., p.148.

(c) Sporting Activities.

Nunn has said of the motivation of play:[1]

> The spirit of play is an intangible and elusive sprite, whose influence is to be found in corners of life where it might least be expected. Everyone agrees, however, that childhood is her peculiar sphere .....

With this in mind, the organisers of the four selected Bantu urban day secondary schools arranged inter-school sports e.g. rugby and netball, among the secondary schools. In addition, athletic sports contests were staged. Therefore, the play interest of the pupils attending the secondary schools was provided for.

In the townships clubs which keenly played against one another yearned for an opportunity to play against school teams. which were better disciplined and which played a good game. This led to several problems. As a general rule, however, secondary school pupils were not expected to affiliate to sports clubs other than those of the school as long as they attended school. This was to minimize disciplinary problems and the influence of bad company. In playing for location teams, the pupils were more likely to find companions, often undesirable ones, who did not prize the value of education. Some players and their patrons more prone to anti-social practices, would find pupils of the secondary schools a fertile soil for sowing the seeds of their practices. A brilliant player, in an act more of kindness than of malice, might be introduced to the habit of excessive drinking.

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1) P.T.Nunn: Education: Its Data and First Principles, p. 79; Cf. H.H.Horne: The Democratic Philosophy of Education, pp.250-251; O.A.Wheeler: Creative Education and the Future, p.126; and also E.R.Hamilton: The Teacher on the Threshold, pp.128-129.

If the schools allowed the students to play for a selection team, they would be exposing them to the dangers of bad company and physical injury.[1] On the other hand, by preventing their pupils from showing their capabilities in sport, and from enjoying the rewards thereof, the schools were violating the very principle for which sport was included among school activities.[2] Happily, these schools allowed the pupils to play and the belief was strong that the good derived from the experience of playing in tournaments by far outweighed the alleged corruption by contact. What was to be feared was that some pupils often allowed the sporting activities to take priority over their studies.

(d) Religious Activities.

Although religious instruction was not to be the main purpose of the Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools, their sponsors had wished that a religious outlook should not be divorced from their educational activities. This was not to be wondered at inasmuch as the sponsors themselves were active members of one or other church denomination. It was almost certain, too, that no Bantu parents would send their children to a school that did not have a religious bias because[3]

> Bantu life is essentially religious. The relation of the individual to the family, the clan, and the tribe, - politics, ethics, law, war, status, social amenities, festivals, - all that is good and much that is bad in Bantu life is grounded in Bantu religion. Religion so pervades the life of the people that it regulates their doings and governs their leisure to an extent that is hard for Europeans to imagine.

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1) C.Burt: op.cit., pp.136-137.
2) H.B.Smith: The Nation's School, pp.151-155; H.Spencer: Education Intellectual, Moral, and Physical, pp.151-152; and also A.H.T.Glover: New Teaching for a New Age, pp. 170-171.
3) W.C.Willoughby: The Soul of the Bantu, p.1.

Fortunately, they were never disappointed in their wishes since activities which catered for the pupils' religious inclinations always existed in spite of the difficulties with which these schools had to contend. One such activity was the work of the Students' Christian Association. The Boy Scout and Wayfarer Movements also engaged partly in the fostering of religious ideals.[1]

(i) The Students' Christian Association.

As in the Boarding Missionary Institutions, the Students' Christian Association (S.C.A.) afforded the pupils in the Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools an opportunity to come together in worship. The meetings were organised and conducted by the students with the assistance of their teachers. Office-bearers were chosen from among the students, with members of the staff holding positions only of an honorary or supervisory nature. The meetings provided the students with an excellent opportunity to come together in prayer and devotions. They also discussed the organisation of the activities of the Students' Christian Association for children, such as the conducting of Sunday Schools among village communities nearby.

The main difficulty of the S.C.A. lay in the fact that as a voluntary organisation, it was most necessary that the pupils who came forward to it should be sufficiently and genuinely interested in it since the members of staff merely assisted with it while its survival depended almost entirely on the pupils' initiative. Where the S.C.A., as it was at the Welsh High School, East London, undertook to organise Sunday schools for the children in the locations, it met with but little success.

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1) Ray E.Phillips: The Bantu are Coming, pp.100-102.

This arrangement clashed with denominational preferences and the secondary school pupils did not have the necessary professional training to arrest the interest of the children.

It was, however, also at the Welsh High School that the S.C.A. profited much under the influence of Mr. M.P. Ngaloshe, B.A., and a Miss Yunnie who were interested in its activities, while at the Grahamstown Secondary School it was conducted for some years by the students of the Rhodes University College, Grahamstown. At the Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, Miss P. Mpumlwana, B.A., and Mr. W.E.Payi were the moving spirits while at the Newell High School, New Brighton, the Rev. G.B. Molefe, M.A. took a keen interest in the movement.

(ii) Scout and Wayfarer Movements.

The Scout and Wayfarer Movements flourished or waned according to the interest shown in them by the teachers on the staff. Their successful conduct depended to a large extent on voluntary attendance outside school hours on the part of the teachers and the pupils. In some cases, as at the Forbes Grant Secondary School, the school obtained assistance from persons outside it. The fact that the meetings of the Scouts and the Girl Guides took place after school when the pupils were fatigued, hungry and eager to go home, militated against their success. Nevertheless, the seed that was sown in the course of the activities of these movements germinated and grew into a big tree that gave off good fruit. Many who later realised the role they could play as ministers of religion among their people, ascribed their inspiration to the work of these movements and showed full agreement with the

assertion that[1]

> there is but one truth about the world today that ought to be made plain to school children: there is widespread poverty amidst potential plenty.

In a way, the influence exerted in the minds of the pupils by the S.C.A. and these movements helped to nurture the interior spiritual life of man[2] which is a web of many strands that do not all grow together by uniform extension.

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1) A.H.T.Glover: New Teaching for a New Age, p.14.
2) A.N.Whitehead: The Aims of Education and Other Essays, p.43.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FINANCING OF THESE SCHOOLS.

1. Some Relevant Acts.

The financing of the Bantu Urban Day Secondary schools in the Ciskei was an involved matter. The complexity consisted in that no money was voted specifically for these secondary schools but that the money voted was for all the Bantu primary and secondary schools in the Cape Province as a whole. In this dissertation, therefore, the financing of schools in the Cape Province will be treated in broad outline with a view to throwing some light on the position of the selected Bantu secondary schools against that background. It is necessary to examine the prevailing conditions in the years just before the beginning of the period under review. This is necessary if the financing of these schools is to be appreciated and interpreted intelligently.

(a) The Native Taxation and Development Act No.41 of 1925.

According to this Act, there was to be a special account styled "the Native Development Account" to be administered by the Minister of Native Affairs.[1] Into the "Native Development Account" was paid one-fifth of the amount of the general tax paid by the Bantu and all local taxes or quitrent collected in certain areas. These monies were ear-marked for definite purposes, two of which are:

(i) the maintenance, extension and improvement of educational facilities among the Bantu and

(ii) the further development and welfare of the Bantu.

The introduction of this Act constituted one of the initial

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1) Revised Statutes of the Union of South Africa, Vol.5, 1925-1926, p.544.

steps towards the financing of Bantu education.

(b) Provincial Subsidies and Taxation Powers (Amendment). Act No.46 of 1925.

Although this Act did not deal mainly with education, it did state that[1]

> There shall be paid to the Provinces grants in respect of native education. Commencing with the financial year 1926-1927 such grants shall be paid from a Native Development Account to be established to which account an annual contribution of three hundred and forty thousand pounds shall be made in and after that year from the Consolidated Revenue Fund.

In connection with financing of Bantu education the Act further provided that[2]

> After the establishment of the said Native Development Account grants in respect of the maintenance, extension and improvement of educational facilities among the natives for the adjustment of salaries of native teachers shall be defrayed therefrom subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the Governor-General after consultation between the Minister of Native Affairs and the Administrator concerned.

From the above Acts it is clear that funds for Bantu education in South Africa were made available through the Native Development Account. These were allocated to the Education Departments of each of the four provinces of the Union of South Africa according to their estimates. It was incumbent upon the Administrator by sub-section (1) of section 4 of the said Act that he should submit to the Treasury on a certain date his estimates of the amount due to his province in a financial year. This system of financing Bantu education was in vogue up till 1936 when a number of amendments were made and implemented.

2. The Financing of Bantu Education 1937-1954.

During the period under review the system of financing

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1) Provincial Subsidies and Taxation Powers (Amendment) Act No.46 of 1925, Section 3, sub-section (1).
2) Ibid., Sub-section (3) of Section 3.

Bantu education consisted in the allocation of funds for all schools in the Cape Province without specifying any special amount for secondary education.

(a) The Representation of Natives Act No.12 of 1936.

In 1936 a milestone was reached in the history of Bantu education in South Africa when an Act was passed, inter alia,[1]

> to make special provision for the representation of Natives in Parliament and in the provincial council of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope and to that end to amend the law in force in that province relating to the registration of natives as voters for Parliament or a provincial council; to establish a Natives Representative Council for the Union; and to provide for other incidental matters.

Among the "incidental matters" mentioned in the Act was the financing of Bantu education. By section 28, paragraph (a), sub-paragraph (ii), the Minister of Native Affairs summoned a meeting of the Natives Representative Council and placed before it, for consideration and report by it, a statement showing the provision which it was proposed to make on the estimates of expenditure for the ensuing year in respect of moneys to be appropriated by Parliament to the South African Native Trust Fund,[2] for Bantu education. In other words, the Minister of Native Affairs was to continue receiving estimates from the Administrators of the provinces, which he placed before the Natives Representative Council for consideration. Parliament made available the monies referred to above on the consideration of a report by the Natives

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1) Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1936, pp.36-74.
2) The South African Native Trust Fund was a corporate body established under sub-section (1) Section 4 of Act No.18 of 1936. Its functions and rights were defined in sub-sections (1), (2) and (3) of Section 4 of Act No.18 of 1936.

Representative Souncil. This furnished a system of financing all the Bantu schools in the Cape Province. No money was voted separately for either secondary or primary education.

(b) Native Education Finance Act No.29 of 1945.

According to this Act, Bantu education was to be financed not from the South African Native Trust Fund as had been the case before, but from the Consolidated Revenue Fund from which sums of money to be paid out to each province were to be appropriated by Parliament.[1] It was also stated that[2]

> The Minister may appoint a board, to be called the Union Advisory Board on Native Education, to advise the Union Government and Administrations of the Provinces on matters relating to native education and maintenance, extension and improvement of educational facilities for natives.

The estimates framed by each province were discussed by the Union Advisory Board on Native Education which submitted them to the Minister of Education, Arts and Science for his approval. Its powers were purely advisory. One important change brought about by this Act was that the money for Bantu education no longer depended on the General Tax. The Act also amended or repealed some sections of Acts No.41 of 1925, No.46 of 1925 and No,12 of 1936.[3]

With this background, the financing of the four selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools can now be

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1) Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1945, p.248.
2) Act No.29 of 1945, sub-section (1) of Section 3. The members of the Union Advisory Board on Native Education included the Secretary for Native Affairs who acted as chairman, Secretary for Education and a representative of each province, nominated by the executive committee of the province in question.
3) Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1945, p.250. The amendments appear on Appendix A at the end of this chapter.

briefly described.

3. Teachers' Salary Grants.

It was the policy of the Cape Education Department to have all approved teachers' salaries paid by the Government. This did not apply to teachers in schools which did not fall under the Education Department's jurisdiction.

Two of the selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools, viz. the Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School and the Welsh High School, came under the control of the Cape Education Department in 1938.[1] The Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town,[2] and the Newell High School, Port Elizabeth, came under the Cape Education Department's jurisdiction in 1939 and 1944 respectively.[3] They thus fell under the system of grants-in-aid whereby the Administration paid the full salaries of teachers in Bantu Secondary Schools.[4] Bantu assistant teachers were paid on a fixed scale, the maximum salary for a professionally qualified graduate being £306 per annum.[5] Principal teachers recieved in addtition an allowance of not more than £210 per annum, and not less than £60 per annum.[6] All European teachers employed in some of these schools, e.g. at the Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, and the Welsh High School, East London, received salaries at the same rate as would apply to them if they

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1) Report of the S.G.E., 1937, p.105; Cf. Report of the S.G.E., 1938, p.43.
2) Report of the S.G.E., 1938, p.111.
3) Educational Statistics, Cape, 1943, p.364.
4) Prior to 1938 the Administration paid only two-thrids of the salaries of approved teachers in Bantu Secondary Schools. The remaining one-third of the salary came from the Missions.
5) Report of the S.G.E., 1939, p.53; Cf. The Cape Education Gazette, 30/11/44, p.1181.
6) The Cape Education Gazette, 30/11/44, p. 1242.

were doing work of the same grade in European schools.[1] The salaries of teachers in these schools are shown in the following tables:-

1) Report of the S.G.E., 1939, p.53; Cf. Report of the S.G.E., 1937, p.109.

TABLE XIII : SCALE OF SALARIES OF TEACHERS IN BANTU TRAINING, SECONDARY, PRACTISING AND HIGHER BOARDING SCHOOLS.

GRADE	QUALIFICATIONS	EUROPEAN		BANTU	
		MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
		£	£	£	£
A	Degree with professional training	285-15-495	220-10-330	180-9-306	120-6-204
B	(Natal & TVL) T2 or Board of Education or P.H. (Cape) or equivalent.	240-15-450	190-10-300	144-9-270	96-6-180
C	Matriculation with lower professional training.	195-15-405	160-10-270	117-9-243	78-6-162
D	European Primary Lower or Native Higher Primary.	150-15-360	130-10-240	100-9-207	72-6-144

The above scales were published in the Education Gazette (Cape), 6th December, 1928. These scales were maintained with minor changes until 1944 in the case of Europeans and 1947 in the case of Bantu teachers.

In 1947 when the salaries of all Bantu teachers in the Union of South Africa were made uniform, the adjustments made were as follows:-[1]

1) The Cape Education Gazette, 20/11/47, p.1809.

TABLE XIV : SCALE OF SALARIES OF BANTU TEACHERS, 1947.

GRADE	QUALIFICATIONS	MEN					WOMEN				
		MINIMUM		INCREMENT		MAXIMUM	MINIMUM		INCREMENT		MAXIMUM.
				£					£		
1.	Native Primary Teachers' Lower Certificate or approved equivalent qualification.	120	-	9	-	201	90	-	6	-	150
2.	Native Primary Teacher's Higher Certificate or approved equivalent qualification.	138	-	9	-	246	102	-	6	-	186
3.	Approved Professional Certificate and Senior Certificate or approved equivalent qualification.	156	-	12	-	336	114	-	8	-	250
4.	Approved Professional Certificate and four degree courses; provided with effect from 1st January, 1949 at least two of these courses shall be in approved school subjects.	174	-	12	-	354	126	-	8	-	262
5.	Approved Professional Certificate and eight degree courses; provided with effect from 1st January, 1950 at least four of these courses shall be in approved school subjects.	192	-	12	-	372	138	-	8	-	274
6.	Approved Professional Certificate and a degree; provided with effect from 1st January, 1951 at least half of the courses for the degree shall be in an approved school subjects.	210	-	12	-	390	150	-	8	-	286

The figures represent pounds per annum.

In addition to the above salaries, principal teachers received an allowance determined as below:-[1]

1) Ibid., p.1808.

TABLE XV : BANTU PRINCIPAL TEACHERS' ALLOWANCES, 1947.

GROUP OF SCHOOL	AVERAGE ENROLMENT OF PUPILS ABOVE STANDARD VI DURING THE FOUR SCHOOL QUARTERS ENDED ON 30th JUNE OF PRECEDING YEAR.	ALLOWANCES PER ANNUM £
(a)	99 or less	60
(b)	100 to 199	90
(c)	200 to 299	120
(d)	300 or over	150

The above figures refer to Bantu principal teachers in Bantu Training, High and Secondary Schools only.

The above salary scale operated for a few years, the new salary scale employed up till the end of the period under review being as follows:-[1]

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1) The Cape Education Gazette, 5/8/54, p.1343.

TABLE XVI : SCALE OF SALARIES OF BANTU TEACHERS, 1954.

GRADE	QUALIFICATIONS	MEN						WOMEN					
		MINIMUM		INCREMENT £		MAXIMUM		MINIMUM		INCREMENT £		MAXIMUM	
1.	Native Primary Teacher's Lower Certificate, or approved equivalent qualification.	120	-	9	-	201		90	-	6	-	150	
2.	Native Primary Teacher's Higher Certificate, or approved equivalent qualification.	138	-	9	-	246		102	-	6	-	186	
3.	Approved Professional Certificate and Senior Certificate or approved equivalent qualification.	180	-	12	-	360		130	-	8	-	266	
4.	Approved Professional Certificate and four degree courses; provided with effect from 1st January, 1949, at least two of these courses shall be in approved school subjects.	198	-	12	-	378		142	-	8	-	278	
5.	Approved Professional Certificate and eight degree courses; provided with effect from 1st January, 1950, at least four of these shall be in approved school subjects.	216	-	12	-	396		154	-	8	-	290	
6.	Approved Professional Certificate and a degree; provided that with effect from 1st January, 1951, at least half the courses shall be in approved school subjects.	258	-	12	-	450		182	-	8	-	326	

The salaries in the above table are in pounds per annum. The middle figure in each column is the annual increment.

The principal's allowance was also altered accordingly as shown in the following table:-[1]

1) The Education Gazette, (Cape Province), 5/8/54, p.1342.

TABLE XVII : BANTU PRINCIPAL TEACHER'S ALLOWANCE, 1954.

GROUP OF SCHOOL	AVERAGE ENROLMENT OF PUPILS ABOVE STANDARD VI DURING THE FOUR SCHOOL QUATERS ENDED ON 30th JUNE OF THE PRECEDING YEAR.	ALLOWANCE PER ANNUM £
(a)	99 or less	80
(b)	100 to 199	120
(c)	200 to 299	160
(d)	300 or over	200

The above table shows figures relating to Bantu principal teachers in Training, High and Secondary Schools in the Cape Province.

4. Building Funds.

Funds for the erection of the school buildings came from various sources. They were in two main categories viz. loans from the government and contributions from the Europeans.

(a) Government Loans.

For a few years immediately before the period under review the problem of securing accommodation suitable enough for Bantu secondary school pupils was continually being brought to the notice of the Cape Education Department. About 1937, however, it was brought to the attention of the Government with the result that a scheme was put[1]

> under consideration whereby funds will be made available annually for loans to municipal bodies for the purpose of erecting Native school buildings.

Three of the selected secondary schools were erected with this aid. The Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School, Grahamstown, did not fall under this scheme as it was erected prior to its implementation.

The municipal bodies granting the loans on behalf of the Government were usually referred to as Central Housing Boards. In King William's Town the Central Housing Board made a sub-economic loan of £2,000 for the erection of the Forbes Grant Secondary School building.[2] In East London and Port Elizabeth similar grants were made for the erection of the secondary school buildings there. The funds for the building of the Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School had come from the public.

The Cape Administration assisted in the maintenance of the buildings by making rent grants for buildings

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1) Report of the S.G.E., 1937, p.108.
2) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 23/10/37.

erected after 1935 inclusive. Since all the buildings of the selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools were erected after 1935, they thus benefited from the grants. As a rule rent grants were authorised on limited capital costs.[1]

(b) European Contributions.

European residents in each of the urban areas concerned contributed to the building funds of these schools either as individuals or corporate bodies. Personalities like Dr. Gordon Mears and the late Mr. Arthur Forbes-Grant of King William's Town, Senator W.T.Welsh of East London, the Rev. Mr. Newell and the Rev. Mr. Cowan of Port Elizabeth, and Dr. S.L. Shuttleworth, Professors E.D. Mountain, J.V.L. Rennie, D. Hobart-Houghton and D.M. Morton of Grahamstown undertook to assist actively in the raising of funds for the erection of buildings of Bantu secondary schools in their urban areas. The European public of Grahamstown was credited with the outstanding feat of contributing a handsome sum of money for the erection of the Bantu Secondary School there. In this effort the Mayor and the Town Council of Grahamstown played a leading role.

Corporate Bodies such as the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans in each of the four urban centres, the Borough Council of King William's Town, the Rotary Clubs and the Native Affairs Department, made generous contributions.[2] To state that the European School Boards of East London, King William's Town and Port Elizabeth together with the Circuit Inspectors connected with the Bantu

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1) loc.cit.; Cf. Report of the S.G.E., Cape, 1937, p.109.
2) The Native Affairs Department contributed £300 towards the building of the Welsh High School, East London, and the laying out of its grounds; Cf. Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 9/8/41.

Urban Day Secondary Schools[1] were in the fore-front in the struggle for the raising of funds, would be to stress a self-evident truth.

It is doubtful whether without these voluntary financial contributions from the Europeans these schools could have achieved the success of which some of them are justly proud. It is a matter of conjecture if their development would have been progressively in the right direction had they not enjoyed the ungrudged support of their broad-minded benefactors.

5. School Fees.

Each pupil attending any of the Bantu urban day secondary schools had to pay a fixed fee of £2 per annum payable at the rate of 10/- per quarter.[2] Some paid the amount all at once, while others availed themselves of the concession to pay quarterly, yet there were always a few destitute pupils who found it extremely difficult to meet this obligation. The annual fee had been fixed at a meeting of the four Chief Inspectors of Native Education in the Union.[3] At first only pupils over the age of 15 years were expected to pay the fee, but later, all pupils, irrespective of age, had to pay the full amount. The fees collected accrued to the Provincial Revenue.

In addition to these Departmental fees there were other fees paid by the pupils to the schools. Among these was the sports fees. The other fees were considered as

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1) The Circuit Inspectors included H.S.Bowden, B.A. (East London), S.B.Hobson, M.A. (Grahamstown), E.R.O. Gardiner, B.A. (King William's Town), and G.J.Louw, B.A., and P.J. van der Walt, B.A. (Port Elizabeth).
2) At the Welsh High School fees for the Senior Certificate pupils were fixed at £3 : 10/-. Cf. Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 20/9/41.
3) Report of the S.G.E., Cape, 1937, p.108.

contributions towards the running costs of sport. The amounts varied from school to school in the four selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools. At the Newell High School, Port Elizabeth, each pupil paid 10/- per annum as sports fee,[1] while at the Grahamstown Secondary School the pupils did not pay any sports fees as such; instead, every new pupil admitted was required to contribute a sum of £1 : 10/-. This was styled a "voluntary" fee.[2] The money was used to build up a school fund from which the school financed sports clubs. Further investigation led to the information that the money was also used to help defray incidental expenses incurred by the school.

Some of this money went to the purchase of equipment which was urgently required inasmuch as the Cape Education Department sometimes took a considerably long time to attend to requisitions. In the case of the Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, and the Welsh High School, East London, no special sports fee was charged.[3] At the Forbes Grant Secondary school pupils joining a sports club of the school paid a joining fee of 5/- to that particular club.[4] This was primarily a students' concern and was not imposed upon them by the

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1) Interview with the Rev.G.B.Molefe, M.A., 3/9/60, first principal of the Newell High School, Port Elizabeth; information supplemented and corroborated by Mr. L. Ntlabathi, B.A., second principal of the school; Messrs. L.D.Ngcongco, B.A.(Hons.), Lovedale Institution, Lovedale, and G.B.Mewana, Lovedale Institution, Lovedale, both former students of the Newell High School.

2) Interview with Mr.B.E.Mahlasela, B.A., 5A, Osmond Street, Grahamstown, 8/9/59; information corroborated by Mr. R.L.Peteni, B.A., second principal of Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School, 3/9/60.

3) In actual fact in the case of the Welsh High School, the sports fee was incorporated in the bloc fee which was fixed at £2 : 10/-; Cf. Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 20/9/41.

4) Principal's Files, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town; information confirmed by Mr.V.Z.Gitywa, B.A.

school authorities. At the Welsh High School the pupils started a sports fund with the money they collected when they staged concerts, plays, and from gate takings of matches played at the school.[1] Pupils willing to join a sports club were required to pay a small membership fee which was imposed by the students themselves, with the approval of the Principal.

6. Contribution from the Community.

Except in the case of the Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School, financial contributions from the Bantu Committees for the financing of the selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools were required for the purpose of meeting incidental expenses such as money for buying fence wire, laying out of sports fields and the entertainment of visitors. The actual amounts contributed in each case could not be ascertained since no records of monies collected and expended seemed to have been strictly kept before 1954. The contributions at King William's Town, East London, and Port Elizabeth were received in the form of donations, money collected from concerts and fees stipulated by the different school committees, which helped in the maintenance of school buildings and the payment of salaries of unaided teachers.

The building of the classrooms of the Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School was solely the responsibility of the community. The money was collected from concerts given by teachers' choirs[2] or those organised by the parents through the Parent Teachers' Association. One of

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1) Interview with Mr.G.M.Mpati, B.Sc., B.Ed., Lovedale Institution, Lovedale, 7/9/60 and Mr.D.Ntloko, B.A., Welsh High School, Duncan Village, East London, 10/10/60.
2) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 24/4/37.

these was reported in the Umteteli WaBantu 20/2/37 as follows:-

> The Parents' Association of the proposed Secondary School in Grahamstown gave a successful concert in the large St. Phillips' School room on Monday night 8th February. It was well attended by the parents and others. It was the first concert of its kind in Grahamstown. The school room was packed. The proceeds go towards a fund to erect a school building ;..... All the committee members of the secondary school must be thanked for what they did to bring about such a successful concert.

It was, however, the indirect contributions from the community which preserved the life of these schools. The parents paid the fees which were used for buying equipment and for the maintenance and general development of the schools. The rest of the money came out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund which was made up from the taxation of the Bantu in the Union of South Africa. The contributions of the Bantu communities may appear small, but in actual fact they were considerable when one takes into consideration that during the period reviewed the earning power of the communities was low. Of East London it was said[1]

> The average Native family, including adult dependents, in East London comprises 5.13 persons and has a family income not exceeding £6 : 10/- a month, which is lower than the minimum required for decent subsistence.

7. The Bantu Education Act No.47 of 1953.

In 1953 Parliament passed an Act whereby the administration of Bantu Education was transferred from the Provincial Administration to the Union Government, precisely under the Department of Native Affairs.[2] The transfer necessarily brought about changes in the financing of Bantu

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1) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 20/5/54; Cf. The Daily Dispatch, East London, 22/1/41.
2) Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1953, p.258.

education as a whole. Like other Acts mentioned previously, this new Act did not make mention of any definite sums of money to be spent specifically on Bantu secondary education alone, but it was definite in providing that [1]

> Subject to the provisions of this Act, the Minister of Native Affairs may, on such special conditions as he may stipulate and in accordance with the Minister of Finance, out of moneys appropriated or set aside by Parliament for native education -
>
> (a) subsidise any Bantu school established or maintained by any Bantu authority, or any native council, tribe or community (hereafter called a Bantu Community School); or
>
> (b) assist in the establishment of maintenance of any such school.

In addition to the above-mentioned powers, the Minister of Native Affairs could, at his discretion, at any time suspend, reduce or withdraw any subsidy or assistance granted to a community school. According to the Act also, Parliament could, out of such moneys [2]

> (a) establish and maintain Bantu schools which shall be known as Government Bantu Schools;
>
> (b) establish and maintain any hostel, teachers' quarters, school clinic, or any other accessory to a Government Bantu School.

Since according to the Act every Bantu school which was established and maintained by a provincial administration and which was in existence on the date of commencement of the Act, would be deemed to have been established as a Government Bantu School, all the selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools were considered Government Schools. [3]

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1) Sub-section (1) of Section 6 of the Bantu Education Act, No.47 of 1953, Union of South Africa.
2) Sub-section (1) of Section 7 of the Bantu Education Act,No.47 of 1953, Union of South Africa.
3) Three of the selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools were from their early days Government Schools, but the Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School was not a Government School since it was built by the community;but it was later sold to the Government.

The system of grants-in-aid which these schools had enjoyed under the Cape Provincial Administration was continued but with certain amendments. In sub-section (1) of Section 8 of this Act it was stated that

> subject to the provisions of this Act, the Minister may, on such special conditions as he may stipulate and in accordance with such general principles as he may determine in consultation with the Minister of Finance, out of moneys appropriated or set aside by Parliament for native education make grants-in-aid to any native school approved by him for the purpose of this section.

One such provision for such grants-in-aid was that the existence of any aided Bantu school would not preclude, retard or in any way render impracticable, the establishment of a Bantu community school or a Government Bantu school for the area concerned. It should also be mentioned that the Minister of Native Affairs could, at his discretion, withdraw grants-in-aid after holding an inquiry

> at which the person or committee or other body in charge of the said school shall be entitled to be heard.

Such was the system of financing these schools immediately before the end of the period under review. It should be stated, however, that the provisions of the Bantu Education Act did not come into full operation until towards the end of 1954. When the Act was enforced, these schools suffered no considerable change as far as financing was concerned.

CHAPTER V.

THE EDUCATIONAL CONTRIBUTION.

It is not an easy task to assess with complete accuracy the contribution that each of the four selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools has made towards the advancement of the Bantu, although it is a matter of common knowledge that each has made its worthwhile contribution. The difficulty stems from a number of factors, chief of which is the fact that neither follow-up studies were conducted nor up-to-date records were kept by the sponsors of the schools concerned. Happily, it has been said that [1]

> everything that exists exists in some amount, and if it exists in some amount it can be measured.

Thus, by studying the Cape Junior Certificate Examinations results for the years 1940-1954, in so far as they affect these schools, and also by taking into account the entrance qualifications for various courses of study e.g. Senior Certificate Course, Primary Higher Teachers' Course, Nursing, etc., the contribution of the four selected Bantu urban day secondary schools may be more or less correctly assessed. At the beginning, not all people thought these schools would rise to the standards they had attained by the end of 1954. It was a popular belief that they would never stand the test of time and that they would die a slow but natural death.

1. Supplying Entrants to High Schools.

Before these schools were established, high schools for the Bantu depended entirely on their own Junior Certificate successes for candidates for the Cape Senior Certificate Course. After these schools had got into stride in

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1) P.B.Ballard: Mental Tests, p.2.

their service as feeder schools, the numbers of candidates coming forward to the said course increased rapidly. The number of pupils seeking admission to Lovedale, Healdtown Institutions, St. Matthew's College, Clarkebury and Shawbury Missionary Institutions, Langa High School, and Queenstown High School rose consistently. This was a practical manifestation of one way in which these Bantu secondary schools contributed towards Bantu higher education in South Africa.

The entrance qualification to the Senior Certificate course consisted in the successful completion of the Junior Certificate course.[1] Since one of the main purposes of the secondary schools was to prepare pupils for the Junior Certificate Examinations,[2] a steady flow of pupils possessing the Junior Certificate was ensured. Some pupils from the Welsh High School, East London, and the Newell High School, Port Elizabeth, entered the Senior Certificate course in the same schools or, like those from the Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town, and the Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School, Grahamstown, went to the above-mentioned two urban day high schools or to the Missionary Institutions. To suggest that all the pupils who passed the Junior Certificate Examinations in these schools proceeded to the Senior Certificate course would be an exaggeration. The most important point to stress is that more and more Bantu pupils did qualify in the selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary schools for admission to high schools. It is also a

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1) Secondary School Courses, Junior and Senior Certificate Handbook, Department of Public Education, Cape Province, 1948, p.3.
2) Prospectuses of the four selected secondary schools.

fact that a great number of them did eventually enter the Senior Certificate course. In the case of a Bantu child, too, entrance to a course leading to the Senior Certificate course depended on such factors as I.Q., opportunities for employment and finally the economic standing of the parents at the time the pupil passes the Junior Certificate examinations.

(ii) Forbes Grant Secondary School.

Several pupils, some of whom turned out to be capable scholars, came from this school. Mr. V.Z. Gitywa who obtained a first class pass in the Cape Junior Certificate examination at this school in 1949 completed the Primary Higher Teachers' course and passed the Cape Senior Certificate examination at the Lovedale Missionary Institution in 1951 and 1953 respectively.

During his attendance at Lovedale he distinguished himself not only as a bright scholar but also as a good leader of other students. He was appointed House Captain and head student purely on merit. In his final year he won the much-coveted dux prize in the High School and also another for being the best student of the year in scholastic achievement.[1] In 1954, he undertook studies for the B.A. degree at the University College of Fort Hare.[2]

Another student of the Forbes Grant Secondary School who passed the Junior Certificate examination in the first grade and proceeded to high school is Mr. H.K. Nyikana

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1) Roll of Honour and Attendance Registers of the Lovedale Missionary Institution, Lovedale, 1950-1953.

2) Mr.V.Z.Gitywa obtained the B.A. degree of Rhodes University in 1956 with a distinction in Geography. He became the first student of Fort Hare to pass Geography III with distinction. He taught at the Cowan Secondary School, New Brighton, till July, 1959. In August, 1959, he was appointed Curator of the F.S.Malan Museum, Fort Hare. He has since made a collection of invaluable specimens of cultural interest.

who after two years of study at the Lovedale Missionary Institution, successfully completed the Cape Senior Certificate course. In 1952 he was admitted to the University College of Fort Hare to study for the B.A. degree.[1] Similarly, Mr. D.V. Tom passed the Junior Certificate examination at the Forbes Grant Secondary School in the first grade, passed the Senior Certificate examination at Lovedale and the B.A. degree at the University College of Fort Hare.[2] Mr. J.N. Ntutu passed the Junior Certificate examination in the first grade and obtained the Senior Certificate in 1950 at the Healdtown Missionary Institution. He completed both the B.A. degree and the University Education Diploma in 1954.[3]

((b)) The Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School.

A number of students left this school for High schools where they could follow courses leading to the Senior Certificate. Mr. M. Ngxiki matriculated at St..Matthew's College and afterwards found employment with the "Evening Post", a daily newspaper printed in Port Elizabeth, and the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

Mr. O. Mahlasela attended the Healdtown High School and the University College of Fort Hare, and later taught for some years at the Peelton Secondary School, near King William's Town. Mrs. Beauty N. Mabuya (neé Nokoyo) studied for the Senior Certificate course after passing the Native Primary Higher Teachers' Course and taught as a specialist teacher of Domestic Science at the Nigel

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1) Register of the University College of Fort Hare, Alice, 1952.
2) Mr.D.V.Tom taught at the Ayliff Secondary School, Peddie, and at the Healdtown Missionary Institution in the period 1956-1960. He is well-known in Rugby circles of the Border area where he has been elected Vice-President of the Border Amateur Lawn Tennis Association.
3) While at College Mr.J.N.Ntutu played for the first team in rugby. He taught at the Newell High School, New Brighton, and at the Forbes Grant Secondary School.

Bantu High School, Nigel. She gave years of devoted service at the Gossling Bantu Community School, Wattville, Benoni. Mr. Ebenezer Vinqi passed the Junior Certificate examination in the first grade within two years. In 1951 he was admitted to the Healdtown High School to study for the Senior Certificate examination which he passed in 1953. He passed the B.Sc. degree at the Fort Hare University College.[1]

(c). The Newell High School.

This school made no small contribution to secondary and higher education among the Bantu. The following are some of its products: Mr. B. Socenywa passed the Cape Senior Certificate examination, qualified as a teacher, obtained the B.A. degree of the University of South Africa through private studies. He took up an appointment as a teacher at the Newell High School,[2] but afterwards accepted the principalship of the Cradock Bantu Secondary School, Cradock. He later returned to assist at the Newell High School. In Port Elizabeth Mr. B. Socenywa became of great service to the community. He conducted a night school for those who could not attend ordinary day school classes and took an active part in the organisation of sporting activities in the Eastern Province.

Mr. Dumile Kondile completed the Native Primary Higher Teachers' Course and the Cape Senior Certificate at the Healdtown Missionary Institution.[3] He demonstrated

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1) Mr. E.Vinqi obtained the University Education Diploma and went to teach at the Newell High School.
2) Records of the Newell High School, New Brighton, 1955.
3) Admission and Attendance Registers, Healdtown Missionary Institution, Healdtown, 1950-1954. Mr.D.Kondile served at the Ayliff Secondary School, Peddie, and at the Cowan Secondary School, New Brighton. He played a prominent role in sport in the Border area and as a student and at the South African Bantu Amateur Athletic Association contests held in various cities of the Union, he established records in the shot putt. On a number of occasions he was fittingly selected captain of the Eastern Province and Border Rugby Union teams.

his ability in sports, in the management of other students as captain of the rugby team both at Healdtown and at Fort Hare, and as a prefect at Healdtown.

Mr. L.Z. Ngqobongwana, B.A., a distinguished teacher of History, was educated at the Newell High School and the University College of Fort Hare.[1] The others were: Mr. Frank M. Tonjeni, B.A., and Mr. L.D. Ngcongco, B.A. Hons. Mr. Frank M.Tonjemi obtained the B.A. degree and afterwards the University Education Diploma at Fort Hare. He was appointed to the staff of the Cowan Secondary School, New Brighton.[2] Mr. L.D. Ngcongco passed the Senior Certificate examination in the first grade in 1952.[3]

(d) The Welsh High School.

The Welsh High School made a valuable contribution to the cause of Bantu higher education. A former student of this school is, Dr. G.M.F. Mbolekwa, MB.CH.B. After completing the Senior Certificate at the Welsh High School, he studied for the pre-medical course[4] at Fort Hare and qualified at the Witwatersrand Medical School as a medical practitioner. He has since served his people both in the Transkei and at New Brighton. Another student was Mr. G.M. Mpati, B.Sc., B.Ed.[5]

2. Entrants to Training Schools.

For the purposes of this dissertation, training

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1) Mr.L.Z.Ngqobongwana taught for some years at the Newell High School before going to Ghana.
2) He played a leading part in the organisation and running of the African Theatrical Society which toured the Eastern Cape in 1960 staging Dr.A.C.Jordan's: Ingqumbo Yeminyanya under the direction of Mr.Ian Sogoni of the Cowan Secondary School, New Brighton.
3) After the B.A. degree, he obtained the B.A. Hons. degree in the Department of History. He became one of the first two Bantu students to receive this degree of Rhodes University.
4) This was a one-year course. Chemistry I, Physics I, Zoology I and Botany I had to be passed with 50% and over.
5) Mr.G.M.Mpati obtained the B.Ed. degree in 1959.

schools will be taken to mean those schools which offered the Primary Lower and/or the various Primary Higher Teachers' courses. The entrance qualification to the former was standard VI, and to the latter, the Junior Certificate with or without the Primary Lower certificate.[1]

There was from 1937-1954 a constant flow of pupils from the Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools to teacher training schools. The following tables indicate the changes in the enrolment of such schools as a result of the support they received from the Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools:

TABLE XVIII[2] : ENROLMENT IN TRAINING SCHOOLS, CAPE, 1928-1944.

	NATIVE PRIMARY LOWER TEACHERS' COURSE.			NATIVE PRIMARY HIGHER TEACHERS' COURSE.	
YEAR	I	II	III	I	II
1928	639	387	459	6	7
1929	683	402	448	1	16
1930	-	-	-	-	-
1931	-	-	-	-	-
1932	-	-	-	-	-
1933	-	-	-	-	-
1934	-	-	-	-	-
1935	-	-	-	-	-
1936	809	476	554	50	83
1937	784	557	510	93	67
1938	747	543	559	141	124
1939	919	536	564	161	131
1940	-	-	-	-	-
1941	862	626	553	175	189
1942	887	583	558	177	194
1943	837	603	553	167	200
1944	700	543	540	259	206

Statistics for the years 1930-1935 and 1940 were not available.

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1) I.D.M.Mkize: The Cape African Teacher, (Unpublished M.Ed. Dissertation, University of South Africa, 1942),p.12. As a rule, candidates who had passed N.P.L. III in the first grade, could be admitted to the second year of the N.P.H. course, as well as teachers who had done creditable work and were specially recommended by Circuit Inspectors.

2) Educational Statistics, Cape, 1928-1944.

From 1945, the sexes were distributed in the various classes of the training schools as indicated in table XIX.[1)]

TABLE XIX : ENROLMENT IN TRAINING SCHOOL, CAPE, 1945-1954.

YEAR	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1945	21	548	64	380	138	351	148	78	178	87
1946	12	564	22	378	62	339	180	99	171	79
1947	3	541	16	354	22	253	248	140	206	96
1948	-	572	15	381	16	310	342	160	255	135
1949	-	491	-	386	14	311	419	181	306	135
1950	-	115	-	355	1	379	409	259	403	155
1951	-	238	-	128	-	316	290	279	379	239
1952	-	453	-	231	-	118	320	359	286	266
1953	-	386	-	311	-	189	261	411	282	326
1954	-	375	-	351	-	258	290	386	290	404

No pupils were allowed in the N.P.L. classes from 1948.

The above figures show clearly that with the coming of the Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools into existence from about 1937 the number of students enrolling for the Native Primary Higher Teachers' course rose consistently while during the same period there was a corresponding decrease in the number of those taking the N.P.L. course. The decrease in the number of male students enrolling for the N.P.H. in 1953 and 1954 was due to the introduction of the Advanced Native Primary Higher Teachers' Course in 1952. Only girls were allowed to follow the old N.P.H. course.

(a) Forbes Grant Secondary School.

A number of students from this school went to the training schools. Among them may be mentioned Messrs. Mordecai Gujulwa, S. Mnene, and T. Mntwapi, and Miss Notopiya Khaka who went to St. Matthew's College for the Native

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1) Educational Statistics, Cape, 1945-1954.

Primary Lower Teachers' Course.

(b) The Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School.

Although statistics to show exactly how many pupils from this school went to teacher-training institutions would be difficult to find, it is a fact that a large number of them did take teacher-training courses. Mrs. D. Makalima (neé Figlan) who had passed the Junior Certificate examination in the first grade obtained the Senior Certificate and the Primary Higher certificate, and the Post-matriculation Domestic Science certificate at the Healdtown Missionary Institution. Others include Messrs. M. Mti[1] and P. Mali.[2]

(c) The Newell High School.

A number of students from this school took up courses for teacher-training after they had completed the Junior Certificate and/or the Senior Certificate courses. Mr. E. Majola returned to teach in Port Elizabeth in 1953 after training as a teacher in the Healdtown Missionary Institution.[3] where he had proved himself as a gifted rugby and cricket player.[4] The others included Messrs. C.W. Njezula[5] L. Maqoma,[6] and K. Njikelana.[7]

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1) Mr.M.Mti had passed the Junior Certificate examination in the first grade and proceeded to the Blythswood Training School, Blythswood.
2) Mr.P.Mali trained as a teacher at the Lovedale Missionary Institution and went to teach at Cradock where he became principal of the St. James Higher Mission School.
3) Attendance Registers, Healdtown Training School, 1950-1952.
4) After leaving the Healdtown Missionary Institution, Mr. E.Majola maintained a high standard and reputation in sporting circles, representing the Eastern Province on several occasions in rugby and cricket.He was selected to play in the South African team in the Inter-Racial Tournaments in the above-mentioned games. He is a good Table Tennis player.
5) Mr.C.W.Njezula completed the Cape Senior Certificate course at the Newell High School in 1954.
6) Mr.L.Maqoma opened a dry-cleaning business in Port Elizabeth.
7) Mr.K.Njikelana became principal of a primary school at Kwazakhele, Port Elizabeth.

(d) The Welsh High School.

Like the other three secondary schools, the Welsh High School made a valuable contribution to the teaching profession. Some of the past students who went to training schools included Messrs. F. Bengu, B.A.,[1] L.L. Sontshi, L. Ndlazi, F. Dunga, E. Cele and Mrs. G. Mzimba (neé Cillo).

Mr. F. Bengu was admitted to the Lovedale Training School after passing the Cape Senior Certificate examination. Mr. L.L. Sontshi who completed the Senior Certificate Course at the Welsh High School in 1947 followed the Native Primary Higher Teachers' Course at the Lovedale Training School. In 1950 he took a special course in physical training at the Healdtown Institution. While at the Welsh High School, he played for the Border team in 1945 and at the Missionary Institutions, too, he was a member of their first teams in rugby.[2]

3. Entrants to Nursing.

The nursing profession with the Junior Certificate as its entrance qualification attracted a large number of pupils from the Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools who would otherwise have been unable to find the money payable as fees at the missionary training and high schools. Moreover, the number of training hospitals in the country and the need for trained Bantu nurses provided a strong incentive to many girls. In recent years, certain

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1) Mr. F.Bengu obtained the B.A. degree of the University of South Africa while teaching at the Lawson Secondary School, Fort Beaufort.

2) Mr. L.L.Sontshi taught at the Kama Secondary School, Middledrift, and was President of the Border Day Secondary Schools' Sports Union. He was also a member of the East London Inter-Denominational Choir.

hospitals have shown a preference for girls who seek admission with a higher qualification than the Junior Certificate. It is of interest to recall that before 1930 the entrance qualification to nursing was, in the smaller hospitals, standard VI. In the bigger ones candidates who had passed N.P.L.III or standard VII were considered suitably qualified to commence training as nurses. It was only after the Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools had established themselves firmly that the entrance qualification was raised to Junior Certificate. It can, therefore, be concluded that it was the undoubted contribution of these schools that brought about these changes.

In addition to the academic qualifications, there were personal qualifications such as, for instance, trustworthiness, accuracy, obedience, tact and observation.[1]

When the writer visited Frere Hospital, East London, King Edward VIII Hospital, Durban, Livingstone Hospital, Port Elizabeth, Sir Henry Elliot Hospital, Umtata, and Victoria Hospital, Lovedale, he found several pupils who had been to these Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools for the Junior Certificate course. Others had gone to the Pretoria General Hospital, the Baragwanath Hospital, Johannesburg, and the Glen Grey Hospital near Lady Frere.

(a) Forbes Grant Secondary School.

This school sent out a number of students who chose nursing as their vocation. Among them were Lulama Nano (Livingstone Hospital), Vinas Willam, Primrose Mantame, Horatia Ntsonkota, Nomsa Peteni, Mrs. Cecilia Nothemba Skweyiya (neé Klaas), Beatrice N. Kolisi, (Lovedale),

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1) M.S. Riddell: Lectures to Nurses, p.3-4; cf. H.C. Parsons: British Red Cross Society Nursing Manual, p.2.

Mrs. Louisa L. Vena (neé Peter) Lovedale and McCord., Mrs. Evelyn B. Nqandela (neé Bonda) Sir Henry Elliot, Victoria and McCord Hospitals, (all of the Victoria Hospital), Ellen Langa, Alice Jamani, Vivian Mali (Baragwanath Hospital), Cynthia Nkeweni (Sir Henry Elliot Hospital), Antoinette Nqoza, Alice Qabaka (Mental Hospital, Fort Beaufort), Joyce Gushman (King Edward VIII Hospital), and Mabel Mafu (Mount Coke Hospital, King William's Town). One of the first students was Sister F. Nongauza (neé Tyobela) who trained as a nurse and midwife at the Victoria Hospital, Lovedale. She served her people at the Pretoria General Hospital and at the Amatola Hospital, King William's Town.

(b) The Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School.

This school contributed greatly to the nursing profession. Among its former students may be mentioned Sister L. Saule, Staff-Nurses Ruth Ngindana who trained at the Pretoria General Hospital, Violet Matthews who trained in Durban, Mrs. Ruth Mkentane (neé Soya) who worked as a nurse at the Sir Henry Elliot Hospital, Umtata, King Edward VIII Hospital, Durban, and at the Livingstone Hospital, Port Elizabeth, and Mrs. R.N. Gubevu (neé Moyakhe) who, after training as a teacher at the Lovedale Training School and after teaching for some years trained as a nurse at the King Edward VIII Hospital and the Livingstone Hospital. Afterwards she became staff-tutor at the Victoria Hospital at Lovedale.

(c) The Newell High School.

The students of the Newell High School who later took up nursing included staff-nurse Louisa Sithole who trained at the Victoria Hospital, Yokwe who took up nursing at the Livingstone Hospital after completing .

the Senior Certificate course, and Mrs. R. Nene (neé Febana) who also joined the nursing profession after passing the Senior Certificate examination.

(d) The Welsh High School.

A large number of pupils of this school joined the nursing profession. Some of them were Misses E. Mbete, M. Ntshona, L. Kweza, N. Njikelana, C. Figlan, C. Matiwana and N. Zokufa. A few students from this school trained as male nurses, e.g. Messrs. T. Mqotyana and S. Mapisa.

4. Entrants to Agricultural Schools.

Agricultural training in the Ciskei was offered at the Fort Cox Agricultural School on a farm six miles from Middledrift as from September, 1930.[1] Before the advent of the Day Secondary Schools between 1930 and 1937 the entrance qualification at the Fort Cox Agricultural School was standard VI. Between 1940 and 1954 it became necessary to raise it to the Junior Certificate because students with suitable qualifications, some of whom came from the Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools were available. It will be remembered that pupils from the Reserves attended these schools. A few male pupils went to study agriculture. Secondly, the entrance qualification was raised because standards were admittedly rising all round and the Missionary Institutions were selective in the admission of applicants to the Native Primary Higher and Senior Certificate courses.

Additional qualifications for entrance to an agricultural school had to do with the qualities of the applicants. They had to be industrious, naturalists, and

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1) M.O.M.Seboni: The South African Native College, Fort Hare, 1903-1954, (Unpublished D.Ed. Thesis, University of South Africa, 1958), p.276.

skilled labourers.[1] Pupils from the four selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools held conflicting views on the importance of agriculture. Some were optimistic while others were pessimistic. This was not to be wondered at inasmuch as in society such views have always been in vogue.[2] Since agriculture is fundamental,[3] these schools did contribute though in a small way.

(a) The Forbes Grant Secondary School.

Mr. K. Badi was one of the pupils of this school who received training in agriculture at the Fort Cox Agricultural School after qualifying as a teacher at the Gore-Brown Training Institution, Kimberley. On completing his training, he was employed as an agricultural demonstrator.

(b) The Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School.

From this school, too, a few pupils proceeded to the Fort Cox Agricultural School. These included Messrs M. Mti and Mtongana. Mr. M. Mti had first obtained the Senior Certificate at the Healdtown Missionary Institution.

(c) The Welsh High School.

From this school only one pupil, a Mr. Nkonki, was known to have gone for agricultural training at the Fort Cox Agricultural School.

(d) The Newell High School.

Research in this school did not reveal that any former students had taken agricultural training.[4]

5. Enlightened Employees for Commerce and Industry.

Some former students of these schools who had passed

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1) G.F.Warren: Farm Management, pp. 1-6.
2) S.B.Gras: A History of Agriculture in Europe, p. 22.
3) Ibid., p.3; Cf. W.Gee: The Social Economics of Agriculture, pp. 1-17.
4) In an interview with Mr. R.A.Bennie, Principal, Fort Cox Agricultural College, Middledrift, 5/12/60, the writer learnt that most applicants for agricultural training came from the Freemantle Boys School, Lady Frere, and that applicants from the four selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools were only a recent occurrence.

the Junior or Senior Certificate examinations but could not further their education, found employment in various spheres of life. Some worked as interpreters in courts of law or as clerks in administrative offices in urban areas, while others worked for Insurance Companies.[1]

When the writer visited factories and Motor Assembly Works in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, he saw former students of the selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools working as employees.[2] As most of these workers in factories and business offices had passed the Junior Certificate, and a few the Senior Certificate, they created an enlightened class of employees.

6. Candidates for the Ministry of the Church.

For a long time it had been thought that only elderly people among the Bantu could become ministers of religion. As a result young men who were inclined to study for Holy Orders first adopted other vocations. A few of the former students of the Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools became ministers of religion. For example, Mr. N. Katiya, B.A. joined the ministry of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa and was ordained in September, 1953. Mr. F.J. Tokota, B.A., a former pupil of the Newell High School, also joined the ministry of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa. Others included Mr. James Haya and the Rev. D.A. Sondlo, former pupils of the Forbes Grant Secondary School, who joined the ministry of the Church of the Province of South Africa and the Wayside Pulpit

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1) In this connection may be mentioned Messrs Thabo Moyake who matriculated in 1953 and worked as an assistant at the Rio Bioscope, New Brighton; M'zontsundu Mhlantla who was employed as a clerk for the African Horizon Insurance Company; Nelson Ndalasi worked for the same company.

2) Among them were Messrs B.Nguna who worked as a foreman at the Industex Textile factory, Port Elizabeth, and N.Katiya was employed at the General Motors Assembly Plant, Port Elizabeth.

Church of Jehova's Witnesses respectively.

7. Providing an Enlightened Community.

An enlightened community is one where people are conscious of the way it functions, of their rights and duties.[1] When the writer visited various areas in the Ciskei, he met former pupils of the four selected schools who had left school possessing the Junior Certificate or having gone a long way towards the acquisition of that certificate. With all the knowledge they had gained, they had settled down as enlightened members of their communities.[2] Some held positions of responsibility.

Even those who did not hold high positions in the social group to which they belonged constituted a class of people who understood the needs of their communities and ready to support progressive schemes that were being mooted.

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1) A.K.C.Ottaway: Education and Society, p.3.
2) Mention need only be made of persons like Merssrs. H.Malgas, President of the King William's Town Rugby Union, Z.Gcilishe, secretary for the Ginsberg Bursary Committee, P.Ngcelwane, School Board Secretary, L. Dwane, secretary of the African National Congress, C. Mahlulo, Post-master at Ndabakazi, S.Nyamakazi, school committee secretary, and B.Nohe, Vice-President of the Border Rugby Union Football Club, and Misses X.Yengo, Secretary for the King Choristers, King William's Town, and N.Mpumlwana, a Departmental Visiting Teacher in the Transvaal.

CHAPTER VI.

SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS.

A. Summary.

1. History.

(a) Forbes Grant Secondary School.

After the need for the establishment of the school had been realised, the school building was erected from money given to the King William's Town Borough Council by the Central Housing Board. The money had been given to the Central Housing Board by the Government as a loan for the erection of a Hall and a School. This was the fruit of a humble beginning when classes were held at the European Technical School. The growth and ultimate success of the secondary school scheme was due partly to the enthusiasm of the King William's Town School Board, but mostly to the untiring efforts of Mr. Arthur Forbes Grant, M.A., and his assistants, and of the European and Bantu residents of King William's Town and of the neighbouring primary school teachers.

The foundation-stone was laid by the first citizen of the country, the Governor-General, who gave a rousing address. The school grew rapidly, the enrolment rising from 16 to 235 pupils by the end of 1954. The number of teachers rose from 1 accordingly to 10. Extra-mural and sporting activities provided for in the Boarding Missionary Institutions were made available in this school. Unfortunately, the school never reached High School status partly because it was not the policy of the Bantu Education Department to encourage Bantu high school education in urban areas.

(b) The Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School.

The idea of starting a secondary school for Bantu pupils in Grahamstown having originated from the Albany-Barthurst Teachers' Association, was laid before the parents' meeting which appointed a committee to work in close co-operation with the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans. A Board of Trustees set up to see that all developments complied with the requirements of the Cape Department of Education assisted the committee.

The money for the erection of the school building was raised from donations and concert proceeds.

The school marked a definite advance in the history of the development of Bantu Secondary education as it was the first Bantu Urban Day Secondary School in the Ciskei to have a Bantu principal - an experiment which proved a great success. The establishment of the school and the appointment of its principal constituted the fruitful labours of the Circuit Inspector, of some members of the Rhodes University College staff and of the Bantu themselves. It was an outstanding achievement in the face of many difficulties.

With the rise of the roll of pupils the number of teachers increased. The school earned for itself enthusiastic supporters and willing helpers. But an opportunity of helping the school to obtain high school status was lost. So keen had been the people on their secondary school that they busied themselves with seeing it operate that they considered its official opening ceremony a matter of minor importance.

(c) The Newell High School.

After the efforts of the Bantu community had proved a failure, the school was started by the Bantu Presbyterian

Church in 1943. It received official recognition and came under the jurisdiction of the Port Elizabeth School Board. In 1947 it achieved high school status and by the end of 1954, it had 15 teachers on the staff and 381 students on the roll. When the permissible maximum enrolment had been exceeded by a waiting list of hundreds of students, the Cowan Secondary School was opened to receive the overflow.

The history of the school revealed that it has weathered many storms. The school was made a political football as shown by the statement that[1]

> There are groups of candidates just as there are two opposing sections in the school elections. As the elections are not over yet, the candidates are fighting one another ..... The fights will end in the courts of law.

As in the case of the Grahamstown secondary school, no evidence could be found to show that there ever was any official opening ceremony of this school. One of the reasons for this was that at the time New Brighton was sadly lagging behind in social improvements,[2] and there was a great deal of disharmony among the residents. What has been said should not be misconstrued to suggest that the parents alone evinced a hostile attitude; the teachers, too, had adopted a similar attitude. The Teachers' Association boycotted school committee elections in 1947.[3] In spite of all these difficulties, however, the school showed no signs of a premature death. Instead, all learnt to love and value it as their own possession.

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1) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 22/11/47.
2) loc.cit.
3) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 11/10/47. The committee elected consisted of the Rev. W.T. Ntintili, Messrs.F.H.M.Zwide, A.Z.Tshiwuli, W.W.Jabavu, E.N.C.Duna, W.F.Ximiya and Sister Dora Nginza.

(d) The Senator Welsh High School.

The school developed from the efforts of the Bantu themselves, Senator W.T. Welsh working in conjunction with the East London School Board, and of the Joint Council for Europeans and Africans. From a humble start at the Peacock Hall, it transferred to a commodious building which was declared open at a moving ceremony by Senator the Hon. C.H. Malcomess in the presence of a large number of dignitaries. The Cape Education Department had given the school recognition and its later development resulted from the efficiency of its first principal, Dr. O.D. Wollheim, M.A., Ph.D., who served the community to the best of his abilities. As a result, it was granted high school status in 1941.

In conclusion, therefore, it can be stated that the history and the problems of these four Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools illustrate the fact that with close co-operation among the different sections of the population, great achievements can be made inasmuch as "the central story of South Africa is not the monopoly of any race."[1] It is also clear that if teachers provide the correct leadership, the parents will never fail to co-operate. If anything else, the whole account shows the decisive role that can be played by principal teachers in determining the destinies of their schools. Happily, the seed that was sown by a few developed into a fully fledged tree and today there are scattered all over the country thriving off-shoots of a humble beginning; "peace has her victories no less renowned than war."

2. Administration and Organisation.

The control of these schools was as involved as that of other Bantu schools in the Ciskei. They all started

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1) J.Bond: They were South Africans, p.3.

as Private Schools, and then became Board Schools[1] except the Newell High School which became a subsidised Mission school before becoming a Board School. As Board Schools, therefore, they were under the control of the Cape Education Department which required them to have school committees serving under the European School Boards. There was evidence to prove that these committees did function with varying success.

The committees were responsible for the maintenance of the buildings and for advising the School Board on certain matters. The Manager of the Newell High School, however, had wider powers including the appointment of teachers. The four schools were under Departmental Circuit Inspectors who had extra powers vested in them by the Superintendent-General of Education. The same Inspectors were responsible for European Schools in their Circuits.

The curriculum consisted of core subjects and a number of electives which were published by the Cape Education Department. To a certain extent the subjects were related to community needs. That the curriculum became too bookish was due to unsurmountable difficulties when it came to the question of practical subjects such as Art, Crafts, Woodwork, Metalwork and Agriculture. Non-examination subjects such as Physical Training, Religious Instruction and Singing received attention, but in all the four selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools, vocational guidance as a subject was never offered.

The curriculum forced the schools to impart knowledge that was mechanical, routine and sterile. The syllabuses

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1) Board Schools were schools under the control of a School Board.

gave no encouragement to read widely and provided no stimulation to disciplined thought, as distinct from the mere acquisition of a sufficient number of facts to pass certain formal examinations. This resulted in a lack of general knowledge and "of the ability to think critically and analytically and speculatively among many young people".[1] They went into the world with an education that fitted them to earn a living of a kind, but that did not help them to have insight, understanding and vision. Furthermore, it made the teachers owe a dual allegiance to the Bantu and European ways of life. It was not regarded as desirable that they choose between the two; the question was[2]

> how can we conserve the values of the old indigenous education and unite them with the values of the modern schooling? Africa needs them both - needs a real marriage of the two, with a resulting tertium quid.

3. Inherent Problems.

Throughout the period under review these schools were faced with various and constant difficulties destined to turn success into dismal failure. Many homes in the areas where the selected schools were situated were unsatisfactory from an educational point of view. The lights were poor; overcrowding and poverty vied for first place with intemperance a close third; peace and rest were the privilege of a few.

Outside the homes, conditions were uninviting, with the 'tsotsi'[3] problem getting out of hand by the day. There were far too many attractions which were incompatible with education; these included employment of juveniles and hooliganism. Suitable boarding and lodging facilities

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1) The Eastern Province Herald, Port Elizabeth, 13/9/60.
2) E.W.Smith: Knowing the African, p.145.
3) This is a Bantu word - an equivalent for the English word "delinquency".

were almost non-existent.

Parent-teacher relationships were not always congenial although parent-teacher associations came into being. Unsatisfactory relationships were partly ascribable to the teachers' attitudes[1] and partly to the parents' hostility.[2] On the whole, however, strained parent-teacher relationships were transitory, otherwise these schools would never have been successful.

A most serious threat to the continued existence of the four selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools came from the subsidised Mission Boarding Schools which had opposed their establishment in The South African Outlook. Denominational rivalry struck another blow since religion exerts an important influence in the life of the Bantu. As these schools were interdenominational and, according to some, non-Christian in character, they did not appeal to all the parents as did denominational institutions.

The rapid development of a secondary school depends upon a sufficient number of feeder-primary schools.

There was the problem of the teaching staff. The teachers often changed from one post to another at any time of the year. This adversely affected the progress of the pupils as manifested in relatively poor performance at public examinations.

The economic position of the parents made the purchase of the required text-books impossible. School fees were often in arrear and the teaching of subjects requiring the use of expensive apparatus was out of question. Pupils accepted part-time employment to supplement the home income. It was only the growing interest of parents that

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1) Imvo ZabaNtsundu, 6/9/47.
2) Umteteli Wa Bantu, 27/4/46.

enabled the pupils to remain long at school. Each of the four selected schools had to make the sad decision of turning pupils away for lack of accommodation.

Dancing, attendance of bioscope shows, and sporting activities were not always conducive to study. Disciplinary problems arose. It was not easy to organise either the Scout and Wayfarer Movements or the Students' Christian Association after school hours when the pupils were hungry and eager to go home.

It is only in the light of these problems that the tremendous amount of work and sacrifice on the part of those who were concerned with the organisation of these schools can best be appreciated. Under such conditions excellent results could not be expected, but notwithstanding, they compared very favourably with those of the Boarding Missionary Institutions which had far less of these problems.

4. Financing of the Schools.

It was difficult to determine accurately the financing of these schools because no special monies were voted specifically for Bantu secondary education. The funds for Bantu education came from the Native Development Account and were allocated to each province according to its estimates.

During the period under review, however, an Act empowering Parliament to make money available for Bantu education through the South African Native Trust Fund, was passed in 1936; but in 1945 money appropriated for Bantu education came from the Consolidated Revenue Fund. The estimates of the provinces were discussed by the Union Advisory Board on Native education on which it submitted

a report to the Minister of Education, Arts and Science.

Funds for the erection of the Senator Welsh High School, the Forbes Grant Secondary School and the Newell High School came from the Government. The Cape Administration assisted with their maintenance. The money for the erection of the Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School came from donations from the public.

The Cape Education Department paid the salaries of all approved teachers while principal teachers received principals' allowances based on enrolment.

5. Educational Contributions.

All the four selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools made valuable contributions to the cause of Bantu progress. From them came young men and women with the Junior Certificate - a golden key to specialist courses. Those with a Senior Certificate could enter university or train as teachers, ministers, or nurses. Former students of these schools returned to serve the community as agricultural demonstrators, nurses, ministers of religion, teachers, enlightened employees for commerce and industry, enlightened citizens and medical practitioners. The following tables show quantitatively the contribution of these schools:-[1]

1) Statistics supplied by the Secretary, Department of Education, Cape of Good Hope, 28/12/59.

TABLE XX : NUMBER OF CANDIDATES ENTERED FOR THE JUNIOR CERTICATE EXAMINATIONS, 1939-1954.

YEAR	FORBES GRANT SECONDARY SCHOOL	GRAHAMSTOWN BANTU SECONDARY SCHOOL	NEWELL HIGH SCHOOL	WELSH HIGH SCHOOL
1939	-	-	-	8
1940	-	26	-	16
1941	12	18	-	17
1942	24	24	-	38
1943	24	15	-	53
1944	23	20	15	56
1945	26	24	24	64
1946	-	29	45	57
1947	-	27	53	75
1948	35	47	65	42
1949	30	33	58	54
1950	33	19	51	76
1951	33	29	81	56
1952	36	17	71	57
1953	29	21	55	44
1954	28	32	13	37

The dash indicates that for these years the schools entered no candidates for the Cape Junior Certificate Examinations. In the case of the Forbes Grant Secondary School, figures for 1946 and 1947 were not available. The very low figure for the Newell High School in 1954 was due to the fact that all the 1952 Form I pupils, who would be in Form III in 1954, were transferred to the Cowan Secondary School. The 13 candidates entered in 1954 were the previous year's failures.

The two high schools prepared pupils for the Senior Certificate examination. The number of candidates presented during the period under review is as follows:- 1)

TABLE XXI : NUMBER OF CANDIDATES ENTERED FOR THE SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS, 1937-1954.

YEAR	NEWELL HIGH SCHOOL	WELSH HIGH SCHOOL	TOTAL
1937	-	-	-
1938	-	-	-
1939	-	-	-
1940	-	-	-
1941	-	-	-
1942	-	3	3
1943	-	13	13
1944	-	17	17
1945	-	20	20
1946	-	22	22
1947	-	23	23
1948	14	10	24
1949	16	22	38
1950	13	9	22
1951	12	8	20
1952	6	13	19
1953	13	14	27
1954	17	10	27

The dash indicates that for these years the schools entered no candidates for the Cape Senior Certificate Examinations.

From the above figures a rough estimate of pupils who were entered for the examinations can be made. An exact figure, however, cannot be determined since failures would be counted twice. There have been 275 entries of Bantu students for the Cape Senior Certificate. Many of those who obtained Matriculation exemption later obtained degrees and qualified as secondary school teachers or medical practitioners. In conclusion, therefore, it can be stated that these schools made no small contribution to the development of an enlightened community.

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1) Ibid.

B. Suggestions.

1. The Teaching Staff.

It has aptly been said that "the most important factor in school work is, after all, the teacher."[1] Thus in making suggestions, it is proper to begin with the teacher.

(a) The Principal.

Apart from being a teacher, the principal is the chief administrative officer of the school.[2] In this capacity he is responsible for the arrangement of the daily activities of his school which will enable assistant teachers and pupils to work together to advantage. To a certain extent he decides what electives shall be offered, and is responsible for the supervision of his assistants' work, helping them when need arises. Since he deals with pupils, he is inescapably responsible to the community in whose interest the school exists.

In order to carry out his duties efficiently, the principal teacher must exhibit certain qualities upon which appointing authorities place a premium, as follows:-

He must be a true leader who will not differ radically from the combined opinion of his advisers.[3] This quality is necessary because he needs must discover the potential leadership in his staff,[4] in order to win their co-operation for the welfare of the schools. He must plan systematically and, while strictly adhering to routine activities which are very important in developing the 'tone' of the school,[5] allow for individual freedom at

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1) H.Münsterberg: Psychology and the Teacher, p.316.
2) H.J. van Zyl: A Practical Guide for Bantu Teachers, pp. 26-27.
3) P.Monroe: Principles of Secondary Education, p.175.
4) V.Anderson and D.R.Davies: Patterns of Educational Leadership, p.16.
5) P.P.Nunn: Education: Its Data and First Principles, p.71.

all times.

He must possess expert knowledge of the principles of curriculum construction.

The matter of supervising the work of assistants is a vexed question. Some teachers resented the principal's visits to their classrooms for purposes of supervision, while others did not accept his advice. If, however, the principal visits other activities, e.g. games, his visits to the classroom will not be taken to be undermining his assistants, but to be showing interest in the school.[1]

In conclusion the principal teacher

> must carry with him a vital philosophy of education, a keen sense of social values, a clear vision of his community and its needs, as well as a thorough understanding of the political, industrial, economic and social forces that are shaping our civilisation.

He must visit other schools to discuss common problems with other principals. Further, any man who takes up principalship of a Bantu Urban Day Secondary School should bear in mind that[2]

> the testimony of persons who have held principalships and the professional writings reveal a surprising array of demands on time, energy, and ingenuity of principals in town and city school systems.

He must know that "as is the principal, so is the school."[3]

(b) Assistant Teachers.

One of the most important characteristics of a good teacher is his educational enthusiasm.[4] It makes him feel the beauty and the sacredness of his mission and

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1) P.Monroe: op.cit., p.206.
2) P.B.Jacobson, W.C.Reavis and J.D.Logsdon: The Effective School Principal in Elementary and Secondary Schools, p.3.
3) P.Monroe: op.cit., p.201; Cf. H.Spears: Improving the Supervision of Instruction, pp.184-185.
4) A.O.Heck: The Education of Exceptional Children, p.357.

fills his heart with the desire to teach the youth rather than to satisfy him with having a job and earning a living.[1] He must have an inner warmth on which the success of his instruction depends. Since his position in the community is one of dignity, he should treat it as such by spreading truth and arousing enthusiasm in the pupils. Bantu secondary teachers in the selected schools manifested these qualities, but cases of indifferent teachers were not uncommon.

(i) Academic Qualifications.

All teachers in Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools should be academically well-qualified and masters of their subjects of instruction so that they may have a reserve fund of information to answer the pupils' questions.[2] More important still they will be independent of the text-book and make their lessons lively by putting the accent on the spoken word. All this implies that assistant teachers in these schools should possess a university degree,[3] or should have at least three years' study at a university, and should acquaint themselves with journals dealing with their subjects. The practice in these schools has been to employ graduates and teachers who have never been to a university.

(ii) Vocational Interest.

Conditions in the urban areas are not always congenial and a half-hearted teacher can easily be discouraged; only where there is affinity between the worker and his task can impediments be removed. So teachers in these

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1) H.Münsterberg: op.cit., p.316.
2) C.P.Colegroove: The Teacher and the School, pp.14-20.
3) E.G.Malherbe: Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society, p.275.

schools must have a high sense of vocation. This must be combined with perseverance and tenacity;[1] they should have strong will and good sense to keep them modest, open-minded and teachable. In addtion, they must have sympathy with child nature, "sympathy begotten of real love, of insight, of understanding."[2] They must have patience that will be satisfied with small advances, patience that will enable them to traverse the same ground over and over again without losing temper even under provocation. Add to this brightness, bouyancy and cheerfulness and the pupils will say, like the psalmist, "I was glad when they said unto me let us go unto the house of the Lord,"[3] substituting "our teacher's class" for "house of the Lord".

In short, the teachers must know their strength, weakness and limitations; they must make certain that their tastes, temperament, powers and attitudes fit them for teaching under difficult conditions. This behoves them to be fearlessly frank with and critical of themselves and have a deep sense of devotion.[4] Any teacher who lacks these qualities is a weak link as a member of staff of a Bantu Urban Day Secondary School.

(iii) Disciplinary Powers.

Teachers in these schools should be good disciplinarians. It is believed that the power to maintain discipline can be acquired, "but the individual who cannot acquire some of this power is hopeless as a teacher."[5]

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1) G.A.Christian: Teachers' Manual of Classwork and Management, p.14.
2) Ibid., p.15.
3) Psalm 122, verse 1.
4) H.Jowitt: The Principles of Education for African Teachers in Training, p.115.
5) G.A.Christian: op.cit., p.22.

Failure to maintain discipline may be due to many factors including an unreasonably large size of a class, faults of the previous teacher or his own, disturbance from other classes, and weakness of the principal teacher. If an assistant teacher hopes to maintain discipline he must make his lessons interesting, have mental clearness, and listen to hints and suggestions although his own judgement or the conditions of his work may prevent him from acting upon all the suggestions put forward.

(iv) Character.

Every profession has its own ethical code which aims at putting rules to enable its members to give their best service to society and to prohibit behaviour which will bring the profession into disrepute.[1] Since teaching is also a profession, it requires that the conduct of its members should be beyond reproach. Although teachers' character is important, however, "it is not lack of good character which is at the root of unprofessional conduct in education. It is the lack of professional discipline."[2] There should be teachers' associations whose duty it will be to lay down a set of rules governing the behaviour of teachers. This will help prevent rules being imposed by non-educational agencies and will ensure that only the best enter and remain in the profession. Teachers in these schools belonged to the C.A.T.A. and the C.A.T.U. which, among others, sought to maintain a high moral standard.

Although teachers should not be indifferent to the problems of boys and girls, they should not be personally

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1) A.J.Huggett and T.M.Stinnett: Professional Problems of Teachers, p.246
2) M.Lieberman: Education as a Profession, p.223.

involved with the pupils, but should deal with them disinterestedly since "the disinterestedness of professional service is one of the best guarantees of its soundness."[1]

A sense of high moral values is indispensable to the successful teacher, and since moral health requires a foundation based on religion, teachers can ill-afford to do without religion. Teachers in Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools should be so exemplary in their religious behaviour and character that they may well emulate the greatest teacher of whom it was said[3]

> Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these signs that thou doest, except God be with him.

Again, the "godlike business of teaching"[4] should not be entrusted to any but the pure in heart and those whose prayer is[5]

> May we be shepherds of the Spirit as well as the masters of the mind. Give us, O Lord of Teachers, a sense of the divinity of our undertaking.

In the secondary schools the teachers deal with adolescents to whom religion is essential as a source of emotional and intellectual stimulation and satisfaction,[6] since pupils learn by experience and through imitation, teachers should lead exemplary lives.

2. Fuller Participation in Teacher-Training.

Professional training for teachers in these schools should keep close to a university.[7] This will help to

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1) loc.cit.,
2) J.R.Lynch: op.cit., p.204.
3) St.John 3 verse 2.
4) H.R.Douglass and H.H.Mills: Teaching in High School, p.19.
5) loc.cit.
6) L.Cole: Psychology of Adolescence, p.367; Cf. H.H. Horne: The Psychological Principles of Education,p.356.
7) E.G.Malherbe: op.cit., p.290.

bring about continuity in the approach to the teaching of school subjects and university courses. It should include Psychology which will serve as a basis for understanding adolescents and their needs; Educational Method, Principles of Education, School Organisation and Administration, History of Education to bring the student-teacher into relation with the world's great teachers.

To facilitate acquisition of the art of teaching, demonstration lessons and dicussions should be organised regularly; practice-teaching under competent and sympathetic supervision should take a leading role. Student-teachers could, with benefit, be allowed to do practice-teaching in these secondary schools.

Further participation in the training of teachers cannot be over-stressed. Suffice it to say it will be a hopeful sign for a continuation of the improvement of teacher-training which is indispensable.

3. Vocational Guidance.

(a) Meaning of Vocational Guidance.

Vocational Guidance has been variously defined. Some [1] contend

> Guidance seeks to help the individual discover his own talents in comparison to the opportunities of the world and help him prepare himself so that he can find or develop a place in which he can live a well-balanced life and contribute his part to the welfare of his fellow man,

while others assert that [2]

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1) L.L.Chisholm: Guiding Youth in the Secondary Schools, p.3; Cf. A.E.Traxler: Guidance in Public Secondary Schools, p.xi; R.De Verl Willey and D.C.Andrew: Modern Methods and Techniques in Guidance, p.18; M.Bloomfield: Readings in Vocational Guidance, p.75; and also A.V.Murray: The School in the Bush, p.206.

2) L.M.Chamberlain and L.W.Kindred: The Teacher and School Organisation, p.315; Cf. D.S.Arbuckle: Guidance and Counselling in the Classroom, p.5; H.B.McDaniel: Guidance in the Modern School, pp.13-14; A.J.B.Desmore: Elements of Vocational Guidance, p.4; and also J.Dewey: Democracy and Education, p.358.

> The final goal of all guidance is the intelligent self-direction of the individual within the framework of our society.

A very simple definition, however, is that given by G.E. Myers, quoting the Report of the Committee of the National Vocational Guidance Association, when he stated [1]

> Vocational Guidance is the process of assisting the individual to choose an occupation, prepare for it, enter upon and progress in it. It is concerned primarily with helping individuals make decisions and choices involved in planning a future and building a career.

For purposes of this dissertation, Vocational Guidance is taken to mean helping individuals make decisions and choices about their future careers and proper placing of the pupils.

(b) Need for Vocational Guidance.

If Bantu society is to progress, proper vocational guidance must be exercised in secondary schools. In the four selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools vocational guidance is essential in order to prevent pupils from taking courses for which they have no abilities. That many pupils were coming forward to take the Junior Certificate course, who were altogether unsuited for it, is amply illustrated by the following tables which show progressive elimination of pupils from Form I to Form V. It would be sufficient to consider one secondary school and one high school: [2]

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1) Principles and Techniques of Vocational Guidance, p.3.
2) Educational Statistics, Cape.

TABLE XXII : PROGRESSIVE ELIMINATION OF PUPILS, FORMS I-III, FORBES GRANT SECONDARY SCHOOL, 1950-1954.

	CLASS		
YEAR	FORM I	FORM II	FORM III
1950	103	33	33
1951	103	51	33
1952	-	-	-
1953	97	68	29
1954	118	71	28

Form I is a preparatory class in which the pupils receive instruction in advanced standard VI work. Figures for 1952 were not available.

TABLE XXIII : PROGRESSIVE ELIMINATION OF PUPILS, FORMS I-V, NEWELL HIGH SCHOOL, 1950-1954.

	CLASS				
YEAR	FORM I	FORM II	FORM III	FORM IV	FORM V
1950	216	140	60	16	13
1951	197	152	99	14	13
1952	-	-	-	-	-
1953	116	49	97	22	13
1954	201	85	41	32	22

The average percentage loss per five year period from first year J.C. to Matriculation works out as 91.46%. Figures for 1952 were not available.

In addition to lack of vocational guidance, the elimination was the result of the method used for conducting the promotions of pupils. It is suggested that in order to preclude the failure of pupils at Form II stage none should be forced to repeat this class, instead the class enter Form III as a social organism representing all types of intelligence levels, as is the practice in Waldorf schools.[1]

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1) Cape Times, Cape Town, 4/1/58. Waldorf schools are private schools which aim at giving their students a complete all-round education. The pupils do not use textbooks; there are no examinations and no marks; the end-of-the-year report on the development of the pupil is directed to the pupil rather than to the parent; there is no principal; the whole staff is responsible for the

(c) Vocational Guidance Teachers.

To facilitate systematic vocational guidance, each school should have on its staff a teacher trained in vocational work, who should be assisted by the other teachers since it is as much their duty as it is his to know the pupils[1] better. A specialist is necessary because guidance is a full-time occupation requiring the counsellor to know the boy's or girl's strong and weak points, special aptitudes, interests and hobbies. Furthermore, he has to know what occupations are available, qualifications required, method of entry, prospects and mental and physical qualities which go to make for success in them.[2] It is, however, not suggested that there should be a course in vocational training in these schools, but that there should be guidance leading to the successful choice of a vocation.[3]

Principal teachers of these secondary and high schools should keep a systematic personal record of each pupil showing the school attended, scholastic test record, school attainments record, medical report, scores in psychological tests, home conditions and after-school activities. In other words they should keep Cumulative Record Cards supplied by the Department, instead of relying upon the system of testimonials. The importance of a cumulative record card cannot be overemphasised since[4]

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guidance of the school, with the administrative responsibility being assumed in rotation by groups of two or three teachers. This system is employed in nursery, primary and secondary schools.

1) D.S.Arbuckle: op.cit., pp.55-57; Cf. H.B.McDaniel and G.A.Shaftel: op.cit., p.72; and also A.J.B.Desmore op.cit., p.iii.
2) J.A. van Rensburg: Wat Gaan Jy Word? 'n Boek oor Beroepe, pp. 11-12; Cf. G.E.Myers: op.cit., p.105.
3) J.R.Lynch: op.cit., p.239.
4) Report of the Commission on Technical and Vocational Education, U.G. 65/1948, p.303.

> its purpose is to serve as a record, for the benefit of the pupil's future teachers and advisers, of that information which will assist them to understand and treat him in his best interests.

4. Parent-Teacher Relationship.

Permanent cordial relationships between parents and teachers should be the rule rather than the exception. Parents should know more about their school, what it is trying to do for their children, and teachers should strive to know how the pupils live at home.[1] Parents should be aware of the demands the school makes on them and their children so that no conflict between the home and the school may arise, This is desirable because education is a continuous process, in school and out of it. Co-operation can be achieved if opportunities for personal contact between teachers and parents were increased to facilitate joint discussions on matters affecting pupils.

There should be stable parent-teacher associations and parents' committees working in close co-operation with the school so that parents, too, can enter into some of the school activities. They should understand that they are welcome at the school if they wish to observe the daily life of the school; in this way their confidence can be gained. Only in this manner can values which the school is setting before its pupils come to be understood in their homes, "and the better they are understood in the home the more will the child benefit from both home and school."[2]

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1) School and Life, Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education, England, 1947, p.20.
2) Ibid., p.22; Cf. E.H. Brookes: The Bantu in South African Life, p.44; and also J.Blomquist; "Some Social Factors and School Failure", International Review of Education, Vol.III, No.2, 1957, p.165.

No attempt should be made by the teachers to instruct the parents, but in the group discussions contributions should be made from both the lay angle and the professional angle.[1]

In order to achieve publicity for the school, teachers should continue as active members of various organisations existing in the community. In this way, too, the schools can enlist the co-operation of the organisations in fighting hooliganism which is rife in urban areas.

Since many of the homes lack facilities for play activities and leisure for pupils, the schools, working in close co-operation with the home, should engage in experiments along the line of junior clubs, play and recreation facilities, libraries and playrooms which can be used also for purposes quite different from those to which they have been commonly put, thus turning the school more and more into a social centre.[2]

The present writer cannot conclude the subject of parent-teacher co-operation without a word on homework. The schools should emphasise to the parents that pupils cannot attain the higher standards now demanded without diligent study on their own part at home.[3] They must make each parent see to it that

(i) the child has reasonable conditions of work,

(ii) they exercise reasonable supervision,

(iii) they understand that slackness in homework is just as much a matter of school discipline as is slackness in any other school activity.

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1) J.R.Lynch: op.cit., p.240.
2) Correspondence with Dr. O.D.Wollheim, Prince George Drive, Retreat, Cape, 7/7/59.
3) Teachers' World, February 19th, 1958, p.17.

5. Discipline.

For the purposes of this dissertation discipline is here taken to mean ability to consider actions, to undertake them deliberately and a power to endure in an intelligently chosen course in face of distraction, confusion, and difficulty.[1] Pupils must be trained to behave in such a manner as will enable them to achieve certain goals which they must see as essential. In this sense discipline is quite distinct from school order which consists only in "the maintenance of the conditions necessary if school life is to fulfil its purpose".[2] Discipline, on the other hand, is not an external thing, but an inward grace which consists in[3]

> the submission of one's impulses and powers to a regulation which imposes form upon their chaos, and brings efficiency and economy where there would otherwise be ineffectiveness and waste. Though parts of our nature may resist this control, its acceptance must, on the whole, be a willing acceptance.

Pupils must be led to see why certain things ought to be done. Should there be need for regulations, they should be few, drawn up by the staff and they must be capable of being observed strictly by the pupils and the teachers. Teachers themselves should be models in discipline because pupils are likely to admire and imitate them.

Investigation revealed that corporal punishment had been employed in the four selected Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools. This practice has nothing to commend it from a psychological point of view. K.G. Collier, quoting Newman, once said "it is almost a definition of

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1) J.Dewey: Democracy and Education, p.151.
2) P.T.Nunn: Education: Its Data and First Principles, p.250.
3) loc.cit.

gentleman to say he is one who never inflicts pain."[1] The "barbarous superstition" that pupils work well only when there is a threat of punishment has long been disproved. Pupils should behave properly because they feel it is necessary so to behave.

Punishment, if it has to be inflicted, should aim at re-educating the offender or at re-directing his energies and not at preventing him from committing the offence again. It must be remedial.

6. Teachers' Salaries.

Although it is generally agreed that the teacher who goes into teaching with a view to making money is a very poor recruit in the profession, something ought to be done to raise the present salaries of teachers in Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools. This will keep them free from want and pressure and will give them the peace of mind essential for the proper performance of their job. In addition, many more capable teachers would be attracted to the profession. The gain would rise correspondingly.

7. Centralisation of Matriculation Classes.

In advocating for the centralisation of matriculation classes, one must bear in mind the environmental factors which made examination results in the high schools leave much to be desired. Furthermore, of late, suitably qualified secondary teachers show preference for teaching posts in boarding State Institutions where environmental conditions are more conducive to study.

The schools have compared favourably with state schools in their Junior Certificate results. This seems to suggest that still better results at that level would be possible

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1) K.G.Collier: The Social Purposes of Education, p.170.

if they specialised in these classes. It is suggested that matriculation classes should be restricted to the Boarding State Institutions such as Healdtown, Lovedale, St. Matthews College, St. Johns College, Shawbury, Clarkebury and Blythswood which provide better facilities for study. Pupils should study for the J.C. in the day secondary schools. This would also help eliminate the undesirable distorted attitudes adopted by both teachers and pupils in Boarding Institutions towards pupils who come from Bantu day secondary schools. Centralisation would facilitate systematic classification of pupils and supervision of the work of both assistants and pupils.

8. Equipment.

For it to produce good work, a modern school needs adequate and varied equipment. In this essay, only equipment required for the teaching of science subjects will be considered. Investigation revealed that science equipment in the Bantu Urban Day Secondary Schools of the Eastern Cape left ample room for improvement.

Some schools borrowed apparatus and chemicals from neighbouring European schools, while others had some equipment but no laboratory with the usual facilities. Consequently, subjects such as physical science or general science could not be offered in these schools before 1946. The curricula of the schools were restricting inasmuch as they prepared all the Junior Certificate pupils for a general course leading preferably to the Native Primary Higher Teachers' Course.

Pupils grasp scientific concepts better with the help of apparatus e.g. the Principle of Archimedes, Density and Specific Gravity, Gas Laws, etc. In the study of biological science the use of microscopes is indispensable

and it is always better when each school has a fair number of these. Only in this way can correct scientific attitudes be formed in the early stages of learning.

As these schools cater for pupils who come from a poor environment from an educational point of view, audio-visual aids such as films should play an important role in teaching them science subjects.

Proper science equipment is necessary because 1)

> In no subject in the curriculum is a text-book so inadequate when used alone as in the study of nature. The study is based almost wholly on concrete observation, and necessitates a constant use of live things, specimens, pictures, stereopticon, and microscopic projection.

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1) A.V.Dorris: Visual Instruction in the Public Schools, p.314.

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APPENDIX B.

J.C. EXAMINATION RESULTS : FORBES GRANT SECONDARY SCHOOL, KING WILLIAM'S TOWN, 1937-1954.

YEAR.	NO. ENTERED.	2nd CLASS.	1st CLASS	TOTAL.
1937	-	-	-	-
1938	-	-	-	-
1939	-	-	-	-
1940	-	-	-	-
1941	12	9	0	9
1942	24	18	0	18
1943	23	19	0	19
1944	23	19	1	20
1945	26	19	2	21
1946	26	23	2	25
1947	35	32	2	34
1948	34	29	2	31
1949	30	24	5	29
1950	33	22	0	22
1951	33	28	1	29
1952	35	27	5	32
1953	29	26	1	27
1954	28	23	3	26

The above figures were collected from pass lists, Forbes Grant Secondary School, King William's Town. No candidates were entered for the Cape J.C. before 1941.

APPENDIX C.

J.C. EXAMINATION RESULTS : GRAHAMSTOWN BANTU SECONDARY SCHOOL, GRAHAMSTOWN, 1937-1954.

YEAR	NO. ENTERED.	2nd. CLASS.	1st. CLASS.	TOTAL.
1937	-	-	-	-
1938	-	-	-	-
1939	-	-	-	-
1940	26	16	0	16
1941	18	5	0	5
1942	24	10	0	10
1943	15	11	0	11
1944	20	14	0	14
1945	24	19	0	19
1946	29	19	0	19
1947	29	15	0	15
1948	41	13	0	13
1949	33	21	0	21
1950	19	10	0	10
1951	29	19	2	21
1952	17	12	0	12
1953	21	17	3	20
1954	32	19	2	21

The above figures were collected from pass lists, Grahamstown Bantu Secondary School, Grahamstown. No candidates were entered for the Cape J.C. Examinations before 1940.