THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLICY

IN REGARD TO THE

EDUCATION OF COLOURED PUPILS

AT THE CAPE, 1658-1940

A Thesis submitted for

the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

to the University of Cape Town

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by

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P R E F A C E

It is exactly twenty years ago since, with Professor W. F. Grant as my promotor, I presented to the University of Cape Town a thesis entitled THE HISTORY AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE EDUCATION OF THE COLOURED PEOPLES OF THE CAPE, 1652 - 1910 (Two Volumes), in complete fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Education. For several reasons it was not possible to deal adequately with the important later years in the lengthy period surveyed. The present work represents an attempt to rectify the shortcoming, and to continue the narrative to a terminal point as close to the present day as is consonant with the requirements of historical objectivity and perspective. Although its presentation is naturally in the different form necessitated by the circumstances, this contribution to the subject should nevertheless be regarded as a continuation of, and not separate from, its predecessor. It is, for me, the realisation of an ambition long cherished, and the culmination of intensive and prolonged study of all aspects of the history of the group classified, and generally known as, the Coloured people of the Cape.

It goes without saying that I am indebted to the many authors who, in one way or another, have sought to describe and clarify the issues involved in the educational history of the Cape. They have done much to stimulate my thinking, and have frequently led me to the consideration of aspects that might otherwise have eluded me. In particular, I wish to thank my promotors, Mr. W. T. Ferguson, Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Education at the University, and Dr. G. J. J. Smit. Their high standards of scholarship served as a constant measuring-rod, and I owe much to their valuable guidance and criticisms and the thought-provoking

discussions in which we engaged. I am happy to record that Dr. Smit's translation during the preparation of the thesis from a Professorship of Education at the University to the position of Superintendent-General of Education did not terminate his interest.

Apart from the several librarians who so kindly helped in the search for the documents I required, I am grateful to the late Mr. A. E. Abdurahman, nephew of Dr. Abdurahman, who so kindly placed at my disposal such of the private papers of his uncle as were in his possession. Finally, I owe a deep debt of gratitude to my wife, whose patient forbearance during the many years of my constant pre-occupation is much appreciated. She also undertook, with unfailing assiduty and steady application, the typing of the Manuscript. Her partnership in this respect immensely facilitated my task.

EDGAR MAURICE

University of Cape Town,
September, 1966.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to describe the development of policy in regard to the education of the Coloured pupils at the Cape during the period from 1860 to 1940. It is necessary to explain and define terms. The word "Coloured" is used in its generally accepted sense as a distinguishing term from "European" and "Native": the difficulties of precise and positive definition become all too apparent in the course of the story that is unfolded. The word "Native", in preference to "African" or "Bantu", is used because it replaced "Aboriginal", as the differentiating term in current usage during the period under survey to describe that section of the population. On the same principle, "European" and "White" are used interchangeably as descriptive terms.

Any attempt to prescribe what the education of pupils should connote has to contend with the validity in this context of the adage quot homines tot sententiae, so amply demonstrated in parts of this study. It is necessary, however, to state that the survey is limited to the primary and secondary education of pupils in schools in the ordinary sense of these terms. But it must be added that, since an educational system is inevitably interwoven in the political, social and economic pattern, the delineation and clarification of policy can never proceed in vacuo: for the evolution of educational policy must always be viewed in the context, and against the background, of all the related forces that helped to shape it.

Limitation of Study

The reasons for the circumscription of the geographical boundaries to the area usually referred to as the Cape are obvious enough: it coincides with the region under the control and administration of the Cape Colonial government and incorporated as the Cape Province in the Union of South Africa. And it is in the area in which the Coloured people have their historical roots, are numerically most preponderant as a group, and have always been a socially significant

component of the population. The chronological limits of the study mark the beginning of the coalescence of the various constituent elements into the demographical entity which became known as the Coloured people, and their development into a group with a particular status and social position.

During the period of sixty years that is traversed, this growth was characterised by an increasing group awareness and political consciousness, which found expression in reactions and responses to the educational policies which arose in the social system of which the Coloured people formed an integral part. In the course of this development they created organisations and developed a leadership which played a vital part in formulating their social objectives and struggling for their achievement. It would be a major error of omission if their own efforts in behalf of the education of their children were left unchronicled. For it was not only an important contributory factor in the moulding and administration of policy, but laid the foundation upon which the Coloured people built their strong faith in, and high hopes for, advancement through sacrifices for the education of their children.

It is quite impossible to divorce completely any record of the education of Coloured pupils from that of European pupils. There are several reasons. The histories of the two sections are closely interrelated, and during the whole period under survey they were subject to the same legislative authorities: the Colonial Government, the Union Government and the Provincial Council. Educational policy for both European and Coloured pupils therefore derived from identical sources and was directed by the same Education Department, even though the local administrative and controlling agencies that were created were sometimes different. In the circumstances, in any historical review of educational policy, comparisons and contrasts are not only inevitable but essential for the purposes of evaluation

and assessment. Moreover, in general, the outlook of the Coloured people was one in which the struggle for equality with the European section was predominant and pre-eminent. And, in the nature of the case, it is not possible, therefore, to estimate adequately the extent to which their aspirations were realised without a concomitant reference to the policy that was pursued and the progress that was made in the education of European pupils.

No claim to completeness is made. The subject has many facets and several, in the interests of coherent unity and narrative sequence, have had either to be merely touched upon or omitted altogether. Thus, for example, although the policy of educational segregation forms a central theme of the study, the personal, psychological and social effects of its application, upon both European and Coloured pupils, have not been given the attention they deserve. In the main, an attempt has been made to discover the origins and to trace the development of those aspects of policy which have particularly influenced the education of Coloured pupils, and to do this in broad general terms, but with sufficient detail to avoid inaccuracy and to present as true a picture as possible. In pursuit of this task it has been necessary not only to follow in the footsteps of John X. Merriman, who confessed in the Cape Assembly in 1895 that in his humble way he had frequently tried to ferret out the general laws upon education, but also to analyse their implications and the main effects of their implementation.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLICY

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AT THE CAPE, 1880-1940

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CHAPTER 1.

A SURVEY OF THE MISSION SCHOOLS IN THE LATTER HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Conditions of Aid and Increase in Schools.

During the early part of the Nineteenth century there had developed in the Cape Colony a number of schools which owed their establishment to the efforts of the Churches and the Missionary Societies. The spirit of philanthropic zeal and missionary endeavour which had characterised the Evangelical revival in Europe at the close of the previous century had led to the influx of several Religious bodies and had given a considerable impetus to the efforts of the local Churches. With its large indigenous population of heathens the Colony naturally provided a fertile ground for these efforts at conversion to Christianity, and these Missionary labours became associated in the course of time with a benevolent interest in the social condition and uplift of the people who were the focus of their attention.[1)]

From the beginning the Churches and Missionary Societies played a part in the elementary secular education of the various constituent elements which were later to compose the Coloured people of the Cape, and took upon themselves the instruction of the most neglected and the poorest sections of the population.[2)] The London Missionary Society, The Moravian Brethren and the South African Missionary Society were followed by the Wesleyan, Rhenish and Berlin Churches and they, together with the Dutch Reformed and English Churches, devoted themselves to the task with energy and zeal.[3)] Their schools,

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1) See E. L. Maurice, The History and Administration of the Education of the Coloured Peoples of the Cape, 1652 - 1910. Two Vols.. B. Ed. Thesis. University of Cape Town, 1946, p. 152 et seq..

2) Education Commission, 1863. Report, p. xl; Vide Votes and Proceedings of Parliament. Appendix II, 1863. G. 24 – 1863.

3) Ibid. Report, p. xl.

however, received no financial assistance from the Government and, indeed, had never been offered any such aid.

In 1839 a system to supply more Government schools was started, with the purpose of teaching the Cape burghers the English language and of preventing their children from degenerating through the difficulty of getting competent teachers. It was soon discovered, however, that the Government could by itself not carry the full financial burden of these schools and, in addition, it proved difficult to obtain the support and co-operation of the White Colonists.[4] There was a unanimous opinion against the erection of schools wholly out of public funds and, accordingly, the principle of aiding certain schools not on the Government Establishment was adopted in 1841, and aided Public schools were started in a system which combined local management and support with a general supervision by the Government in consideration of the assistance granted by the Public Treasury.[5] At about the same time the Government, having recognised the inadequacy of the schools and the duty of providing education in the Colony, thought it proper to accept the principle of paying grants-in-aid to the Mission schools engaged in the instruction of the poorer classes.[6] A form of Governmental recognition and financial aid was given to the Mission schools as from 1841.[7]

Subject to Departmental inspection and approval, the Mission Schools became eligible for annual grants to be used exclusively for the payment of the salaries of the teachers, if the necessary funds were made available. The schools were to be open to

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4) Education Commission, 1891. First Report (C.9 -'91). Minutes of Evidence, Dale S.G.E. p.p. 3,4.

5) Education Commission, 1863. Report, p. lvi.

6) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Innes, former S.G.E. p. 124

7) Ibid. Report, p. xl

everybody, and religious instruction during the ordinary school hours was to be confined to the Scriptures. But although it was intended that the primary object of the Mission schools was to be the religious education of the poorer sections, the secular function of the schools was recognised, and the elementary course of instruction laid down for the Government schools was to be gradually introduced to a greater or lesser extent, as circumstances allowed.[8] The Mission authorities were required by the Education Department to certify each quarter that the conditions on which their grants were given had been fulfilled.[9]

The great majority of the Missionary Societies and Churches accepted the Government aid, and new schools were established as a result of these provisions by, amongst others, the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan, the Scottish Presbyterian and, especially by the English and Dutch Reformed Churches.[10] The number of these aided Mission schools rapidly increased and they spread throughout the Colony.[11] For the grants, however small, were a great inducement, and in many cases schools would not have been established but for the Government assistance.[12] By 1844 there were 25 Mission schools receiving aid, with an aggregate attendance of 3,741.[13] Twenty years later the number of schools had increased to 110 and the aggregate attendance to 10,978 pupils.[14]

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8) Memorandum of Conditions upon which Allowances will be granted from the Colonial Treasury, in aid of the Funds of Mission and certain other schools, not on the Government Establishment, Colonial Office, 10th January, 1841; Vide Education Commission, 1863. Appendix V No. 26, p. 70.

9) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, Innes, p. 20.

10) Ibid. Report, p. xl.

11) Ibid. Report, p. xl.

12) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Dr. Robertson, Swellendam, p. 72.

13) Ibid. Report, p. xli; Appendix V,. No. 30. p. 80.

14) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Report, p. 5.

Every town and village in the Colony, with only one or two exceptions, had one or more Mission schools giving instruction in religious knowledge, reading, writing and, to some extent, in arithmetic and geography to those of the poorer classes who were either unable to pay any fee at all, or one not exceeding a penny per week.[15] In 1879 there were 351 Aided Mission schools, providing for 39,556 pupils.[16] By 1890 the number of aided Mission schools, excluding Aborigines' schools established primarily for the Native population in the Territories, had grown to 444, and the enrolment was 38,192, with a daily attendance of 26,698.[17]

Mission School Districts.

It was a condition of aid to a Mission school that, if situated in Cape Town, it should be in a district not otherwise provided for by a school; and, if in the country areas, it should be in an area approved by the Governor.[18] The schools, however, were open both to the children of the districts to which they belonged and to any other children who wished to attend.[19] But the intention clearly was to exercise control over their establishment and location, and to preclude their indiscriminate growth and possible redundancy in order to ensure that they all satisfied an educational need.

The Education Department was not interested in the religious persuasion of the Missionary body which made an application for the recognition of a school: its sole concern was whether the school was required and whether its establishment would interfere with any other aided school.[20] As a rule the S.G.E. was particularly

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15) Education Commission, 1863. Report, p. I.

16) Education Commission 1879 - 80. Report, p. 5

17) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Proceedings, Dale, p. 4. See Appendix A. p 442.

18) Memorandum of Conditions .... Col. Office, 10th June, 1841.

19) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, Innes, p. 21.; Education Commission 1879-80. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p. 48.

careful to ascertain whether there were sufficient children to justify a grant for an additional school.[21] He did his best to limit the number of schools, and where he thought a place was already well supplied he refused to give aid to any additional schools.[22] In Cape Town some care was taken to divide the area of the city and its suburbs into districts and to assign certain districts to different Mission schools. By 1861 the area had been divided into fifteen Districts.[23] By 1880 twenty districts had been allocated, each served by one complete Mission school, comprising three departments: an infant school, a juvenile school, and an industrial section for girls.[24] By 1891 one further district had been added, and each had been assigned by the Department to the particular Religious body which predominated in the area.[25] When a denomination such as the Moravian Church, for example, applied to the Department to establish a school, a district was marked out for them, after the School Inspector had reported on the proposed district and the Department was satisfied of the need

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21) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. G.W. Stegmann,Jnr., Senior Minister , D.R.C., Cape Town, and Superintendent of Education for D.R.C., p. 156.

22) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, A.N. Rowan, deputy Inspector of Schools, Western Districts, since 1872. p. 429

23) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p. 178

24) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p. 48.

25) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.p. 14.

for the school.[26]

Whatever precautions were taken to ensure the greatest economy in the establishment of the schools, the aim was hardly achieved in practice. Twenty years after the commencement of the system of Government aid the question had already arisen whether there were not too many aided Mission schools in Cape Town, and whether they interfered with one another's work.[27] The Government was advised that the multiplication of rival Mission schools, and the establishment of many such schools in one neighbourhood to the detriment of one another, could be avoided by greater discretion in approving areas and in accepting the agency of any Religious body which was prepared to start a school.[28] But there was little improvement. In 1880 an Inspector of Schools observed that where there were several denominations in a village each liked to have its own school and this tended to encourage their needless increase.[29] Small Mission schools, giving only elementary instruction, were sometimes found not far from other similar schools or small Undenominational schools offering the same facilities, with the result that a larger number of teachers were used at greater cost than if one large school had been established.[30] Several schools of the same or different denominations had been established in close juxtaposition to one another in Cape Town, where an English Church school, for example, was situated within five minutes walk of three Dutch Reformed Church schools.[31] It was not uncommonly

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26) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.62. Rev. Lightfoot became Archdeacon of the Cape and was in charge specifically of Mission work in the parish of the Cathedral from 1858 onwards.

27) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, Mr. James Cameron, Wesleyan Minister, p.188.

28) Ibid. Report, p.lviii.

29) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Rowan, p.440.

30) Ibid. Report. p.7.

31) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.59.

the case that two or even three Mission schools were found in a place where there was not only the need for only one but where, in fact, a single well-managed school would have done the work better.[32]

The Rev. G. W. Stegmann advanced two grounds of justification for the situation which had arisen: that the existence of more than one school induced greater competition and care; and that, although greatly to be deprecated, yet in many villages there were two currents of strong feeling, generally with a denominational bias, which seemed irreconcilable, and two schools therefore seemed the only solution.[33] But the S.G.E. realised that the Mission schools often owed their establishment more to ecclesiastical rivalry than to educational zeal, for it became one of the stock arguments in applying for a school grant that since one Church was receiving a grant, therefore it was only fair that the applicant should also have a grant.[34] Denominational affiliations also influenced the attendance of pupils at a particular school and the schools admitted pupils from any district,[35] a practice which the Department freely allowed.[36] An Inspector reported that in the towns and villages in the area of the South Western districts to Port Elizabeth lack of agreement among the various Managers in regard to the admission of pupils from other schools sometimes caused harm.[37]

In 1892 the S.G.E. took some action. He decided that applications

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32) S.G.E. Report, 1892, p. 19.

33) Education Commission 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. G.W. Stegmann, p. 156.

34) S.G.E. Report, 1892, p. 19

35) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T.F. Lightfoot, p. 59

36) Education Commission 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.48.

37) S.G.E. Report, 1888. Special Reports of Inspectors of Schools, Brady, South Western Districts to Port Elizabeth, p. 19.

for grants to new Mission schools would have to be preceded by the same preliminaries as in the case of any other school. The applicant would have to furnish all the details specified on a new Application Form to be forwarded to the Inspector, whose report would have to accompany its submission to the Department for consideration.[38]

Finance - Grants and Fees.

After the adoption of the principle of Government aid, the Mission schools were classified in three categories for the purpose of qualifying for grants. Those with three departments - infant, juvenile and industrial - were allowed £50 to £75; where there was only one teacher a grant of £30 was given; and at the outstations the grant was limited to £15.[39] A Minister of the Wesleyan Church contended that the system left the Government a good deal of discretion as to the amount allocated to each school, and he felt there was a suspicion of favouritism in the award of the grants.[40] Upon review by a Commission in 1863, the continuation of these grants was recommended to the Government, subject to certain specified conditions: inter alia, that they were utilised solely for the salaries of the teachers, that suitable buildings, furniture, offices and school grounds were provided, and that the local income of the schools was able to provide efficiently for the secular instruction of the pupils.[41] In accordance with these recommendations, Mission schools were classified by an Act of Parliament in 1865 into three classes as before, according to size and situation, which became

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38) S.G.E. Report, 1892, p. 19.

39) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, ... Dale. p. 26.

40) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, James Cameron, p.p. 193, 194.

41) Ibid. Summary of Recommendations, p.p. lxxvi, lxxvii.

eligible for grants of £75, £30 and £15.[42] Thereafter the grants available to the Mission schools remained unchanged until 1897,[43] except that schools which had attained a certain standard qualified for small additional grants for pupil teachers.[44] St. Philip's Mission School in Cape Town, for example, with an enrolment of 604 pupils in 1896, although it had a right to receive only £75 per annum, actually received an additional £30 for an extra mistress, in accordance with its size and the grant for pupil teachers.[45]

Inspections of the schools were conducted to ensure that the conditions of the grants were fulfilled. Because it was discovered in 1863 that secular education in the essential subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic was seriously neglected, the Government was advised that grants should be withheld unless the pupils in a school had a reasonable opportunity of acquiring the essentials of education in a reasonable time.[46] A small Wesleyan school at Sir Lowry's Pass, for example, had its grant withdrawn after twenty years, because of the inefficiency of the teacher.[47] The S.G.E. also gave consideration to the possibility of withholding the grant in order to enforce an improvement in the buildings and general accommodation. But it was not found possible to stop grants on this account alone, because too many of the schools would have had to close.[48] As a

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42) Education Act, No. 13 of 1865; Vide The Education Act of 1865 and Regulations promulgated under same. G97 - 1904.

43) Vide infra p.19

44) Education Commission 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p. 59.

45) Select Committee on Education. Legislative Council, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Father Osborne, Superior of St. Philip's Mission, Cape Town, p. 55. Vide Votes and Proceedings of Parliament, Appendix 11. Volume 1, 1896.

46) Education Commission, 1863. Report, p. lii

47) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. R. Ridgill, Wesleyan Minister at Stellenbosch and Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in Western districts, p 340.

48) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.p. 39. 40.

rule, unless some improvement in the accommodation was promised, the S.G.E. stopped the grants in those cases where the school was not only badly conducted, but its buildings was also in a bad condition.[49] The dilemma was that, on the one hand, public money had to be profitably spent and, on the other, withholding a grant would have left the children without a school. The S.G.E., therefore, was obliged not to be very strict in most cases, and generally balanced the advantages with the disadvantages! Where the teaching in a school was good but the building was bad, he felt obliged to make some concession; and the grant was not withdrawn before pressure had been brought to bear on the Managers to see what could be done to improve matters.[50]

The Government grants were supplemented in various ways by the Church authorities, in order to augment the salaries of the teachers and to increase the financial resources of the schools. A scale of small school fees was sometimes imposed on those in attendance.[51] In the Wesleyan Mission schools the funds of the Wesleyan Missionary Society were drawn upon to make up the deficiencies in the salaries of the teachers.[52] In the English Church there was a monthly offertory by the Coloured congregation in the Mission churches in order to assist the schools, and the Coloured people willingly contributed. Subscriptions and donations were also sometimes received and money was obtained from an annual sale of work or a bazaar.[53] The Mission

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49) Education Commission 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Rowan, p. 434.

50) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rowan, p. 434.

51) Vide infra pp. 13 et seq.

52) Education Commission 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. R. Ridgill, p 335.

53) Education Commission 1863. Minutes of Evidence,. Bishop of Cape Town, p.p. 88, 89;

Education Commission 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T.F. Lightfoot, p. 356;

Education Commission 1891. First Report, Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T.F. Lightfoot, p.61.

schools often benefited from the charity, generosity and sacrifices of the Managers and their families: sometimes, for example, the daughters of the Missionary taught in the schools and gave their services without remuneration, or nearly so.[54] The Missionary sometimes paid out of his own pocket the balance of the school expenditure not covered by the Government grant, or raised the money among his friends.[55] But needless to say, with their slender and uncertain financial resources, the strictest economies had always to be practised.

The inadequacy of the grants was indicated to the Government from time to time. A Commission of Enquiry recommended in 1880 that the allowances of the three classes of Mission schools be increased to £125, £60 and £30 respectively.[56] But the recommendation was not implemented.[57] The anomaly in the system of grants was recognised by Donald Ross, Inspector General of Colleges and Schools. He suggested in 1883 that "a more elastic principle" should be found for aiding the Mission schools: that the grants should bear some definite relation to the number of pupils in average attendance in a school, and to the standard of attainment reached by them. If the number of pupils and the efficiency of a school was made the measure of the assistance, he thought the State would be able to improve education through "the power of the grant", and would be able to give the Mission schools the stimulus which a large number of them needed.[58]

The Mission authorities themselves requested increased grants from the Government. In the main they criticised the grants because they were inadequate for the larger schools. The Bishop

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54) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.61.

55) Select Committee on Education. Legislative Council, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Father Osborne, p.64.

56) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Report, Annexure, LL.

57) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.6.

58) Donald Ross, Inspector General of Colleges and Schools: Preliminary Report on the State of Education in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. (G12 - 1883), p.69.

of Grahamstown felt that when a school grew beyond 50 or 100 pupils the maximum of £75 was insufficient to provide for a proper and efficient teaching staff.[59] The Rev. Esselen, of Worcester, suggested that the bigger schools with more expensive buildings of four to five separate classrooms, and having eight to ten teachers and over 400 pupils, should not be restricted to the same grant of £75 as smaller schools.[60] Father Osborne, Superior of St. Philip's Mission, Cape Town, considered it absurd that a Mission school with 120 or 130 pupils obtained no increase in grant if its enrolment increased to 400 pupils.[61]

In his evidence before a Select Committee of the Legislative Council in 1896, Muir, the S.G.E., said it might be desirable to give the Mission schools increased aid if they taught the class of pupils who attended the schhols in the towns. He considered it unwise to give further assistance to all the Mission schools "without proper discrimination". He acknowledged the invidiousness of allowing the larger schools the same grants as the smaller schools, and regretted that he was so "absolutely tied down by the Regulations" that he could not differentiate. He thought some change would be advantageous and suggested that the teacher's salary in a Mission school should be in proportion to the number of children and the qualifications of the teacher, and that increased grants should be given only where the number of pupils necessitated additional help and qualified teachers were provided.[62] The Select Committee, realising that the Mission schools were being assisted in "the most parsimonious manner", thought it desirable that some system of payment in accordance with the number of children on the roll should be

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59) Education Commission, 1891. Second Report (G3 - '92). Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Grahamstown, p.19.

60) Ibid. First Report. Reply to Questionnaire, Rev. L. F. Esselen, Worcester, p.209.

61) Select Committee on Education. Legislative Council, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Father Osborne, p.60.

62) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Muir, p.p.11, 12.

introduced.[63]

The Mission authorities sometimes drew comparisons between the grants of the Undenominational schools and those available to the Mission schools. It seemed anomalous to the Bishop of Grahamstown that a Public school where the parents could afford high fees should receive as much as £700 or £800 a year from the Government, while the Mission schools, in which the poorer classes were educated, should be eligible for a maximum grant of only £75.[64] The Headmaster of the Rhenish Mission School at Stellenbosch thought it unfair that grants of over £1000 were given to an Undenominational school which had an enrolment far below that of a large Mission school.[65] But these comparisons were hardly valid, since some of the Undenominational schools were preparing pupils up to Matriculation, while the Mission schools were limited to pupils in the lower standards.

There was the further difference that, whereas the grant to the Undenominational schools was contingent upon the payment of a scale of fees by the parents to provide the local contributions required by the Pound for Pound principle, there was no similar obligation upon the parents of the pupils at the Mission schools, although the schools were expected to have a local income. However, one of the methods sometimes employed by the Mission schools to increase their financial resources was to require the parents to pay a small school fee, and by 1860 the fees were generally 1^{d} a week and in some cases 6^{d} weekly.[66] The fees were naturally not comparable

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63) Ibid. Report, p.v.

64) Education Commission, 1891. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Grahamstown, p. 20.

65) Education Commission 1879 - 80. Appendix 1. Written Replies to Commission's Enquiries, J. Hahn, Headmaster, Rhenish Mission School, Stellenbosch, p. 65.

66) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, Dale p. 35.

to those paid at the Public schools and were usually fixed at a low scale "to suit the low class of children".[67] But they varied within certain limits from one school to another, and seem to have been adapted also to the higher income levels of some of the parents: in the Mossel Bay - Humansdorp - Graaff-Reinet area, where the fees ranged from 4d to two Shillings per month, the parents contributed about one-third of the teacher's salary, and in some cases as much as a half.[68] Through the judicious adjustment of the school fees certain schools came to be practically reserved for the better-off children, while others catered only for the poorest of the poor because of their low fees and the fact that their Managers were less strict in the collection of the fees, or granted exemptions more easily if the parents were unable to pay.[69] In 1891 the S.G.E. considered that two-thirds of the children in some Mission schools paid no fees, and in the large Mission schools attended by the Coloured pupils the education was practically free.[70]

There were quite a few problems connected with the collection of these school fees in many of the schools. Although the fees were very small in many cases, it was a difficult matter sometimes to get parents from the poorer labouring and farming classes to pay anything at all.[71] When pressure was exerted in a school for the payment of the fees a certain number of the pupils merely left

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67) Education Commission, 1891. First Report, Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p. 59.

68) S.G.E. Report, 1893, p. 26. Annexure 1. Report of Inspector Murray, Mossel Bay - Humansdorp - Graaff-Reinet. p. xxiii.

69) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.p. 59, 63. The Rev. Lightfoot stated that he knew of Mission schools in Cape Town in which higher fees were intentionally charged and a certain influence used to limit admissions to European pupils.

70) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.p.31, 32.

71) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. R. Ridgill, p.p. 335, 339.

the school and sought admission to another. This contingency the Mission schools in Cape Town tried to meet by adopting a friendly rule among themselves that they would not admit pupils from other schools unless they were able to produce the redeipt for fees paid at the previous school.72) The Bishop of Cape Town told in 1879 of his own attempt to exact fees from the pupils in his little Mission school at Protea, Claremont: the school was emptied directly, and thereafter only two or three of the children of European parents paid fees.73) However, this consequence did not always follow: when a Mission school in Wynberg, attended mainly by Coloured children of the labouring class, doubled the rates of its fees with the permission of the S.G.E. to 2d, 3d, 4d and 6d per week, the results were very satisfactory and there was not the slightest decrease in attendance.74) And at Swellendam, where a uniform fee of 1d per week had been charged, a meeting of the Coloured people connected with the D.R.C. Mission school agreed to pay differential fees of 3d, 2d and 1d according to the different standards.75)

A difficulty also arose from the tendency on the part of some of the pupils who were absent from school on Monday or Tuesday sometimes to remain absent for the whole week to avoid paying the weekly fees. This naturally contributed to the irregularity of attendance which was so regrettable a feature of many of the Mission schools. The resourceful Managers and teachers, however, found something of a remedy and matters were improved by the introduction

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72) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T.F. Lightfoot, p. 60; Rev. J. M. Russel, p. 70.

73) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p. 228.

74) Ibid. Appendix I. Written Replies to Commission's Enquiries, Rev. T. W. Swift, Wynberg, p.p. 3, 4.

75) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Dr. Robertson, p. 54.

in certain instances of a system of monthly payments, according to which a parent was held liable for the full monthly fee even if the child was absent for one or two days and, where possible, the fees were accepted in advance.[76]

By 1890 there was an increasing trend in favour of compulsory local contributions by the Mission schools as a necessary condition for Government assistance. This received some support from among the Circuit Inspectors. One of them reported that, although fees were promised, they were not paid in the majority of cases. He held that this "rotten state of things" flowed from the fact that the parents had not yet learnt the duty of honestly fulfilling the obligations into which they had entered by their own free will. And to bring them to a proper realisation of their duty he recommended that a compulsory scale of fees, as low as possible, be framed, and that defaulters be sued in the Magistrate's Court.[77] Another Inspector suggested that there was no reason why a local contribution equal in amount to half the Government grant should not be insisted upon in the case of the Mission schools.[78] The Rev. Horak, of Mossel Bay, expressed the view that in many cases the Coloured section of the community was better able to pay than the poorer class of farmers, and the Mission schools should therefore be aided on the same terms as the Undenominational schools.[79] Indeed, in some instances the S.G.E. held the Mission authorities

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76) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. J. M. Russel, Minister, Scottish Presbyterian Church, Cape Town, p.68; Rev. C. Muller, D.R.C. Minister, Bree Street, Cape Town, p.77; Second Report, Minutes of Evidence, W. R. Clarry, teacher, White's Road, E.C. Mission School, p.144.

77) S.G.E. Report, 1892. Inspector Ely, p.20.

78) Ibid. Inspector Woodrooffe, p.p.19, 20.

79) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Appendix I. Written Replies to Commission's Enquiries, Rev. J. G. Horak, Mossel Bay, p.11.

themselves responsible for the insufficiency of the parental contributions: the unnecessarily low fees or lack of fees in some cases he ascribed to the "mistaken zeal of rival churches", which led the school of one Church to do its best to "undersell" what it considered a rival institution.[80]

In view of the fact that the educational system at the Cape had during the second half of the century become firmly grounded in the combination of State aid and voluntary local effort it is not surprising that the attention of the Department was more and more directed to the nature and extent of the local contributions that were made by the parents and others to the Mission schools. In the Poor schools no local contribution was required and none was paid, although board and lodging was locally provided for the teacher. In the case of the Undenominational and Private Farm schools the local contributions were, on the whole, greater than the Government grants. In the Mission schools the local cash contributions were somewhat lower than the Government grants: the respective amounts for schools examined in one quarter in 1893 were £5170.5.0 and £6,814.10.0, although in a considerable number of instances board and lodging or free residence was included as part of the local contribution.[81] While he accepted that such schools for the poor had to be maintained both for the Coloured and European sections, the S.G.E. felt that the Mission schools had too much of the character of pauper schools supported by the Government, and that where the parents were able to contribute it was unjust to others and demoralising to the parents themselves to provide education free.[82]

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80) S.G.E. Report, 1892, p. 19.

81) S.G.E. Report, 1893, p. 28. According to figures for 1890, the amount raised in fees, contributions, etc., by the different churches and Missionary Societies varied considerably, being in some cases higher than the total amount received in aid of the Mission schools under their control. See Appendix D. p.445.

82) S.G.E. Report, 1892, p.19.

Muir informed the Select Committee of the Legislative Council in 1896 that he considered it quite fair that, especially if the Coloured parents wished their children to go beyond the Third Standard normally provided by the Mission schools, they should contribute in the same way as the European parents did.[83] Although in the larger Mission schools the voluntary local contributions sometimes exceeded the Government grants, the question was raised in the Committee whether the fact that the Mission schools were not compulsorily required to contribute on the Pound for Pound principle had not to be taken into account in raising the maximum grants to the Mission schools.[84] The trend in policy, therefore, was to raise the local contributions to the schools to an amount nearer the equivalent of the Government grant and by some means to make such contributions a condition of further state aid.

Around 1893 the Education Department gave the question considerable attention and, although not much improvement was effected, it was a matter of some gratification to the S.G.E. that certainly a movement in the right direction had been started.[85] Although there was no legal requirement for the payment of local contributions, pressures were exerted in certain instances. Thus, for example, where it was discovered that the parents paid nothing towards the school expenses, an attempt was made by the local Inspector to place the school on a sounder financial basis. And, where it was found that the local contribution was clearly insufficient, the attention of the Manager of the school was officially drawn to it. In cases where additional Government aid was requested, a

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83) Select Committee on Education. Legislative Council, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Muir, p.22.

84) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Father Osborne, p.64.

85) S.G.E. Report, 1893, p.p.25, 26.

change in the amount of local contributions was insisted upon.[86]

In 1897 the principle of Government aid in proportion to the amount of local contribution, for so long basic to the system of aided Undenominational schools, was partially introduced into the Mission school system, in order to offer the possibility of greater financial assistance towards the salaries of the teachers in the larger Mission schools. In terms of the new Regulation passed by Parliament, schools with an average attendance exceeding 100 pupils and which had some local resources of their own could become eligible for annual salary grants in addition to the maximum of £75; but these schools were required to contribute Pound for Pound in respect of such additional grants, which were to be limited to £40 for each additional 100 pupils.[87]

The Parliamentary debate showed that, although there was an objection to giving more support to the Mission schools while better provision was not made for the poorer European section,[88] there was certainly some Parliamentary support for greater financial assistance than was being provided for under the Regulation.[89] The protagonists of greater aid felt that the schools should be given more than the "miserable pittance"[90], and that their grants should be raised to "the standard of the necessity of the case".[91] Merriman advanced the argument that, however objectionable the mixing of the two groups of children in the

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86) Ibid., p.p. 25, 26, [illegible]

87) Additional Regulations, 1897. Vide The Education Act, 1865 and the Regulations promulgated under same.

88) Debates in the House of Assembly, 1897, le Roex, p. 434.

89) Ibid. See, for example Beard, p. 78; Merriman, Fuller, Ryan, Brown, p. 433.

90) Ibid. Beard, p. 433.

91) Ibid. Beard, p. 78.

Mission schools might be, the schools deserved credit for their efforts to educate the Poor White children, who would otherwise be completely neglected.[92] He suggested the removal of the limitation upon the amount of Government aid that could be given under the Regulation, because the local contributions would have to be paid by the "unfortunate parsons", who could ill afford it, and therefore local contributions should not be a condition for further assistance to the Mission schools.[93] As an alternative, an attempt was also made to reduce the rate of local contribution to 10/- for every Pound of Government assistance,[94] and a further suggestion was offered that the grant be £75 for 75 instead of 100 pupils.[95]

The Colonial Secretary, however, speaking for the Government, was opposed to any further financial concessions to the Mission schools. He supported the view that any further aid to the Mission schools would be an injustice to the Poor White section, and he underlined the principle, recently enunciated by the S.G.E., that the Mission schools should as far as possible be self-supporting. In regard to any claim for increased aid that was based on the part being played by the Mission schools in educating the poorer White pupils, he stated that it was the object of the Government to separate the White and Coloured children and the reason was therefore not regarded as valid by the Government.[96] The Colonial Secretary was accused by Merriman of dragging "across the tail of the resolution (for more liberal aid) the famous red herring

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92) Ibid. Merriman, p. 434.

93) Ibid. Merriman, p. 433.

94) Ibid. Ryan, p. 433.

95) Ibid. van der Vyver, p. 434.

96) Ibid. Dr. Te Water, p.p.433, 434.

of White and Coloured children being mixed up together, which never failed to draw".[97] But against the background of the general demand for the separation of White and Coloured pupils[98] the Parliamentary attempts at a more generous scale of assistance to the Mission schools were defeated.[99]

The demand for increased grants to the Mission schools, however, continued unabated. In the following year it took the form of country-wide Petitions to Parliament, signed in great number, requesting more generous Government support and, for example, "praying the House to grant such a measure of relief as may enable the Managers of the Mission schools to render them as efficient as possible".[100] They came from the towns and villages of the Western Province and from places as far afield as Kimberley, O'okiep, Hankey, Riversdale and Prince Albert; they were in both English and Dutch; and they were from all denominations.[101] Their common purpose was crystallised in a Parliamentary motion which sought to bring home to the Government the advisability of increasing the grants to the Mission schools.[102] Reinforced by the widespread support demonstrated by the large number of Petitions, Brown, the mover, urged in support of the request that the Mission schools, of which there were no fewer than 562, were the only schools in the smaller places and villages, that they provided the only moral training the children could possibly get,

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97) Ibid. Merriman, p. 434.

98) Ibid. du Toit, Sonnenberg, van der Walt, p. 434. Van der Walt said it was the fault of the Church, Parliament and every individual M.P. that Black and White were being educated together. Du Toit said that Coloured and White pupils in the same schools "bred disrespect and familiarity".

99) Ibid..... p. 434.

100) Debates, 1898. First Volume. Petition, presented by Mr. Brown, from His Grace the Archbishop of Cape Town, President, and 17 others, members of the Board of Education of the Diocese of Cape Town, p. 182

101) Ibid. First Volume. May - June, 1898.

102) Debates, 1898. First Volume. Brown, p. 181.

and that they taught them "early piety" as well as the rudiments of general education. He regarded it as the duty of the Government to provide also for the education of the "lower classes", and in this regard drew attention to the fact that, while the Government paid liberal grants of £3. 4. 9. per pupil to the "higher schools", the grants to the Mission schools averaged a mere 13/8 per pupil. And while the salaries of the teachers in the other schools had been raised, the Government grants in support of the salaries of the teachers in the Mission schools had remained unchanged for thirty years.[103]

The request, however, that the Government should therefore consider the matter in consultation with the S.G.E. was nullified by the defeat of the Sprigg Government as a result of a motion of no confidence.[104] And for a few years thereafter the Anglo-Boer War (1899 - 1902) precluded any consideration of improvement.[105]

Buildings and Accommodation.

In the provision of school buildings the Mission schools and the Undenominational schools suffered the same disadvantage for many years: in both cases the local Managers were required to provide the school buildings and accommodation, without any assistance from the Government. For the Undenominational schools, however, the task was generally easier, because they were attended mainly by the children of the more affluent parents, and the guarantors were often persons in the professional and commercial classes, who found it much easier to obtain money for the purpose or to make arrangements for the hire or purchase of buildings.

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103) Ibid. First Volume. Brown, p. 181.

104) Ibid. First Volume, p.p. 235, 237.

105) Vide infra. p. 144.

In addition, although the School Regulations before 1893 made no provision, other than for a special grant in aid of buildings, there were occasions when, as in 1890, "Parliament was generous", and special financial assistance in the form of half of the expenses on buildings was given to Committees of Managers from funds specially voted.[106] Nevertheless, it was a frequent complaint that, although the Government purported to pay half the local school expenditure, it did much less because it contributed nothing towards the cost of buildings. In 1893 provision was made for the Government to assist in the provision of Public school buildings, through a system of loans and rent grants.[107]

The Mission schools, however, remained wholly dependent on the slender resources of the Churches to provide the school accommodation. Because of the general poverty of the community they served, the provision of satisfactory buildings and grounds was frequently a great problem. The offertories and subscriptions gave some assistance.[108] And in some instances the Churches were helped by grants of land, as in Port Elizabeth, for example, where the Municipality had made, irrespective of denomination, grants of such land as was of no value to them.[109]

Many of the Managers of the Mission schools seemed to consider that as long as the accommodation was suitable for the Divine Service they could "squeeze the school into a corner of it".[110]

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106) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.p. 9, 10.

107) Proclamation 388, 1893. Vide The Education Act of 1865 and Regulations promulgated under same.

108) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.61.

109) Ibid. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, John McIlwraith, Mayor of Port Elizabeth, p.153.

110) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.41.

The buildings occupied by the schools were generally used also for religious worship, and the furniture was adapted for Church rather than for school purposes. "In Cape Town the pupils in a great part of the Mission schools in 1861 were obliged to occupy the pews or seats of the Churches, and although there was an abundance of furniture there was little that they could use in order to learn to write.[111] In the country villages there was the same inconvenience caused by the necessity continually to change the position of the furniture for school and Church, and in nearly all the schools the lack of proper school furniture arose from the fact that the building was also required as a place of worship.[112]

Through the years there was little change in these conditions and the comfort and needs of the pupils remained decidedly secondary considerations. Sometimes after the use of the schoolrooms for public meetings and social events the furniture was found to be disarranged, there were inkstains on the desks and floors, and the general untidiness of the rooms was very apparent - all of which, needless to add, interfered seriously with the order and discipline of the pupils.[113] This led an Inspector of Schools to express the opinion that the schoolrooms should be used only for school purposes.[114] In the South Western to Port Elizabeth area 40 out of 100 Mission schools were classified by the Inspector in 1888 as being housed in either poor or very bad premises.[115] Of the schools in the Colony as a whole it was the "poorer sort of Mission Schools", as well as the Third Class schools on farms, which stood

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111) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p. 41.

112) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Dr. Robertson, p. 72.

113) S.G.E. Report, 1888. Special Reports of Inspectors of Schools, Rowan, p. 5.

114) Ibid., p. 5.

115) Ibid. Special Reports of Inspectors of Schools, Brady, p. 13.

most in need of improved buildings: imperfect or no means of proper ventilation of the classrooms and an insanitary condition, or complete absence, of the out-offices was a very common occurrence.[116]

In addition to poor school furniture, often insufficient for the attendance, even the most indispensable school apparatus was sometimes not available to the teacher. Books, slates and pencils had often to be supplied free in order to carry on the regular work of the school. Fortunately, there were occasions when the poorer schools were given free supplies of books, stationery, wall-cards and general aids, which were gratefully acknowledged by both managers and teachers. This generosity did much to cheer and encourage the teachers, and Inspectors made a plea for the extension of such gifts of furniture and equipment because it would bring "an excellent return for the outlay in increased efficiency".[117]

Irregularity of Attendance in Cape Town and country areas.

One of the more unfortunate features of many of the Mission schools was the great irregularity with which the pupils attended, almost always aggravated by a constant unpunctuality. Apart from the unsatisfactory education which they gave to the White pupils who attended them, the S.G.E. considered their inability to keep the Coloured children in the schools and to ensure their regular attendance to be a major fault of the Mission schools.[118] In 1879 the Bishop of Cape Town reported that in very many of the English Church schools the average attendance was not half the

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116) S.G.E. Report, 1892, p.6.

117) S.G.E. Report, 1888. Special Reports of Inspectors of Schools, Rowan, p.5; Brady, p.p. 13, 14.

118) S.G.E. Report, 1888, p.6; Special Report of the S.G.E. on a Resolution of the House of Assembly concerning School Regulations, 1890, p.6.

enrolment,[119] although in the "Mission schools in Cape Town controlled by the Church in 1891, the number of enrolled pupils was 2,769 (of whom approximately half were said to be Coloured), and the average attendance was 2,025.[120] The average regularity of attendance in all the Mission schools in the Colony as a whole in 1890 was 67.5%, and in those in Cape Town it was as low as 60.5%.[121]

In many of the schools the pupils were drawn from the lower social and economic groups: the parents were often "exceedingly poor" and their offspring constituted "the very lowest class of children".[122] The irregular attendance of the pupils was in a large measure related to the social position of their parents, which influenced their attitude to their children's education. They were so very useful to the poorer parents that they took advantage of the slightest excuse to keep them home; and if the children themselves had the opportunity of earning a penny, they seldom placed scholastic interest before pecuniary advancement.[123] A large number of the parents were careless and indifferent and had very little understanding or appreciation of the importance of regular attendance at school, or, indeed, of the advantages of a good education.[124] The Bishop of Cape Town complained in 1879 of the impossibility of infusing the least enthusiasm and concern for their children in the minds of the parents in the lower

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119) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p.223.

120) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T.F. Lightfoot, p.58.

121) Ibid. Third Report (G3 -'92), p.6.

122) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.58.

123) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.58.

124) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. J.M. Russel, p.70; Rev. James Thompson, Minister, Wesleyan Metropolitan Church, Cape Town, p.97.

social categories, and he thought the problem was aggravated by the general feeling of indifference or even hostility towards their education.[125] Instead of ensuring their attendance at school, they sent their children to the fishmarket, or took them to the washplace, because they had themselves not learnt the value of education.[126] The pupils came late, or absented themselves, when their parents required them at home for a couple of hours to mind the baby, or to go on some errand.[127] At many of the Mission schools the children in the same family were obliged to take turns diurnally to go to school: one child was kept at home to look after the home and the babies, while the other went to school in the morning, the duties being reversed for the afternoon session. This "half system" was naturally one of the causes of the poor progress of the pupils.[128]

The requirement to pay a weekly fee also had an adverse effect on the regularity of attendance.[129] However, as early as 1861 irregular attendance was found chiefly where education was free and a perceptible improvement was noticed when a small fee, of even half a penny weekly, was charged.[130] The S.G.E. considered that free education undermined parental responsibility, and that the indifference of the parents to the truancy and irregularity of attendance had developed because they paid little or nothing for their children's education.[131] The problem of a fee-paying system in a poor community was that, while the fees were a factor in keeping the children away

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125) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p.222.

126) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.p. 361, 362.

127) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. C. Muller, p.77.

128) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Dale p.66.

129) Vide supra p.p. 13 et seq.

130) Education Commission, 1863. Report, p.liii.

131) S.G.E. Report, 1888, p.6.

from the school, without some local contribution the parents did not learn to value the schools or to play their part in their improvement.

Failure to attend school regularly did not, however, always arise from adverse social and economic conditions. Very often the family circumstances were mere pretexts for plain truancy, and it was a not uncommon sight to see children loitering and gambling in the streets of Cape Town,[132] "learning to be vagabonds"[133] and "pottering about and living loose idle lives".[134] Of all the days of the week an Inspector discovered that the attendance was poorest on Mondays and Fridays,[135] on the latter day no doubt increased by the absence of the Mohammedan pupils for religious reasons. Donald Ross, on his visit to the Mission schools in Cape Town, was greatly struck by the large enrolments and very small attendance. He discovered that there was "a perfectly intelligible explanation", given in all sincerity and good faith or perhaps through the force of unconscious habit: either it was a Monday, when the pupils had not yet arrived for the week, or it was a Friday, when they had stopped coming; or it was a Malay holiday, or the washing day, or there was some equally specific reason.[136]

It was evident that the parents were not taking full advantage of the facilities for educating their children. The Bishop of Cape Town found it most lamentable to see the number of children growing up without any kind of education.[137] Cape Town offered so much

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132) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.p. 58, 59.

133) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Dr. Hole, Rector, Trinity Church, Cape Town, p.370.

134) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.362.

135) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rowan, p.428.

136) Donald Ross, Preliminary Report 1883, p.7

137) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p.222.

temptation to the little boys of 10 or 11 years of age to run in the streets.[138] In 1896 the Rev. Dr. Kolbe reported the great number of Coloured children "about the streets doing nothing".[139] Father Osborne complained that the streets were full of children on any day. At 11 a.m. in one part of Cape Town, between the two Mission schools of St. Marks and St. Philip's, a distance of one-third of a mile, he counted no fewer than 123 children between the ages of 4 and 12 years, playing marbles in the streets, or running errands or idling about or sitting on stoeps, perhaps looking after babies. One fifth of these children were White.[140] The evidence presented to a Select Committee of the Legislative Council showed conclusively that in Cape Town in 1896 a very large number of children grew up in ignorance and vice because of the irregularity of their school attendance.[141]

Several local remedies were suggested and tried to rectify this unsatisfactory state of affairs. To overcome the problem presented by parents who kept their children from school because they required their help, the Rev. Esselen, of Worcester, suggested that the regulation which required the schools to open both in the forenoon and the afternoon be altered to free the pupils in the afternoons, to help their parents or enable them to be hired out for half a day.[142] Generally, the Managers and teachers tried hard to impress upon the parents the necessity of sending their children to school punctually and regularly, and in these efforts they employed all the arts of "moral suasion".[143] But more positive action was also taken: the school doors, for example, were

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138) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.31.

139) Select Committee on Education .... Legislative Council, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Dr. Kolbe, p.47.

140) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Father Osborne, p.p.56, 57.

141) Ibid. Report, p.203.

142) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. L. F. Esselen, Worcester, Reply to Questionnaire, p.196.

143) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.58.

shut at 10 a.m. and the offending pupils sent home, to see whether that would not influence the neglectful parents. At the same time an arrangement was made with a neighbouring school to adopt the same rule, so that having been denied admittance to the one school the unpunctual and irregular would not immediately be given entry to the other. However, although this was one of several examples of resourceful co-operation among the Mission schools to solve their common problems, the measure does not appear to have done very much good, because the teachers were not very strict in enforcing it.[144]

The problem of irregularity of attendance presented itself in much the same way in the country areas. In the Karoo area, around Beaufort West, the attendance was very irregular and, together with truancy, caused the progress of the pupils to be relatively slow.[145] In the schools with good teachers, satisfactory premises, furniture and apparatus, in the area from the South Western districts to Port Elizabeth, however, truancy was hardly known and the attendance was wonderfully regular.[146] But the children were often kept away from school for all manner of purposes - looking after the babies, assisting the parents in their work, delivering their fathers' dinner, and so on.[147] At certain times of the year there was a great and unavoidable irregularity: when the roads and streams became impassable and the schools were empty on occasion for a week at a time; when epidemics broke out; and, in particular, when seasonal labour was required for

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144) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. C. Muller, p.76. For compulsory attendance as a remedy for irregularity of attendance see Chapter III p.100 et seq..

145) S.G.E. Report, 1888. Special Report of Inspectors, Samuel, Karoo, centre Beaufort West, p.33.

146) Ibid. Special Report of Inspectors, Brady, p.19.

147) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. R. Riggill, p.336.

the urgent farming operations, such as ploughing, reaping,or pressing of the grapes.[148]

It was the practice of the Missionary bodies at stations such as Genadendal, Berea, Elim, Mamre, Wittewater, Goedverwacht, Saron and other places with large concentrations of Coloured people to close their schools at the beginning of the harvest season, usually in October, and, with the consent of the Department, not to resume work until after the completion of the wheat harvest.[149] The withdrawal of the boys from the schools was also quite general during the ploughing season, although naturally no fixed time could be agreed upon for closing for this purpose, since ploughing was dependent on when the rains started.[150] These arrangements were made with the approval of the Education Department,[151] granted under a special regulation which gave Departmental sanction to the closing of Mission schools for such periods as might be necesesary to allow the older boys to go to field labour, and permitted the times of closing to be varied according to the nature of the main industry of each district.[152] This concession, however, was not adequate to meet the heavy demands for labour on the farms, especially when, around 1890, a large part of the normal Coloured labour supply on Western Province farms was attracted by the higher rates of pay to employment on local railway and harbour construction and other public works.[153]

The problem created by the shortage of labour was aggravated for the farmers by several circumstances connected with the Mission schools.

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148) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Tindall, Wesleyan Minister, Stellenbosch, p.127; S.G.E. Report, 1888. Special Reports of Inspectors, Brady, p.19.

149) S.G.E. Report, 1890, p.14.

150) Ibid., p.14.

151) Ibid., p.14

152) S.G.E. Report, 1891, p.13.

153) Select Committee on the Labour Question A12 - 1890. Report, p.iii.

It was a feature of these schools in many parts that quite big boys of 14, 15 and 16 years of age were often still in attendance, when it was thought that they could be used as farm labourers.[154] To make their presence in school perhaps more incongruous and objectionable many of them were found in the lower standards, having entered at an advanced age.[155] While the S.G.E. accepted that it was well for these older pupils to come under the influence of a school, yet he nevertheless regarded it as "mistaken charity" to keep them at school at an age when they should be accustoming themselves to manual work, since they had to earn their living as labourers.[156]

Some of the teachers disregarded the spirit of the Departmental permission to close the schools when the labour of the children was required. They compelled the pupils to attend school and threatened to strike them off the school roll altogether if they stayed away and worked on the farms. Cases were reported where the teachers had sent for the pupils when they were already ploughing on the farm, with the threat that if they did not come to school they would be denied admission completely.[157] In these efforts in behalf of their pupils the Mission school teachers and authorities seem to have had the co-operation and acquiescence of those parents, especially in the relatively better-off group, who preferred sending their children to school to their working on the farms.[158] The annoyance of the farmers at this situation was increased considerably because the compelling need for labour at certain seasons forced them to withdraw their own sons from

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154) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, H. P. Beyers, M.L.A. for Caledon, p.1.

155) S.G.E. Report, 1892, p.20.

156) Ibid., p.20

157) Select Committee on the Labour Question, A12, 1890. Minutes of Evidence, H.P. Beyers, p.5; J.P. Eksteen, Paarl farmer, p.12.

158) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, H.P. Beyers, p.5; John Visser, farmer in the Cape District, p.32.

school for the purpose.[159] Moreover, it was not that they did not wish the Coloured pupils to go to school. For, while there were certainly those who objected to the kind and extent of the education given to the pupils, there was no specific objection to schools, per se, for the Coloured pupils. They wished to employ them only at the special seasons, and were quite content to leave them to attend school for the remainder of the time.[160]

Because it seemed that the attitude of at least some of the Mission schools, in preventing the boys from 13 to 16 years of age from helping the farmers during the busy seasons, was interfering with the interests of the farmers,[161] a Parliamentary Select Committee recommended that the Government should exercise whatever power it possessed over the Mission school authorities in order to arrive at a system of school vacations which would coincide with the seasons when labour was most urgently needed.[162]

The S.G.E., however, considered the implementation of such a recommendation to be unnecessary. He felt that there was no causal connection between the attendance of Coloured children at school and the scarcity of labour, since the majority of pupils were too young to be used as farm labourers and those who were likely to be useful could be released under the existing Departmental regulations.[163] Nevertheless, he thought it advisable to notify the Mission Superintendents that every facility should be given to the older boys to undertake field labour at such times as labour was required by the main industry of each district.[164]

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159) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, H.P. Beyers, p.3; Appendix D.

160) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, H.P. Beyers, p.5; J.P. Eksteen, p.12.

161) Ibid. Report, p.iii.

162) Ibid. Report, p.iv.

163) S.G.E. Report, 1891, p.13.

164) S.G.E. Report, 1890, p.p. 14, 15.

Standard and Content of Education.

In the Mission schools the percentage of pupils in the Infant classes was always very high, and they were generally the most neglected pupils in the schools. In 1863, even in the best conducted schools, the bulk of the pupils were either entirely unoccupied or engaged in the repetition of a spelling lesson under the charge of a monitor, according to the system in common use at the time, which failed either to interest or improve them.[165] The teacher was only made aware of their presence when their noise interfered with his teaching of the more senior pupils. Many of the pupils from five to nine years of age therefore remained at school month after month without making any appreciable progress.[166]

In common with the other elementary schools the Mission schools suffered the handicap of untrained and unqualified teachers.[167] With their overseas connections, however, the Missionary Societies were sometimes able to import trained teachers,[168] and missionary zeal and sacrifice was a great advantage to them in this respect. But, generally, with their meagre grants towards salaries they were obliged to get teachers where they could and to make the best of them.[169] The Bishop of Cape Town said they came from "every conceivable source under the sun" and were intellectually inferior.[170] And in the seventeen Wesleyan Mission schools in the Western districts in 1880, although they were adjudged "competent to give a respectable education in elementary branches," not one of the 29 teachers was specially trained or had had any professional training.[171]

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165) Education Commission, 1863. Report p.li.

166) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.38.

167) Vide infra p.364.

168) Education Commission 1879 - 80. Appendix I. Written Replies to Commission's Enquiries, J. Hahn, p.64.

169) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p.p. 221, 222.

170) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p.p.221, 222.

171) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. R. Ridgill, p.p. 335, 338.

The Infant classes especially lacked properly trained teachers.[172] They seemed to know next to nothing of Infant school methods, and consequently the overwhelming majority of the pupils gained little from the teaching in the schools.[173] The schools were no more than a sort of nursery where the children were at least in safe keeping and they reminded Donald Ross of the analogous picture of the Infant classes in the old English schools:

"The mother went to her work or employed herself in congenial gossip, and her small children were consigned to the care of the infant school mistress lest they should fall into the fire at home, or meet with some accident abroad. Their safe keeping was the important matter; their training was of very minor importance. Infant schools were a cheap substitute for the nursery, and infant school mistresses were used by those who could not command the services of a nursery maid. Perhaps the children upon the whole were gainers. They drawled over the alphabet, or listened to stupid lessons upon the cow, the camel or the elephant, or shouted through some absurd verses about horizontals, perpendiculars and the like. But beyond these exercises they seldom went. The object lesson as we found it in the infant school was a sorry affair. Exercises in form and colour were given without due understanding either of the child's nature or its development, or of objects themselves. Infant school apparatus of the right kind there was none and there were few infant school teachers who made a study of good methods and appliances. Pestolozzi was known only in name but Fröebel, who has done more for infant school education than all other writers put together, was sealed in his native tongue".[174]

In 1892 the time taken by the pupils to reach the First Standard in one district was still excessively long and the percentage of pupils in the Infant classes unreasonably large. In another area about half the pupils had not reached beyond the Infant classes, and the number of pupils who knew "next to nothing" comprised nearly half the whole attendance. In the remoter areas of Namaqualand and the North-west Cape 62.24% of the pupils were found in the Infant classes, and of those in the Standards 5.49% were in Std. III and 2.25% in Std. IV.[175] Of every 100 pupils in the Graaff-Reinet - Humansdorp area in 1893 only 8 got beyond Std. III and not one above Std. IV; and there were some

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172) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.36.

173) Donald Ross, Preliminary Report ..... 1883, p.30.

174) Ibid., p.30. Quoted.

175) S.G.E. Report, 1892, p.20.

areas in which the number of pupils who left before reaching Std. IV was even greater.[176] In 1895 of all the pupils in the Mission schools 60% were "below Standard", 16% in Std. I, 14% in Std. II, 7% in Std. III and 2% in Std. IV. Of the 33,000 pupils present at inspection only 700 were in Std. IV. The S.G.E. was naturally pleased to have a certain number of the pupils reach Std. IV in order to ensure a supply of teachers.[177] But it was clear that the average standard reached by the pupils on leaving the Mission schools, in the words of Muir when he took office as S.G.E. in 1892, was "painfully low". In one area it was estimated in 1892 to be between the Second and Third Standards.[178] Of the pupils in Cape Town who passed beyond the Infant classes many left at Std. I and some at Std. II.[179]

In some cases the number of pupils said to be in Std. III was somewhat inflated by the practice of keeping at school children who had already passed that Standard, not in order to allow them to proceed to a higher Standard, but to make up the percentage required by the teacher to qualify for the Good Service Allowance. There were cases where pupils had passed the same Standard in the schools three years in succession.[180] One of the difficulties in the way of the pupils continuing their education was that in the Western Province, for example, there were hardly any schools to which poorer Coloured children could go for anything beyond the elementary education provided by the Mission schools: if any clever pupils reached Std. IV and were unable to pay the fees at the Undenominational schools (assuming they were accepted for admission) they were compelled to leave school.[181]

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176) S.G.E. Report, 1893, p.11. The position in the schools for the poorer European pupils, such as the Third class and Poor Schools, was little better.

177) Select Committee on Education. Leg. Council, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Muir, p.22.

178) S.G.E. Report, 1892, p.20.

179) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.62.

180) S.G.E. Report, 1893, p.p. 12, 13.

181) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Appendix 1. Written Replies to

The quality of the education and the efficiency of the schools, however, varied considerably from one school to another. At one end of the scale were those Mission schools in which the S.G.E. considered the teaching to be better than in many of the Undenominational schools,[182] and which Donald Ross thought fully up to the standard of those schools which were intended to prepare pupils to Matriculation classes.[183] At the other end of the scale were those schools which the S.G.E. thought scarcely merited the name at all.[184] In some of the schools even the pupils in the Infant classes were taught to write remarkably well.[185] Although there was a general complaint by School Inspectors that pupils in almost all schools read without intelligence, understanding and expression, the fault was sometimes considerably more acute in the Mission schools, and when a parrot-like repetition caused a little suspicious Inspectoral probing it was discovered the child could say the lesson as well without the book as with it.[186]

These features of the Mission schools compelled the conclusion that there was something radically wrong in their general circumstances and management.[187] One suggestion made by the S.G.E. was that Std. III be the highest standard allowed in these schools, to allow the teachers to give more time to the lower classes than if they had Std. IV as well. Alternatively, he suggested that inspections for Std. IV should not be allowed unless 75% of the enrolled pupils were present, and unless 75% of those were presented for some Standard

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182) S.G.E. Report, 1892, p.18.

183) Donald Ross, op cit, p.24.

184) S.G.E. Report, 1892, p.18.

185) Ibid. p.7.

186) Ibid. p. 7.

187) Ibid. p.20

at the Inspection.[188]

It was required from the commencement of their support by the Government that, besides religious instruction, the Mission schools were to give their pupils a measure of ordinary secular education, as provided in other elementary schools.[189] It was, however, a current view, held for example by the Bishop of Cape Town, that the Mission schools were expressly founded to teach religious truth to the heathen population.[190] Emphasis was therefore laid on the acquirement of religious knowledge and the schools were often employed chiefly as vehicles for conversion to Christianity. In 1863 it was discovered that the chief occupation of the day in many of the well attended schools was singing and repeating hymns, and imparting to the pupils a great deal of information on Bible history and geography and knowledge of the text of the Holy Scriptures.[191] In accordance with a recommendation to the Government by a Commission of Enquiry[192] the instruction in the schools after 1865 was required by law to include at least reading, writing and elementary arithmetic, and the schools were required to be open for a minimum of two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon.[193] The Mission authorities were also expected to ensure that the local income of the schools, with the grant in aid, was sufficient to provide adequately for the secular education of the pupils.[194] Even with the limited school life of the pupils, the Commission of Enquiry felt that the schools

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188) Ibid. p.20.

189) Memorandum of Conditions ..... Colonial Office, 10th June, 1841.

190) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p.82.

191) Ibid. Report, p.lii.

192) Ibid. Report, Summary of Recommendations, p.lxxvii.

193) Education Act No. 13 of 1865.

194) Ibid.

could profitably be used to lay the foundations of habits of order, obedience, attention and moral conduct, as well as to give the pupils mental training.[195] After its recommendation to that effect, the Department sometimes withheld the grants from the schools where the teaching was not efficient.[196]

Muir found in 1892 that the kind of education the Mission schools gave to the pupils was in the great majority of cases "altogether too bookish and too unpractical".[197] The younger children, as in the Public schools, did not have sufficient relief from their instruction in the three R's, and he suggested that more should be done by way of Kindergarten games, for example, "to add sunlight to daylight by making the happy happier".[198] There was much besides book instruction to which he thought the teachers in the Mission schools ought to give their attention. There was little evidence in many of them of the teaching of any kind of handwork and out-of-door manual instruction.[199] And he quoted Mr. Hahn's school at Stellenbosch, where basket-making and vine-grafting were taught, as an example worthy of imitation by other Mission schools, and suggested that the addition of a two-acre plot to every school in the rural districts would help to solve the problem.[200]

The S.G.E. also considered that in these schools more attention should be paid to the inculcation in the pupils of good habits of life. The virtues of cleanliness, faithful discharge of duty, thoroughness in the performance of work and prompt obedience to

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195) Education Commission, 1863. Report, p.lii.

196) Vide supra p.p.9, 10.

197) S.G.E. Report, 1892, p.p.20, 21.

198) Ibid. p.12.

199) Ibid. p.21

200) Ibid. p.21.

orders were at least as important as teaching "the mere arts of reading, writing and counting", and the possession of these qualities in any case far outweighed the passing of St. 11.[201] This kind of moral training was not altogether neglected, especially in some of the schools in the Western Province under the control of the English Church.[202] In some of them a claim to scholastic endeavour was hardly made and the Mission authorities accepted that their best achievement was the semblance of order and discipline they brought into the minds of the pupils, although the realisation of this aim was hampered by the short period the pupils spent at school.[203] The Rev. Dr. Kolbe, of the Roman Catholic Church, also looked not so much for bookwork in these schools as for training in the discipline of obedience and character, which he considered the Coloured pupils badly needed, although he saw the need for such training for European pupils as well.[204]

The kind of education the Coloured pupils received in the Mission schools became a subject which evoked much discussion. Opinions were to a great extent influenced by the different attitudes to the Coloured people and the place they were intended to occupy in the pattern of Colonial society. Those, for example, who looked upon the Coloured people only as labourers on the farms were fairly decided and cohesive in their views. In an investigation into the shortage of farm labour in 1890 a farmer held that the Mission schools educated the Coloured children beyond their requirements and taught them "up to a certain point, just sufficient to

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201) Ibid. p.21.

202) Ibid. p.21.

203) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.62.

204) Select Committee on Education. Leg. Council, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Dr. Kolbe, p.53.

turn out rogues .....".[205] T. P. Theron, the Member of Parliament for Richmond, maintained that the farm labourers of the day were a spoiled class, who believed they had equal rights with the Europeans. Those who went to school and came under the influence of the Missionaries were in one way even more spoiled than others because they were taught to consider themselves the equals of their employers, instead of their servants. He felt that their education should not be carried too far. In addition to the rudiments of education, the pupils should have instilled in them a proper understanding of their duty towards God, towards the State and towards their masters. The gravamen of his objection to the Mission schools was that the servants and labourers of the farmers were being instructed in the opposite direction.[206]

Although complaints that the Coloured people were being over-educated were often heard, the Rev. Adriaan Moorrees, for example, thought that those who had a knowledge of the Mission schools were aware that the complaints were groundless, because the irregularity of attendance made the schools "a farce" to a great extent, both in Cape Town and in the country districts.[207] However, there was the view that the majority of the Coloured people were only suited for domestic servants and it would be quite sufficient if their education were confined to simple reading, writing and arithmetic.[208] The Assistant S.G.E. felt that a large number

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205) Select Committee on the Labour Question, 1890. Minutes of Evidence, C. van Reenen, Constantia farmer, p.p. 20, 21.

206) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, T. P. Theron, M.L.A. for Richmond, p.47 et seq..

207) Select Committee on Three Bills, House of Assembly, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Adriaan Moorrees, p.183. Vide Votes and Proceedings of Parliament. Appendix 11. Vol. 1, 1896.

208) Education Commission, 1891. Third Report. Minutes of Evidence, W. E. Moore, Cape Town Attorney, Chairman, Good Hope Seminary, former teacher, with 25 or 30 years interest in education, p.81.

of the mixed Coloured races must always supply the need for shepherds and unskilled labourers, and to him it was a truism that they should be taught to work with their hands through industrial as well as literary training.[209] A Commission of Enquiry recommended to the Government in 1892 that it should become a condition of the grants to the Mission schools that they be required to provide for manual training, suitable to their locality and approved by the Education Department, and that such training be encouraged through small additional grants.[210] More advanced technical education, in which the Assistant S.G.E. saw a danger because of the competition that might arise from the Coloured workmen,[211] was recommended to be virtually restricted to European pupils in suggested village technical schools, except in places where there was a considerable number of the better class of non-Europeans, although some suitable modification of such schools could be employed for the training of the better types of domestic servants.[212] The trend was thus clearly in favour of a type of education more closely adapted to the needs of the Coloured children, in accordance with the social and economic position of the community. But Mr. Muir, the S.G.E. felt that, whatever might be the differences of opinion in regard to the kind of education which Coloured children ought to receive, there could be no question as to the need to educate them.[213]

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209) Ibid. Third Report. Minutes of Evidence, J.H. Brady, Assistant S.G.E., p.8.

210) Ibid. Third Report, p.35.

211) Ibid. Third Report. Minutes of Evidence, J.H. Brady, p.8.

212) Ibid. Third Report, p.36.

213) S.G.E. Report, 1892, p.35.

Medium of Instruction.

According to the terms of the original conditions for Governmental aid, the English language was to form a subject of instruction in all Mission schools and, where practicable, was to be used as "the colloquial language" of the schools.[214] This requirement was incorporated in the Education Act of 1865[215] and remained unaltered during the century.[216] In the course of time, however, the Dutch language became the medium in more and more of the schools and, although they also used the English language, there was "a good deal of Dutch teaching" in some of the schools, especially in the schools controlled by certain denominations, such as the Moravians, and in certain areas like Zuurbrak, Saron and Namaqualand.[217] In the towns the medium was generally English and Dutch was taught "by translation".[218]

A broad denominational division was apparent in some areas: in the D.R.C., Wesleyan and Moravian schools the pupils were taught to read and to a small extent to write Dutch as well as English, while in the English Church, Roman Catholic and Independent (Congregational) schools English only was taught.[219] In the Wesleyan Mission schools of the Western districts, although they used mainly the English medium, they taught Dutch in the afternoons.[220]

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214) Memorandum of Conditions ... Col. Office, 10th June, 1841.

215) Education Act No. 13 of 1865.

216) Education Commission, 1891. Third Report, p.23.

217) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.49;
Education Commission, 1891. First Report, Minutes of Evidence, Elliott, former Acting S.G.E., p.52.

218) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.49.

219) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Reply to Questionnaire, Rev. L. F. Esselen, Worcester, pp.204, 205.

220) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. R. Ridgill, p.338.

In the English Church schools there was a great readiness on the part of the Coloured parents to acquire the English language and they generally spoke English.[221] In the schools controlled by this Church in Cape Town, however, although English was used as the chief medium, the Dutch language was employed as a supplementary language to interpret,[222] and "in explanation".[223] The need to provide in these schools for the pupils whose home language was Dutch was thus implied. But the pupils in Cape Town who preferred to be taught in Dutch went to the nearby Dutch Reformed Mission schools.[224]

To many of the pupils English was not the mother tongue and the Headmaster of the Rhenish Mission School at Stellenbosch complained that the children in the Mission schools were taught in a language they did not understand or speak at home, and which they would scarcely use in later life. He thought the regulation that instruction should, as far as practicable, be through the medium of English had been misunderstood, or that some believed it would please the Government if the Dutch language were abolished in the Western Province. Alternatively, he thought the use of English as the medium in many of the English Church and Roman Catholic schools could possibly be ascribed to the fact that the teachers were not able to speak to the pupils in their mother tongue.[225]

A Commission of Enquiry recommended in 1880 that the regulation be altered to provide for the Managers to exercise the option whether English or Dutch was to be used.[226] The S.G.E., however, considered

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221) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.363.

222) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.363.

223) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.62.

224) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.62.

225) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Appendix 1. Written Replies to Commission's Enquiries, J. Hahn, p.65.

226) Ibid. Report, p.15.

in 1890 that the regulation which had governed the medium of instruction for so long was "elastic enough", and the Department had experienced no difficulty in the matter.[227] He contended that the latitude it permitted gave the Mission schools the same freedom as the other schools, and there had developed some schools which used the Dutch medium, some which used the English medium and others which used both media.[228] It was his view that questions of this kind were best left to the local Managers and to the parents whose interests they represented, and that any attempt to define by law to what extent English and Dutch had to be used as the medium would not succeed.[229] But it was clear that insufficient attention was being paid to the principle of home language instruction and that, in its existing form, the regulation favoured and encouraged the use of the English medium. In 1891 a Commission of Enquiry made the definite recommendation to the Government that the regulation be altered to provide specifically for either English or Dutch to be used as media in the Mission schools.[230]

The Future of Mission Schools.

Within forty years of their recognition and support by the Government consideration was being given to the future of the Mission schools, and to the continuation or abolition of the system under which they operated. One of the results of the implementation

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227) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p. 35: S.G.E. Report, 1890, p.19

228) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.35.

229) S.G.E. Report, 1890, p.12.

230) Education Commission, 1891. Third Report, p.31.

of the principle of establishing schools through local efforts supplemented by State aid was the development of several agencies employed "to compass the same educational ends".[231] Three different and distinct authorities for the establishment and control of schools had evolved: the School Committees or Boards of Managers elected by guarantors, which were responsible for the Undenominational Public Schools; the Churches and Missionary bodies which established and managed the Mission schools; and the Managers appointed in different ways who controlled the District Boarding schools, the schools for Aborigines, the Normal schools and the Higher Institutions.[232]

Each of these agencies controlled the school facilities largely, if not exclusively, for a particular section of the population, or a special economic or social group. And upon a general review by a Commission of Enquiry in 1879 of the particular functions of each of these agencies the question presented itself that, although it was generally supposed that the education of the poorer classes should be the "object of solicitude on the part of the Government", the authorities at the Cape had acted on a different principle: they had provided for the richer classes and had left the poorer sections of the population to the mercy of benevolent and philanthropic associations and religious denominations.[233] The Commission considered the question that in other countries which had a national system of education the Government gave greater attention to the needs of the poorer sections. And it was therefore a matter for decision whether the time had not arrived for the various religious denominations to be relieved of the burden of providing education

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231) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Report, p.7.

232) Ibid. Report, p.7.

233) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Reid, Rev. J. M. Russel, p.175.

to the extent that they did.[234]

This was one of the questions which was related to the introduction of a uniform system of control for all the schools, for example through School Boards. The suggestion for a change to such a new system arose in the main from the need to remedy the defects in the procedure for the establishment and management of Undenominational schools and to provide more effectively for education within a possible scheme of compulsion.[235] But in any system of School Boards elected by the ratepayers for the administration of education the place and future of the Mission schools was a relevant question. However, when the proposal of School Boards was first made it was not intended that all the schools of the various types should immediately be transferred. For the principle was accepted that, the agencies having been created and recognised, they ought not to be disturbed without their consent, and consequently existing schools were to continue under their traditional form of management as long as the Managers or those by whom they were appointed so desired.[236]

The effect of the principle, however, was to be quite different for the Undenominational and the Mission schools. The tenure of office of the Committees of Undenominational schools was limited to three years, and these schools could therefore easily be transferred to the suggested School Boards at the termination of their office, or sooner if the Committee gave its consent.[237] Within three years of the establishment of any School Board the management of all Undenominational schools in its District could therefore be under its control.[238] The authority of the Missionary

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234) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Reid, Right Rev. Bishop Leonard, R.C. Bishop, Western Province, p.209.

235) Ibid. Report, p.p. 6,7. Vide infra p.p. 101, 128 et seq.

236) Ibid. Report, p.7.

237) Ibid. Report, p.7.

238) Ibid. Report, p.8.

bodies and Churches, however, was not subject to any such limitation of tenure and there was, therefore, no similar course open for the transfer of the Mission schools. To meet this difficulty the Commission suggested that some provision should be made to allow a School Board to take over the management of any Mission school in its District, with the consent of the Education Department and of the Church or Missionary body concerned.[239] Schools thus transferred were no longer to be called Mission schools, although they were to continue to receive the grants payable to Mission schools as long as they complied with the regulations applicable to such schools. They were to constitute a Fourth class of Undenominational Public school and their Managers were to become entitled, as in the case of other Public schools, to have the monetary deficiencies made good by the ratepayers from local public funds.[240]

This was a first attempt to bring to an end the Mission schools, partially if not completely, or to modify their method of control and management. It was supported by a strong expression of opinion by the Commission of Enquiry that, although "the vast deal of good" done by the Mission schools was by no means undervalued, yet no new grants-in-aid should be given to further Mission schools.[241] Two objects were kept in view: to obviate the great waste caused by the tendency in the Mission school system for the schools in particular districts to multiply unduly because of the many religious bodies all keen to establish such schools; and to provide in the course of time a complete and uniform system of education which would leave the parents no excuse for not sending their children to schools because of their denominational character.[242] Only the proposed School

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239) Ibid. Report, p.14.

240) Ibid. Report, p.p. 14, 15. For a later proposal to limit such schools to White pupils, see Chapter 11. p.72.

241) Ibid. Report, p.15.

242) Ibid. Report, p.15.

Boards, therefore, were to have the power to create new educational facilities.[243] In brief, it was hoped to achieve the abolition of the Mission school system by action in three related directions: the permissive transfer of the existing Mission schools to the proposed School Boards; a general prohibition of all further aided Mission schools; and the creation of an Undenominational system of schools.

It was no doubt realised at the time that these proposals were hardly likely to produce in the immediate future the results envisaged, and that in the interim the Mission schools would have to continue to do service. The desire for their termination was certainly not evoked by any failure to appreciate their value, or motivated by any intention to injure them. Rather, it was recognised that something should be done to assist and improve the existing schools, particularly in regard to the difficulty they experienced in obtaining competent teachers because the salaries they offered were inadequate. The Commission therefore proposed that the existing schools, not transferred to the control of the School Boards, should have their grants considerably increased.[244]

The rather paradoxical equivocation in these proposals for terminating the Mission school system was quite evident: that, on the one hand, they envisaged that there should be no more Mission schools and, on the other hand, they intended that the remaining Mission schools should qualify for increased grants.[245] The S.G.E. found it rather difficult to understand the proposals because of the contradiction.[246] Sir J. H. de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Colony and Chairman of the Commission, explained that he wished the existing Mission schools to remain, but no more to be established -

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243) Ibid. Report, p.15.

244) Ibid. Report, p.15. Vide supra p.11.

245) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.6.

246) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.6.

he was in favour of embracing the Mission schools in the Undenominational system but they should not be placed under the School Boards as long as they remained Mission schools.[247]

The proposals, however, were not implemented. In 1891 the question of the termination of the Mission school system was still being discussed with the S.G.E. by a further Commission: why the Religious bodies should be allowed to provide the service which should really be in the hands of the Government and completely under its control; and whether, in fact, it was fair to these bodies that they should bear so much of the cost of education.[248] Put in another form, the question still was whether the Government should do more on its own responsibility to provide schools, or whether it should continue to advance money to the Religious bodies for the purpose.[249] The President of the Commission appreciated that the Missionary agencies in providing the schools had relieved the Government of a dreat deal of expense and that, in fact, they had done the work which the Government ought to have done.[250] And if, therefore, the Missions were forced to continue to provide schools for "the poorer blacks" in Cape Town, for example, where there was a large number of Coloured people, the Government would be neglecting its duty, which was to educate everybody.[251] He wondered whether it was not better for the Government to grapple with the difficulty and accept the duty of providing education for every child, making the parents pay if they could.[252] This could perhaps be achieved through the creation of Public Boards which could be entrusted with

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247) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Sir. J.H. de Villiers, p.172.

248) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.p. 19, 20.

249) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.20.

250) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, President, p.21.

251) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, President, p.p. 23, 24.

252) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, President, p.21.

the control of all the education of the poorer classes:[253] or, as suggested by the Assistant S.G.E., in a system in which there were proper safeguards of the rights of efficiently conducted Mission schools, but in which the schools generally were brought under the control of Boards, while preserving their rights in regard to religious instruction, the appointment of teachers and pupil-teachers, supervision by the clergyman, and so on.[254]

The protagonists of such a change had, however, to contend with a system which had become entrenched in diverse ways, and in which many saw distinct advantages and redeeming features. Dr. Innes, the S.G.E. in whose tenure of office the Mission schools were first recognised by the Government, gratefully acknowledged the work of the Missionary societies because, through them, a systematic agency was effectively co-operating with the Government in bringing elementary and religious instruction to those sections of the population who would otherwise have been left in ignorance and heathenism.[255] The efficacy of the system in the performance of this special function led Dr. Dale, his successor, to the conclusion in 1863 that, although the Public schools were open to all, they would merely meet the needs of the European population, and that the Government would have to have recourse to the Mission schools for the benefit of the Coloured classes.[256] Even if the Missionary agency did tend to perpetuate sectarian jealousy and lead to the multiplication of schools in the same locality, an Inspector of Schools considered that these disadvantages in themselves did not constitute an objection to the system, because the Mission schools were the only means by which the Coloured section could be reached.[257]

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253) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, President, p.22.

254) Ibid. Third Report. Minutes of Evidence, J.H. Brady, Assistant S.G.E., p.76.

255) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, Innes, p.21.

256) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.50.

257) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Rowan, p.429.

Denominationalism and the interests of the Church had become an important factor in the system. The exclusion of all sectarian Catechisms from the Mission schools was clearly implicit in the original limitation to the Scriptures of all religious instruction during the ordinary school hours.[258] Although in the Wesleyan Church they had felt obliged to dispense with their Catechisms to meet the restriction,[259] it was from the very beginning honoured by the Churches generally more in the breach than the observance.[260] The agent of the London Missionary Society felt that the mere reading of the Scripture would be of doubtful benefit to the class of children who attended the Mission schools,[261] and in certain instances there was a tendency to use the schools for the purpose of preparing the pupils for confirmation in a particular Church.[262] In any event, the exclusion of the letter of the Catechism did not prevent the teaching of its spirit and even where the condition was heeded, the schools were, to all intents and purposes, denominational and were so considered by the Managers.[263]

The reality and significance of the Church and denominational influence was approved by the Commission of Enquiry in 1863, which drew a clear distinction between the Mission and Public schools in this respect. It maintained that in order to secure their advantages equally to everybody it was hardly the duty of the Government to insist upon religious instruction in the Public schools, although Managers should be free to provide such instruction outside the

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258) Memorandum of Conditions ..... Col. Office, 10th June, 1841.

259) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, James Cameron, p.185.

260) Ibid. Report, p.lvii, lviii. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p.81; Rev. Dr. Robertson, p.53; Mr. Douglas, Dean of Cape Town, p.p. 233, 234.

261) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. W. Thompson, agent for L.M.S. p.p.123. 124.

262) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. G. Morgan, Minister of Scottish Church, Cape Town, p.134.

263) Ibid. Report, p.lvii, lviii.

ordinary school hours for those who desired it.[264] But it submitted that when the Government accepted the religious agency for secular instruction it was assumed that the objects of the Missionary bodies would be carried out in the Mission schools, irrespective of Government aid. A Mission school was in essence a school having religious instruction for its chief aim, and it was therefore incompatible with the very nature and name of these schools to impose any religious restriction at all.[265]

After 1865 denominational teaching was not excluded, but no pupil could be compelled to attend for religious instruction without the consent of the parents.[266] In 1879 a Commission of Enquiry was in favour of placing a check on the teaching of religion during ordinary school hours and expressed its emphatic opinion that in any system of national education all attempts at proselytising should be excluded from the schools.[267] But its recommendation to the Government to exclude all religious instruction from the Mission schools during school hours[268] was not implemented. With the various denominations increasingly establishing their own schools it was generally not difficult to satisfy the requirements of the law. In some cases where the parents objected, the provision was observed and the children who objected were separated.[269] But denominational instruction generally caused few problems in the Mission schools. In areas such as Cape Town and Port Elizabeth,

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264) Education Commission, 1863. Report p.lvii.

265) Ibid. Report p.lviii.

266) Education Act No. 13 of 1865.

267) Education Commission 1879 - 80. Report, p.6.

268) Ibid. Report, p.15.

269) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. J. M. Russel, p.69; Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. George Smith, Rector, St. Peter's English Church, Port Elizabeth, p.184.

for example, the schools were attended by many Mohammedan children.[270] Although their position in the schools sometimes caused concern because they tended to leave school at a very early age because their parents feared the religious teaching,[271] they generally had few scruples about denominational teaching,[272] and even sometimes learnt the English Shorter Catechism along with the other pupils.[273] However, even before 1879 the S.G.E. had inspected a religious school with a view to its possible recognition for assistance as a school for Moslem pupils,[274] and by 1890 there was developing in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth a movement among the Mohammedan parents in favour of their own schools.[275] The chief obstacle was that in the religious schools that had been established there was no secular instruction. However, as the Moslem community expressed their willingness to include secular instruction if their schools were recognised for grants, a Select Committee of the Legislative Council recommended in 1896 that the Government give consideration to the matter in the larger cities.[276]

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270) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T.F. Lightfoot, p.60 et seq; Rev. C. Muller, p.76; Second Report, Minutes of Evidence, W. R. Clarry, p.145.

271) Education Commission 1879 - 80. Report, p.6;
Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.62.

272) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Dr. Robertson, p.53; Bishop of Cape Town, p.80;
Education Commission 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. C. Muller, p.77; Second Report, W. R. Clarry, p.145.

273) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. J. M. Russel, p.69.

274) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.48.

275) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.61; Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, W.H. Pearson, M.L.A., Major of Port Elizabeth, p.146; Rev. George Smith, p.183.

276) Select Committee on Education. Legislative Council, 1896. Report, p.p.iv,v.

With this close association between its denominational interests and the Mission schools the English Church, for example, defended its right to a direct say in education, and feared the incursion of the State into a field in which it had laboured for so long. Through its Missionary labours it came to look upon itself as fulfilling a purpose and satisfying a social need and its institutions, particularly the Mission schools, as having firmly established the raison d'etre for their existence. The belief had gained currency that, in the words of the Bishop of Grahamstown, "enthusiasm for the poor comes from religion", and therefore it was advisable for the Government to use the motive power of religion to satisfy the needs of the poor.[277] The Minister was the best person to look after the education of the children,[278] and the Mission schools were very useful for supplying exactly the kind of education required.[279]

The reply of the English Church, therefore, to the general question whether the State should not relieve the Churches of the burden of the schools was a strong appeal for more liberal grants to the Mission schools. The Church felt that the value of its work was not being fully appreciated by the Government and that the financial support it received was not in proportion to the amount of good it did socially among the poor.[280] In this respect its views contrasted with those of the Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in the Western districts, who felt that the task of educating the pupils in the Mission schools ought to be entrusted to the Government, and he could see no reason why the British Churches should be charged with

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277) Education Commission, 1891. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Grahamstown, p.p.20, 21.

278) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p.228.

279) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Canon Ogilvie, Principal, Diocesan College, Rondebosch, p.329.

280) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T.F. Lightfoot, p.61.

the education of the Colonial population.[281]

Donald Ross, Inspector General of Colleges and Schools, aware of the important influence of the Church, favoured administrative action for improvement of the schools rather than "any striking effort of legislation".[282] He felt that the wisest policy was to utilise all the existing agencies and to develop them into a more practical system[283] in order to supply the deficiencies without suppressing any agency.[284] There was a very large percentage of the pupils who owed their education, directly and indirectly, to the zeal and energy of the various religious bodies, and he recognised that denominationalism was a powerful force which could not wisely be ignored and, moreover, was likely to continue for many years.[285] To the S.G.E. the Mission school system accorded fully with the official policy for the provision of schools, in which the Department tried to co-operate with the various sections of the community in providing the kind of instruction sought by each section.[286] It was essential to recognise the deep-seated religious sentiments of the people, for without the earnest support and cordial sympathy of the various Churches little progress could be made in bringing schools either to the farming population or to the masses of the mixed race in the more populous centres.[287] This policy of co-operation had proved so successful that in Cape Town

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281) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. R. Ridgill, p.338.

282) Donald Ross, Preliminary Report ..... p.70.

283) Ibid. p.71.

284) Ibid. p.68.

285) Ibid. p.68.

286) S.G.E. Report, 1890. p.3.

287) S.G.E. Report, 1885. p.7.

sufficient accommodation had been provided for all the school-going children.[288]

In another respect the success of the policy turned the abolition of the Mission schools into "a big question" towards the end of the century.[289] In Cape Town alone there were in 1891 no fewer than 21 sets of school buildings erected and owned by the Churches. If the schools were controlled by the Government through School Boards the S.G.E. thought that the Mission authorities would not give over their buildings and new ones would have to be erected. Even if the Government offered to buy the buildings the S.G.E. thought the Churches "would not be so weak-minded as to sell themselves to the enemy".[290]

To the S.G.E. the question of cost was a consideration not to be overlooked in answering the question whether the Government should allow the Religious bodies to continue.[291] He considered it "a very economical plan" to provide schools through their agency in Cape Town, for example, where 6,000 children were in daily attendance and it did not cost the Government very much, because the Missionary bodies bore most of the expense.[292] The average cost to the State of each pupil in the Mission schools was lower than it was in any other class of school, except the Aborigine's Day schools situated mainly in the Transkei. In 1887, for example, the average cost to the State per pupil in the Undenominational schools was £2.15.9½; in the Mission schools it was

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288) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.p. 20, 21.

289) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.22.

290) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.22.

291) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.19.

292) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.20.

15s.6¾d.293) However, the cost to the State varied considerably from one Mission school to another: at one end of the range in 1893 it was as low as 6s.3d., and at the other end as high as £2.2.10¼. per pupil. Thus the grant in one Mission school was seven times greater than in another. And the most costly Mission schools received from the Government a higher grant per pupil than the cheapest Undenominational schools, in which the cost was only £1.1.5. per pupil.294)

The value of the Mission schools was widely acknowledged by those imtimately connected with them. The Bishop of Cape Town in 1863 saw great advantage in the fact that the parents were directly under the personal control of the Missionary, and this helped in the more regular attendance of the children. Where a school had been long established, as on some of the Mission stations, the parents learnt to value education, and they became closely attached to the schools, connected as they were with the Church and their home.295) The Headmaster of the Rhenish Mission School at Stellenbosch regarded the Mission schools as a great power for good, whose abolition would do great harm to the Colony. The Missionary agency was a means for the spread of Christianity and civilisation and was a fruitful source of money for school purposes. Although he viewed them as intended for the Coloured pupils he thought it was a fact not to be overlooked that the schools also served the poorer White children.296) They brought education to a generally poor section of the population at a price they could afford, and often free of cost. In the towns, especially, even though the standard of their

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293) S.G.E. Report, 1887, p.8.

294) S.G.E. Report, 1893, p.28. The figures are for schools examined in one quarter.

295) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p.88.

296) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Appendix I. Written Replies to Commission's Enquiries, J. Hahn, p.p.62, 63, 64.

instruction might not have been very high, the S.G.E. regarded the Mission schools as the only agencies for training the Coloured children in habits of cleanliness and order.[297] And if they had not been there to keep the thousands who attended them from the streets he concluded that the criminal courts would soon have evidenced "the mischief of a swollen record of juvenile depravity".[298]

Such weaknesses and faults as the system possessed were viewed in perspective and received a measure of condonation. If, for example, the system failed to bring education to all the Coloured pupils the S.G.E. submitted that it had never been acknowledged that everybody should be educated by the Government.[299] And if the schools did not provide a high standard of education, it was not accepted that all sections of the population should be educated to the same level. The S.G.E. took it for granted that the instruction in the Undenominational schools was, in its range and character, beyond the needs of the Coloured races, and that for them the standard was the elementary instruction as provided by the Mission schools.[300]

By the end of the century the Mission school system, as an officially recognised and Government-aided system, had served the poorer sections of the population generally, and the Coloured people in particular, for more than fifty years. Its shortcomings and faults were fairly obvious; but it was equally clear that, in the absence of any other agency, the Churches and Missionary bodies had not only created in the mass of the people their first desire for school education but had also made available to them the means to an

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297) S.G.E. Report, 1891. p.13.

298) Ibid. p.13.

299) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.p. 23, 24.

300) S.G.E. Report, 1890. p.3.

elementary schooling which, however limited in scope, was yet to lay the foundation for their later educational advancement. The evaluation of the Mission schools was succinctly summarised in the contemporary assessment made by Muir on his assumption of office as S.G.E. in 1892:

"It is not of course difficult to see faults in them, but the patency of the faults is a little apt to make one oblivious of the great good which they have accomplished, and of the faithful disinterested service of those who have tried according to their lights to do a duty which the State itself ought to have done".[301]

But while Muir accepted that the Religious bodies had merely filled a breach caused by neglect on the part of the State, it was not without significance that he considered hardly a single fault to be necessarily inherent in the Mission school system as such. If two schools existed, for example, where one would suffice, it was not the Religious bodies that were ultimately to blame: and if a Missionary obtained a school grant and thereafter neglected his school his conduct was reprehensible but there was a cure.[302] The implication was quite clear: that the Mission school system was in itself not intrinsically and congenitally a bad system, and its faults could be eradicated and its weaknesses rectified. Radical change was therefore not necessarily to be expected.

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301) S.G.E. Report, 1892, p.19.

302) Ibid. p.21.

CHAPTER 11.

SEPARATION IN THE MISSION SCHOOLS.

White Pupils in the Mission schools.

In his administration of education at the Cape after 1859 Langham Dale, the S.G.E., built the system firmly on the principle of co-operation with all sections of the community through the efforts of local agencies, supported by grants-in-aid and various forms of assistance from the central Government.[1] With this principle of State-aided education firmly rooted in both the Undenominational and the Mission school systems, it followed that the expansion of school facilities in any part of the country or for any section of the population depended on the extension of the activities of the existing agencies, or the enlistment of the support of new agencies.

In an attempt to stimulate further efforts to provide schools, especially for those sections of the White population which had not yet been reached by the Undenominational schools, the S.G.E. suggested in 1887 that Government assistance should be given to Private or unaided schools, under specified conditions.[2] In support of this proposal the S.G.E. submitted that it was necessary to make use of every reasonable agency for the more rapid development of school instruction throughout the Colony,[3] and observed that he had noticed a growing conviction that the Private schools had a valid claim for State aid.[4] His aim, however, was not merely to acknowledge the claims of schools already established: he also hoped by this means to encourage voluntary efforts to bring schools to those whose

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1) S.G.E. Report, 1887, p.12.

2) Ibid. p.12.

3) Ibid. p.13.

4) Ibid. p.13.

circumstances precluded their compliance with the monetary and other arrangements required to establish Undenominational schools under the existing law.[5] The Dutch Reformed Church, for example, would be encouraged to extend its "eleemosynary schools" into the more remote and neglected districts.[6]

The proposal of the S.G.E. was considered by the Legislative Assembly at its session in 1889.[7] In support of the suggested addition to the School Regulations, Venter, the Parliamentary proposer, advanced the right to State assistance of whose who preferred the education of their children in Private schools. He could also see no reason why his children should have to attend the same schools as Coloured children and, although no mention was made of the proposed assistance being restricted to schools for White pupils, his plea was clearly made in their behalf.[8] The proposal, however, did not meet with approval in the Legislature, mainly because the Government considered it represented a very serious modification of the existing system of education, since it provided for Government grants for Private schools without any provision for the representation of the taxpayers on their boards of management, and without the forms of control and conditions which were requirements for aid in the other schools. Moreover, it was the view of the Government that any such State aid to Private schools would adversely affect the existing Undenominational schools. It was therefore not prepared to accept the proposal without a full investigation of the subject.[9]

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5) Ibid. p.13.

6) Ibid. p.13

7) Debates ....., 1889, p.234 et seq.; p.334. et seq..

8) Ibid. Venter, p.334.

9) Ibid. Tudhope, Colonial Secretary, p.p. 334, 335.

The attitude of the Government was supported by both Managers and teachers of Undenominational schools in the Karoo area, for example. They were greatly dissatisfied with the proposal to assist Private schools in towns, because they felt the Public schools would be seriously harmed, and in some cases ruined.[10] In fact, the S.G.E. himself had, to some extent, acknowledged the ground of this objection, although he thought the only danger was that religious zeal might prompt the Churches to establish schools in excess of the demand, and that the Undenominational schools might be weakened by the withdrawal of pupils under religious influence.[11] He conceded the fairness of the general principle that public aid ought not to be given without public control. But he assured everyone that the Department was not likely to advocate a course which would harm the Undenominational schools: he intended to consider assistance, subject to the usual regulations applicable to Undenominational schools, only to those Private schools which in practice were Public schools, and to exclude those which existed for the sole benefit of the Principal or the Proprietor.[12]

The Parliamentary motion, however, led to a brief discussion on the educational needs of the Colony, both in the more populous towns and in the scattered country areas. The Legislative Assembly agreed to refer the existing School Regulations to the Government with a view to their amendment, either by the introduction of boarding bursaries or otherwise, in order to bring the advantages of State assistance more within the reach of the farming population, without altering the principles underlying the existing system of education. In addition, it decided that the Government should investigate in what

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10) S.G.E., Report, 1868. Special Reports of Inspectors of Schools, Samuel, p.36.

11) S.G.E., Report, 1867, p.14.

12) S.G.E., Report, 1869, p.10.

way the schools in the towns might be further aided by the State, so as to reduce the cost of education, and to compel the attendance of all children.[13]

In 1880 a Commission of Enquiry had drawn the attention of the Government to the special factors, not found together in any other part of the world, which influenced the course and direction of educational policy at the Cape, and which could not be disregarded.[14] These were: the co-existence of at least three languages, English, Afrikaans and one or more African languages; the numerical superiority of the non-European over the European population; the consideration that the wealth and intelligence of the country were mainly to be found among the European section; and that a system of education which would be appropriate to the Europeans might be wholly unsuited to the non-Europeans, of whom a large proportion were considered to be still in a state of barbarism. Even among the Europeans the same system could not be employed in different parts of the country.[15]

In his capacity as S.G.E., Dale was not prepared to concede at the time that the Public schools were the most important class of schools, and that they were entitled to prior consideration because they served the bulk of the Colonists, who had to contribute the major part of the revenue. He held that he was charged with the education of all the people and, as a public officer, one branch of the schools was as important to him as another - that every boy and girl in the Colony and the Territories placed under his jurisdiction had the same claim to his consideration, and that he would be untrue to the Government he served if he accepted that one class of the community deserved more consideration from him than another.[16] He regarded the question whether there were sections of the community which had stronger claims

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13) Debates ....., 1889, p.p. 335, 337.

14) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Report, p.2.

15) Ibid. Report, p.2.

16) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.85.

than others as a political question, which was difficult for him to answer.[17] But it was quite evident to him that it was of the first importance to ensure that the education of the European children was maintained by the Public schools to the level they would have received had they remained elsewhere; and it was the paramount duty of the Government and the people to provide the highest possible standard of education for the European section in order to maintain their prestige as a community and to advance the country.[18] In support of this view the S.G.E. submitted that the Cape Government had always acknowledged it as a special duty not to allow the European immigrants "to degenerate and go downwards".[19]

In his consideration of the two matters referred to him by the Government, the S.G.E. took the opportunity at the beginning of 1890 to formulate for Parliament the principles and policy on which the educational system was operated, and to review their application in the practical task of establishing schools for the different sections of the population.[20] Reflecting the contemporary views on which policy was based and indicating the direction in which it should be pursued, he considered it necessary to have a system of education which accorded more or less with the convictions and sentiments and even, perhaps, with the prejudices of the community.[21]

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17) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.85.

18) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.85. The ambivalent approach of the S.G.E. is illustrated by the following:
Question: Those of our own household are entitled to the first consideration: we ought to provide for them first?
S.G.E.: I might say that as a man but not as an officer of the Crown. Ibid., Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.p. 85, 86.

19) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.102.

20) Special Report of the S.G.E. ..... 11th Jan., 1890. p.3. Dale was well qualified for the task. He had been S.G.E. for thirty
21) years and was himself largely responsible for the creation and administration of the educational system in the second half of the Nineteenth century.

21) Ibid. p.3.

Because Parliament had to satisfy the needs of a mixed community, with different racial characteristics and language, those responsible for education could not try experimental plans and methods based on theoretical views of education.[22] Apart from minor racial differences, he divided the population roughly into two main groups: the Colonists of European descent, whose numbers were being steadily augmented by immigrants, on the one side, and the African tribal groups and those of mixed race on the other.[23]

In this dichotomy, the S.G.E. regarded it as the first duty of the Government to recognise the superior social and political position of the European Colonists, and to ensure that their children had at least such an education as their peers in Europe enjoyed, with such local modifications as would equip them to maintain their unquestioned supremacy.[24] They were to be the future employers of labour and had to be given theeducation and training that would enable them to occupy such positions.[25] To enable the two population groups to fulfil their respective roles in society, education had to be adapted to the needs of each. The non-European sections, therefore, were to be given elementary instruction and were to be trained in the manual industries, because they were to fill the lower grades of employment. They were to supply the labour market with ordinary artisans and domestic servants, and the majority were to be farm labourers and shepherds.[26]

Against the background of this policy the S.G.E. reviewed the two questions referred to him. In regard to the first, he felt

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22) Ibid. p.3.

23) Ibid. p.3.

24) Ibid. p.3.

25) Ibid. p.4.

26) Ibid. p.4.

that the State-aided system made schools available to those who lived in towns and villages, and that the Private Farm Schools and the Circuit Teachers were rapidly bringing education to the rural population.[27] He therefore saw little need to make any significant change in the system and limited himself to a recommendation in favour of a system of bursaries for the further education of selected farmers' children.[28]

In his consideration of the second question, however, he submitted that any attempt "to cheapen education" in the towns had, of necessity, to be related to a consideration of the system of Mission schools. For it was these schools which provided the cheapest elementary education for the poorest children. In the large centres of population, such as Cape Town, their fees were very low in many cases, and, in addition, they admitted many of the poorest pupils without charge. These schools were, therefore, fairly within the reach of all who wished to avail themselves of them and, short of providing absolutely free education for all, the S.G.E. felt that practically no change could be made to reduce the cost of education.[29]

But he fully appreciated that the character of the instruction generally given in these Mission schools was not satisfactory. The staffing was inadequate, and the salaries were not high enough to secure the services of well-qualified teachers.[30] The close connection between religion and education in the establishment and management of these schools had created a tendency among the Managers to employ persons whose qualifications recommended them

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27) Ibid. p.5.

28) Ibid. p.5.

29) Ibid. p.5.

30) Ibid. p.5.

as Cathechists and Church-helpers rather than as teachers.[31] Under the prevailing system, there was little prospect of improvement because the resources of the Religious bodies, with the meagre Government aid, were insufficient.[32] But although he admitted that the improvement of education in the Mission schools was a basic question to be faced,[33] the S.G.E. did not recommend a general remedy to assist all who depended on the Mission schools for their education. In one important respect, however, he was strongly in favour of a change.

Twenty years after their recognition by the Government, the Mission schools were being attended by many children of European descent, by Malays, and others wholly unconnected with any Mission body.[34] The Scotch Church Mission schools in Cape Town, for example, were attended by both European and Coloured children of the labouring classes, among whom were Catholics, Mohammedans, Lutherans and members of other denominations.[35] At Houw Hoek and the Strand Coloured and White pupils were in the same schools,[36] and at Swellendam Malays and Europeans had sent their children to the local Dutch Reformed Church Mission school because of the confidence they had in the teacher's ability and moral character.[37] In fact, in some districts the White pupils left the Government schools to attend the Mission schools.[38]

The mixed pattern became a noteworthy feature of many

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31) S.G.E. Report, 1868. p.6.

32) Special Report of the S.G.E. ..... 11th Jan., 1890. p.5.

33) Ibid. p.6.

34) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, Innes, p.19.

35) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Innes, p.p.20, 21.

36) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p.89.

37) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Dr. Robertson, p.53.

38) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p.85.

of the Mission schools. By 1880, although they were generally attended chiefly by children of mixed race, in the more populous towns they were attended also by White children of the poorer classes and those whose parents could not avail themselves of the Public schools because of their financial circumstances.[39] Indeed, some of the European people insisted upon their right to attend the Mission schools.[40] In the Wesleyan Mission schools the proportion of White to Coloured children was much higher in Cape Town and its surrounding districts than in other parts. At three Wesleyan schools in Sydney Street, Hope Street and Mowbray there were 264 White pupils and 304 Coloured pupils, while of the 1,800 pupils on the rolls of all the Wesleyan schools in the Western Cape area 1485 were Coloured pupils and only 315 were White pupils.[41] But, although the mixture of pupils was greatest in the larger towns, the low fees and the fact that payment was practically optional attracted also some of the White pupils to the Mission schools attended by Coloured pupils in certain of the country districts as well. In 1893 the number of White pupils in one of these schools exceeded the number in the local Second Class Public School.[42]

Some of the Mission schools, however, were attended almost entirely by White pupils.[43] And in some places the White and Coloured

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39) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.99; Appendix IV, Memorandum on the Administration of the Department of Public Education by the S.G.E., Presented to Parliament, 1879, p.162.
S.G.E. Report, 1882, p.8.

40) Education Commission, 1879 -80. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.107.

41) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. R. Ridgill, p.p.334, 337, 338, 339.

42) S.G.E. Report, 1893. Annexure No. 1. Report of Inspector Bartmann, for the Circuit Stellenbosch, Caledon, Bredasdorp, Swellendam, Riversdale, Ladismith, Robertson, p.iii.

43) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.12.; Rev. T.H. Peters, Warden at Zonnebloem Institution since 1874, p.122.

pupils were separated by the Church authorities in different sections of the schools. At George the D.R.C., and at Riversdale the English Church, had thus separated the pupils in their schools, and provided different teachers. The Education Department, however, apparently regarded them as single schools because the total amount of the grant to the two sections of the schools did not exceed a single full grant, although the Assistant S.G.E. saw no reason why, if each school fulfilled the conditions for a full grant, it should not receive it, even if education was given to White and Coloured pupils in separate schools.[44]

Of the 38,389 pupils in Mission schools of all classes and for whom returns were made in 1883, 32,443 were classified by their teachers as Coloured and 5,946 as Europeans.[45] During the eighties sections of the White population took advantage of the opportunities for cheap instruction in the Mission schools to a great extent.[46] Thus by 1890 the S.G.E. estimated that no fewer than 10,000 White pupils were being educated through the Mission schools,[47] which represented approximately one-third of the total number of White pupils at school.[48]

However, the estimates of the number of White pupils in Mission schools were greatly at variance. This is not surprising, because there was a very large mixed population which bridged the strict division of colour, and provided gradations of intermixture, which in their complexity presented the most diverse difficulties in any attempt at classification.[49] Possibly the S.G.E., disapproving of the intermixture in the schools, and having in mind the motivation of

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44) Ibid. Third Report. Minutes of Evidence, J.H. Brady, p.8.

45) Donald Ross, Preliminary Report ..... 1883, p.11.

46) S.G.E., Report, 1888, p.6.

47) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence. Dale, p.4; S.G.E. Report, 1890, p.7.

48) See Appendices B and C. p.p. 443, 444.

49) Vide infra p.p 83 et seq.

his case for the removal of the White pupils from the Mission schools to which he was drawing public attention,[50] might have tended to exaggerate the number of White pupils affected. It has also to be remembered that up to 1894 no distinction between White and Coloured was required by the Education Department in the ordinary statistics and returns required of the schools. Totals only were given, and it was therefore impossible to tell, for example in the Cape Division, how many Coloured and White pupils respectively were attending school.[51]

The estimate of the White pupils in the Mission schools was, therefore, "ascertained by calculation", and was based on returns supplied by the schools, in which the teachers had the somewhat invidious and rather delicate task of classification, and the numbers could easily vary according to the judgments of the persons who gave them.[52] When allowance was made for the possibility of inaccuracy in the teachers' classifications and returns, the Department's estimate was reduced by half by a Commission of Enquiry, and the number of White pupils in the Mission schools was calculated to be no more than 5,100.[53] This figure, however, left in the balance the fate of 5,000 scholars, whose claims to be Europeans were in dispute.[54] Fifteen years later the claims in such cases were the probable cause of a difference between the statistics of the Government census of 1904 and the first census of children of European

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50) S.G.E. Report, 1890, p.7. See also Cape Times, 19th and 23rd February, 1892, Letters from the S.G.E.

51) S.G.E. Report, 1893, p.5. As from January, 1894 the quarterly return of enrolment and attendance was altered to give details of Coloured and White pupils respectively.

52) Education Commission, 1891. Third Report, p.p.4, 5.

53) Ibid. Third Report, p.5.

54) Ibid. Third Report, p.7.

parentage conducted by the School Boards: a considerable number of children returned as European in the Government census were classified as Coloured in the School Board census.[55]

In the nature of the case it is impossible accurately to determine the number of European pupils who by 1890 were being taught in the Mission schools. Indeed, no purpose is to be served by the attempt. What is important is that they were in the schools in sufficient numbers to warrant an official agitation for their removal. In 1883 Donald Ross, Inspector-General of Colleges and Schools, made a suggestion for the elevation in rank of those Mission schools that were attended by White pupils.[56] And now, in 1890, the S.G.E. proposed that, since many of the children who attended the Mission schools were being largely drawn from the poorer classes of the White population, especially in the big towns, it would be convenient to consider that section of the Mission schools as supplementary to the graded system of Public Undenominational schools, and to classify them as Fourth Class Schools.[57]

Reasons for Separation.

From the commencement of their support by the Government in 1841 there was no legal barrier in the Mission schools against the attendance of White pupils. The conditions under which they were aided required the schools to be available to everybody and expressly prohibited sectarian religious instruction,[58] which might have had a restrictive influence on the admissions. ... Innes, the S.G.E. at the time, accepted that, although the schools were institutions

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55) S.G.E., Report, 1906, p.2.

56) Donald Ross, op cit., p.24.

57) Special Report of the S.G.E. ..... 11th January, 1890, p.6.

58) Memorandum of Conditions ..... Colonial Office, 10th June, 1841.

connected with Missionary congregations, the members of which were naturally attached to the schools and preferred them for the instruction of their children, yet they were nevertheless open to everybody.[59] In 1863 a Government Commission endorsed the claim of the Mission schools for the continuation of financial assistance, on the ground that they provided education for those sections of the population which were unable to establish schools under the Undenominational school system.[60] This charitable function of the Mission schools, without reference to colour, was recognised by Parliament in the Education Act of 1865[61] and, with some qualification, their value was acknowledged by a Government Commission in 1880.[62] In 1892 Brady, the Assistant S.G.E., confirmed that the Mission schools were intended not only for the Coloured pupils but also for the poorer sections of the community, and that the wording of the law implied that they were for the White section as well.[63]

In 1863, however, Dale, the S.G.E., observed that, in practice, the Undenominational schools provided education chiefly for those of European descent, while the Mission schools provided for the Coloured pupils and, somehow or other, matters were so arranged that the one class had to go to the Mission schools and the other class to the Undenominational schools.[64] He felt that, while the Public schools would be open to everybody, the Mission schools would have to be used for the benefit of the Coloured people.[65] Although there was no legal restriction on admissions, the Bishop of Cape Town alleged that he sometimes "snubbed" the Mission schools

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59) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, Innes, p.19.

60) Ibid. Summary of Recommendations. p.p.lxxvi.

61) Education Act No. 13 of 1865.

62) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Report, p.15. Vide supra p.48

63) Education Commission, 1891. Third Report. Minutes of Evidence, J.H. Brady, Assistant S.G.E. p.7.

64) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, Dale p.p. 102, 152.

65) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.50.

which admitted White pupils.[66] In 1879, however, with the increasing admission of White pupils, the S.G.E. held that the proper distinction to be drawn was between the schools attended by the mass of the Native pupils, on the one side, and, on the other, the ordinary Mission schools which provided education for the people of mixed race and, especially in the towns, for a large proportion of the poorer class of Europeans who could not afford the fees at the better schools and who did not require more than the rudimentary education given by such schools.[67] Greatly perturbed by the increasingly large number of White pupils in the Mission schools thereafter, he submitted in 1891 that the Mission schools were for the education and upliftment of the Coloured people and it was, in his opinion, a violation of their function that the children of the White colonists should receive their education in schools established by the Missionary societies.[68]

In his view the Missionary bodies revealed "a little tendency to deception" by admitting European pupils in order to obtain Government assistance for their schools.[69] It was his opinion that the parents of the White children, especially in the large towns, did not generally belong to any Missionary congregation,[70] and it was therefore altogether inappropriate and anomalous that the education of their children should be undertaken by Missionary endeavour.[71] He considered the term "Mission school", as applied to schools attended by such pupils to be offensive to Europeans.[72] They complained that they sent their children to such schools only because there was no where else to send them.[73]

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66) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p.85.

67) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.47.

68) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.4.

69) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.17.

70) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.17: Special Report of the S.G.E. ..... 11th January, 1890, p.6.

71) Special Report of the S.G.E. ..... 11th January, 1890, p.6.

72) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.21.

73) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.22.

Although they were poor, the S.G.E. considered these Europeans to be of a superior class which, although intelligent enough, did not share with other European parents the right to a say in the management of the schools attended by their children.[74]

The approach of the S.G.E. was based on a pragmatic view of the situation: that the aided Undenominational schools provided largely for the White pupils and the Mission schools largely for the Coloured pupils. And in so far as he intended to systematise this arrangement the S.G.E. maintained that the intrusion of the White pupils led to the unwarranted and unfair exclusion of "the lower type of Coloured people."[75] The White children sometimes elbowed the Coloured children out of the Mission schools,[76] and the extent to which the European artisans, for example, used the Mission schools often prejudiced the interests of the Coloured people in Cape Town.[77] The Coloured people, complained of the disadvantage.[78] This seemed to be robbing the Coloured people of their just rights.[79] The S.G.E. felt that this ousting of the Coloured pupils accounted for the "waifs and strays" about the streets of Cape Town,[80] and if Fourth Class schools were established for the White pupils it would leave the Missionary bodies free to do their proper work and assist them in getting the Coloured children to attend school regularly.[81]

The proposal to transfer the White pupils was also influenced by certain social and moral considerations. In the villages of the Western Province and the little Karoo an Inspector considered it very objectionable that the Coloured and White children should meet in the same classroom: in a great many instances it was demoralising to the White child to come

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74) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.22.

75) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.5.

76) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T.F. Lightfoot, p.63.

77) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.60.

78) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence. Dale, p.16.

79) Ibid. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, Berry, p.13.

80) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.5.

81) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.21.

into contact with "a characterless Native child", and it was noteworthy that none of the Missionaries ever sent their own children to these schools.[82] In Cape Town the S.G.E. regarded it as a very serious question and one of the most objectionable features of the school system that the poorer White children, particularly young girls, should be brought into daily contact in the schools with the very low type of Coloured boy, because through poverty they were unable to attend the Undenominational schools.[83] The presence of a large number of Malay and other Coloured children sometimes led to White children leaving or avoiding a Mission school.[84] Even among those who were opposed to the restriction of the Mission schools to Coloured pupils there was some support for arrangements which had the effect of introducing a form of social separation.[85]

It was to be expected that, in a situation in which Coloured people generally constituted the lower social strata, the assertion of social superiority should be associated directly with the index of colour. The respectable White workmen in Cape Town complained that they were placed in a very awkward position in regard to their children: they could not afford to send them elsewhere and they did not like to send them to the Mission schools because there they mixed with Coloured children.[86] Their dilemma was closely similar to that of some of the farmers in the Caledon district, where the lack of school facilities for White pupils caused their children to grow up illiterate because it was unthinkable that any farmer, however, poor, would send his children to the nearby Mission school attended by Coloured children, even

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82) S.G.E. Report, 1893. Annexure I. Report of Inspector Bartmann, p.111.

83) Education Commission, 1891. First Report, Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.7.:
S.G.E. Report, 1890, p.7.

84) Education Commission, 1891. First Report, Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.22.: Rev. C. Muller, p.77.

85) Vide infra, pp. 86, 87, 92, 93.

86) Education Commission, 1891. First Report, Minutes of Evidence, E. Powell, Editor, Cape Argus, p.118.

though it provided a thoroughly good elementary education.[87] The Editor of the Zuid Afrikaan also heard frequent complaints about White and non-White children going to the same school, and he was therefore fully in favour of separate Fourth Class schools for White pupils only.[88] The Rev. B.P.J. Marchand, who did not himself hold "any particular theory with regard to White and Black", found that in practice it was no more possible to have White and non-White children in the same schools than it was to have mixed congregations.[89]

In addition, there was the consideration that, on the whole, the Mission schools were inefficient and failed to provide the White pupils with a sufficiently high standard of education. Donald Ross, observed in 1883 that many of the White pupils in Mission, Third Class and other schools did not benefit in conduct, intelligence or moral refinement.[90] The S.G.E. considered that a separate set of schools was the only way to improve education for the White pupils forced by circumstances to attend the Mission schools.[91] For even in the most well-conducted schools the fact that they were classified as Mission schools ipso facto limited the extent of their Governmental aid to that applicable to all such schools, and the Religious bodies did not have enough money to make the education as satisfactory as the children had a right to expect.[92]

In essence the basic motivation behind the proposal was the

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87) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Appendix 1. Written Replies to Commission's Enquiries, Rev. P.J.G. de Vos, Caledon, p.31.

88) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dr. J.W.G. van Oordt, Editor Zuid-Afrikaan, p.116.

89) Select Committee on Education. Legislative Council, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. B.P.J. Marchand, p.p.78, 79.

90) Donald Ross, Preliminary Report ..... 1883, p.15.

91) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.21.

92) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.22.

prosecution of a policy of separation in the schools, and the creation of a new agency as a means to secure for the White children all the advantages of additional grants and a better education, which the Undenominational Public school system could offer,[93] while leaving the Mission schools for the Coloured children.[94] Many of the educational and political leaders saw layers of the White population who were deteriorating socially through the lack of educational facilities, especially in the remoter country areas. And in the towns the White population was being constantly augmented by immigrants from Europe, artisans of the better class, who complained that their children were not getting anything like the education they would have received in Europe.[95] If their education was left to the inadequate resources of the Missionary bodies there was a very distinct chance of social degradation and degeneration, and it was regarded as essential to the maintenance of their European standards that these children should not be disadvantaged by reason of their enforced attendance at the Mission schools. In the case of the Coloured people, however, they saw no such tradition and heritage of standards, to the preservation and transmission of which they could become entitled by reason of origin or descent. Their education in the Mission schools therefore entailed no danger or fear of a drop in accepted standards, but rather had the advantage of allowing scope for Missionary zeal and endeavour as a civilising force and for their social uplift.

These circumstances had led to the underlying principle in the educational administration: that, while every reasonable facility was offered to the Native and mixed races to raise themselves by education and industrial training to the level of a civilised people, at the same

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93) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.p. 22, 23.

94) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, pp.7, 12.; S.G.E. Report, 1889, p.11.

95) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.21.

time equal care was taken that the inhabitants of European descent did not degenerate through lack of schools.[96] The aims of the bi-partite policy, therefore, were to bring the non-White groups to a higher level, and to ensure that the White children did not lose the prestige attached to the European races.[97] It was therefore accepted by the Colonial Government that it had to educate the European people who came to settle in the Colony to ensure that their standards were not lowered.[98] In the pursuit of these objectives some form of separation was thought necessary. And in so far as the development inside the Mission school system presented a transgression of the practice of separation a remedy was suggested in the establishment of the Fourth Class schools and the transfer of all the White pupils in the Mission schools to such schools.

It is not without some significance that the matter of degeneration from European standards was purely relative in many cases. The S.G.E. himself acknowledged that many of the European immigrants were of the peasant class who could neither read nor write. There was, for example, a "peculiar class of illiterate Germans" who had settled in the Eastern districts, and who had lowered "the educational average" of the White population. And amongst the Irish immigrants, who had also reduced the White population to a very low level, the greater proportion with whom he had come into contact were inferior in education to the Coloured people. Indeed, the S.G.E., taking his example from as close to home as possible, told of his own coachman - a decent young Irishman and a very intelligent fellow - who had to get the Coloured cook to write his letters to Ireland for him.[99]

Amongst layers of the mixed Coloured population, especially in

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96) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Appendix IV. p.162.

97) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.85.

98) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.23.

99) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.102.

the towns, the European heritage was already firmly established, either by intermarriage, or acculturation through long association with the European people. Indeed, in individual cases they had reached an economic and social level superior to that of certain sections of the White population. And it was the issue raised by this group of Coloured people, bridging as it did the more socially advanced section of the White population and the lower social ranks occupied by the mass of the Coloured people, which aggravated the problem of drawing a distinction based solely on colour, and which took no account of financial and social circumstances or cultural identity and affiliation.

The Fourth Class Schools.

The S.C.E. intended that there should be several major differences between the proposed Fourth Class schools and the ordinary Mission schools. They were to be regarded as part of the Public Undenominational system, and thus the procedure for their establishment, management and control was to be, as far as possible, in accordance with the requirements of that system. However, since their creation really involved in many cases a change in status from their former position as Mission schools, he suggested that the Fourth Class schools should not neccesarily at first be completely divorced from the religious connection to which they had become attached by long association. He proposed, therefore, that they should be managed, either by the persons in control of the existing Undenominational schools in the town or village, or by a combination of the representatives of the Church which had established the Mission school whose status was to be altered, and such other representative Managers as were willing to share the responsibility for the efficient control of these schools.[100]

However, although he was initially prepared to accept the latter

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100) Special Report of the S.C.E. ..... 11th Jan., 1890, p.6.

alternative, the S.G.E. was subsequently intransigently opposed to any direct Church or denominational influence in the establishment and management of these schools.[101] He felt that, if a Church had a school with a mixture of Coloured and White pupils and they wished to separate them, they would first have to give adequate public notice of their intention to request the Government to establish a Fourth Class school for the White pupils, and then to call the local inhabitants to a meeting to discuss the proposal. The Committee for the school would thus be appointed to act on behalf of the inhabitants of the district, and would be put in office "by the public voice, not by the Church".[102]

It was, however, chiefly in the manner in which they were to be financed that the difference was to be drawn between the Mission schools and the Fourth Class schools. For a long time the Mission school authorities had laboured at a great financial disadvantage, and the adverse effect on the education of the pupils was acknowledged by the S.G.E.[103] In order to release the schools for the White pupils from this handicap and to allow them to provide a better education more suited to their needs,[104] the financing of the Fourth Class schools was to be placed on a more favourable basis and they were to be given grants on a more liberal scale.[105] Although the Managers were to find the buildings, the S.G.E. suggested that the cost of accommodation be subsidised on the Pound for Pound principle.[106] In contradistinction to the fixed salary grants made to the Mission

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101) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.p. 13, 14. The S.G.E. declared, inter alia, that he "would have nothing to do with denominations" in the establishment of these schools.

102) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.14.

103) Special Report of the S.G.E. ..... 11th Jan., 1890. p.p. 5, 6.

104) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.12.

105) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.13.

106) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.13.

schools, they were to be subsidised at rates of Government aid to be adjusted on a scale to meet the requirements of the standards and attendance,[107] and on the principle that the grants should increase as the actual daily attendance increased. The grants were to range from £50 for an attendance of 40 to 50 children to a total grant of £100 for an attendance of 80 to 100 children, with larger grants for schools with an attendance of more than 120 pupils and an additional £20 for an extra assistant for every 30 pupils above that number.[108]

In order to attract better qualified teachers to these schools the grants were to be used solely for the salaries of the teachers, and the union of the office of teacher with ecclesiastical or missionary duties was to be discouraged.[109] Although the schools were to be regarded as part of the Undenominational system, the Managers were not to be required to enter into any guarantee, as in other schools in the system, for a sum equal to the Government grant for teachers' salaries, since the object of such schools was to educate the poorer section and it would be difficult for the Managers to offer the guarantee.[110] They were, however, to be empowered to levy small school fees and to obtain local contributions, subject

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107) Special Report of the S.G.E. .... 11th Jan., 1890, p.6.

108) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.13. The S.G.E. had originally suggested a slightly different system, based on the same general principle. See Special Report of the S.G.E. .... 11th Jan., 1890, p.6.; Additional School Regulations requiring assent of Parliament by Resolution of each House. Undenominational Public Schools, Class IV, p.8.

109) Special Report of the S.G.E. ..... 11th Jan., 1890, p.6.

110) Education Commission, 1891. First Report.. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.13.

to the approval of the Government, in order to supplement the grants for salaries.[111] But if school fees were charged, the Managers were to be bound to admit, at Government request, a certain number of free scholars in proportion to the amount of Government assistance received.[112]

The hours of instruction in the Fourth Class schools were to be at least five hours daily, and the course of instruction was to include reading, writing, arithmetic, outlines of geography and history, lessons in natural objects, free-hand drawing, vocal music and plain needlework for the girls. The Managers were to be empowered to provide for religious instruction during ordinary school hours, although there was to be no compulsion without the consent of the parents.[113] And the S.G.E. intended that these schools would provide instruction up to the Sixth Standard.[114]

Difficulties in the Classification of the Pupils.

It was freely recognised on all sides that the classification of the pupils into the two categories was one of the major difficulties to be faced in the implementation of the new policy of separation in regard to the Mission schools. Generally speaking, the broad division was clear enough, and the difficulties did not arise in the same complexity or to the same extent in the country areas,

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111) Special Report of the S.G.E. ... 11th Jan., 1890, p.6. Additional School Regulations .... Undenominational Public Schools. Class IV, p.8.

112) Ibid. Additional School Regulations .... Undenominational Public Schools. Class IV, p.8.

113) Ibid. Additional School Regulations .... Undenominational Public Schools. Class IV, p.8.

114) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.18.

where the distinction of colour was often much more defined.[115] But in certain of the larger cities, like Cape Town, where the "half-castes" were found in the Mission schools,[116] there were many "off-coloured children" who considered themselves White.[117] In many instances a White man had married a woman "a little off-coloured", and in their family one child would take after the father and another, "by a curious law of reversion", would be "more coloured" than the mother.[118] Because many persons who were "slightly coloured" objected to being called Coloured, although they were not White, much depended on what was meant by the term "Coloured".[119] Father Osborne, Superior of St. Philip's Mission, Cape Town, although he agreed that the separation of the White pupils from the Native children and the mass of the Coloured children was very necessary, considered that in a city like Cape Town it was neither possible nor wise to attempt it.[120] Although in Grahamstown no difficulty might have been experienced drawing a line between White and non-White,[121] in Port Elizabeth, as in Cape Town, the discovery of a satisfactory method of distinguishing between White and Coloured was "a very knotty point".[122] The gradations of colour in the city were so very fine that it was difficult to draw a definite line between White and Coloured, and the only practicable way to some seemed to be to separate children "with

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115) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.19.

116) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.4.

117) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.16.

118) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.p. 59, 60.

119) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. J. J. O'Reilly, Roman Catholic Priest, Wynberg, Cape, p.137.

120) Select Committee on Education. Legislative Council, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Father Osborne, p.61.
Education Commission, 1891.

121) Ibid. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Father Fitz Henry, Roman Catholic Priest, Grahamstown, p.76.

122) Ibid. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, W. R. Clarry, p.144.

some European parentage, even if there was a little colour",[123] or to accept into the White group those children whose mothers and fathers had some European blood in them.[124]

The solution to the problem was fully canvassed among the Colonists by a Commission of Enquiry in 1891. Among some there was a tactful reticence in deciding where the line should be drawn and who should carry the responsibility of classification and division. The proposal was made that a Committee of Management should be legally empowered to exclude any child, if in their opinion the admission of such a child would harm the school: In support of this suggestion the Rev. Adriaan Moorrees held that the interests of a whole school should outweigh the interests of one child, for it was known in many of the schools restricted to White pupils the admission of a Coloured child would lead to the withdrawal of many, if not all, of the White pupils.[125] An Inspector of Schools submitted that if the Managers, responsible for the maintenance of the schools and the payment of part of the teachers' salaries under the guarantee system, were to be expected to carry out their obligations, they ought to have the right to refuse any child whose admission would prejudice the interests of the school.[126]

The proposal was quite revolutionary as a matter of official educational policy since, whatever the practice, the Committees of Management had never been granted the explicit legal right, by Act of Parliament or Regulation, to exclude pupils on grounds of colour. In order to obviate the charge of colour legislation and in certain circumstances to allow the best Coloured children to be admitted, the modified proposal was made that the Committees be granted the right to

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123) Ibid. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, A. S. Marshall Hall, Headmaster, Diocesan Grammar School, Port Elizabeth, p.136.

124) Ibid. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, W. R. Clarry, p.144.

125) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Adriaan Moorrees, p.24.

126) Ibid. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, Mr. F. Howe Ely, deputy Inspector of Schools, Eastern Cape, p.94.

refuse admission without having to assign any reason.[127] There was some awareness of the hardships that might be experienced by the pupils excluded by a Committee, and the further suggestion was made that a Committee might be granted the power of exclusion provided there was another school to which the children could be admitted;[128] or alternatively, that if there was no such school the children might be privately educated through a system of Government capitation grants in order to remedy any injustice.[129]

Another suggestion was that the schools should be classified into two types for the purpose of separation: an upper school, equivalent to the Fourth Class school, for the White pupils and the best class of non-White pupils; and a lower school, of the Mission school type, from which nobody would be excluded. In the upper school the Managers, using their judgment and common sense, would have the right to exclude without giving any reason. But, on the assumption that "a half Coloured boy" was very often more advanced than a White boy, a certain class of Coloured child, of good habits and character, would not be refused admission, although the "objectionable coloured ones" would be excluded.[130] The principle behind this proposal was in fact already being implemented in certain instances. In Port Elizabeth two Mission schools, under the same management, were so divided: the Manager, who had a most intimate acquaintance with every child in the South End area, sent to the lower school all children whose admission to the upper school he thought prejudicial to its interests.[131] And in Cape Town the English Church had also established one particular Mission school,

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127) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, President, p.60.

128) Ibid. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, President, p.94.

129) Ibid. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, Berry, p.94.

130) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, President, p.49.

131) Ibid. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. George Smith, Rector of St. Peter's English Church Mission, Port Elizabeth, p.p.183, 184.

to which it admitted children of a poorer and lower class than were usually found in the other schools: nobody was refused admission to this "ragged school", but children of a superior class were drafted when necessary to the other English Church Mission schools.[132]

This kind of separation could also be reinforced by the natural separation of the pupils in the two communities. If the Fourth Class schools came to be accepted as being for White pupils and were mainly attended by them, as had happened in the case of the other Undenominational schools, the Coloured pupils would remain in the Mission schools and the separation would follow voluntarily. The Coloured children would generally attend where there were many Coloured children[133] and the Coloured people, as a rule, would keep to their own schools.[134] They preferred to have their own schools, which they came to regard as their own property, and therefore they would not obtrude themselves unnecessarily and were unlikely to force themselves offensively upon the European population.[135]

The S.G.E. proposed that the separation of the pupils should be secured by the same administrative procedure as was followed in the Undenominational schools: that the Managers, with the assistance of the Education Department, should ensure that the object of the Fourth Class schools was realised, and if they failed to do so and the school was allowed to become an ordinary school for Coloured pupils, the special grants would be stopped. He was opposed to granting the Managers a legal right on their own responsibility to exclude children

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132) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.356.

133) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rowan, p.16.

134) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.23.

135) Ibid. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dr. Hewitt, Minister, E.C. Holy Trinity Church, Port Elizabeth, ex officio Chairman of White's Road Mission School, Port Elizabeth, p.p.155, 156. Dr. Hewitt had also taught at a school in Cape Town, served on school committees at Riversdale and Bredasdorp and had managed Mission schools at places such as Worcester,

from the schools on grounds of colour, because it would be too arbitrary a power for them to exercise, and "a dangerous power" to put into an Act of Parliament. In any case, he did not think the Government would assume the responsibility of saying who was Coloured.[136] He quoted Justice Waterson's maxim in support: "never put into a law anything you can keep out".[137] Long experience had shown him that it was advisable to leave these things to work themselves out and that it was strange how they solved themselves in practice.[138]

When the question of the admission of Coloured children to the same schools as White children was raised in 1882 the S.G.E. stated that the Public schools were necessarily open to all who conformed to the general rules, paid the fees and were decently clad and well behaved. And because the White children freely used the Mission schools no exact line of demarcation could be drawn between the Mission and Public schools on the grounds of colour. It was therefore Departmental policy that any local difficulty in regard to the admission of a particular child should be left to the local Managers to deal with when such cases arose.[139] When pressure to admit a Coloured child was sometimes exerted on a Committee by "some agent or quarrelsome person", deliberately intended to injure the school, the Committee was simply instructed by the Department not to admit the child, and to inform the parents that there was an aided Mission school expressly for Coloured children.[140] Upon occasion, an appeal to the good offices of the S.G.E. also succeeded in the admission of a Coloured child to a Public school.[141] The S.G.E.,

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136) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.16.

137) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.23.

138) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.16.

139) S.G.E. Report, 1882. Reply of the S.G.E. to Deputation from the "Cradock Congress", p.12.

140) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.23.

141) Ibid. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dr. Hewitt, p.155.

in reply to a request for a decision on this question of policy, had determined that if sufficient provision was made for Coloured children, the Managers of Public schools were not compelled to admit such children.[142]

No serious case had ever occurred over the many years in which the matter had been settled in this way, without an explicit legal provision.[143] Legal proceedings were, however, threatened in the case of an Indian woman whose child had been refused admission to a Public school because the Managers thought it would result in the closing of the school. It was the opinion of a deputy Inspector of Schools that, under the law, the Managers could not refuse the child if the necessary fees were paid.[144]

The S.G.E. conceded that, although the purpose of the Fourth Class Schools was to remove the White pupils from among the Coloured pupils, his suggested procedure could not provide a definite guarantee that the schools would be ONLY for the White children.[145] However, since the really serious objection was to the mixture of the so-called street Arab with the White girls,[146] he thought it would be unfortunate not to legislate for the thousands of White pupils in the Mission schools merely because a certain number of Coloured children might find a place among them in the Fourth Class schools.[147]

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142) Ibid. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, [illegible] William Norrie, Headmaster, Public Undenominational School, Kimberley, p.285.

143) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.24.

144) Ibid. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, [illegible] F. Howe Ely, p.p. 93, 94.

145) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.16.

146) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.16.

147) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.23.

The Attitude of the Churches.

The Churches and Missionary Societies were seriously affected by the proposal to remove the White pupils from the Mission schools; the the fact that the proposal emanated not from them but from the Education Department was one of the more difficult circumstances to be faced in any consideration of the proposed Fourth Class schools.[148] But a Minister in the Scottish Presbyterian Church, who controlled a small school in Cape Town attended by the better class of children, was quite willing to convert it into a Fourth Class school.[149] And the Dutch Reformed Church gave its qualified support. It was the practice of the Church to establish Third Class schools for its own poorer White members, and to establish Mission schools to meet the needs of the Coloured people, one reason being to avoid the difficulty of colour which might otherwise arise in the Third Class schools.[150] The only fear of the Church was the possible adverse effect which the Fourth Class schools might have on the existing Undenominational schools, since they would be able to provide education more cheaply. At its Synod in 1891 the Church gave its formal approval to the transfer of the White pupils from the Mission schools to the Fourth Class schools, provided these schools were managed by the committees of the existing Undenominational schools, or by committees chosen by the public with the consent of the existing schools.[151]

The S.G.E. took it for granted that the Roman Catholic Church would not co-operate in changing the status of their Mission schools, and he had no intention of compelling them.[152] The Church was opposed in

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148) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, President, p.p.21, 22.

149) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. J. M. Russel, p.70.

150) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. G. W. Stegmann, p.131.

151) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.14; Appendix A, p.213.

152) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.17

principle to the establishment of Undenominational schools because it wished to maintain its right to teach its own religion in its own schools. From the commencement of the system of aid to the Mission schools the Catholic Church had declined to observe the condition that religious instruction be confined to the reading of the Scriptures, and had therefore considered itself excluded from participation in the system of grants,[153] and had not applied for aid for its Mission schools.[154] Their representatives felt that their right in this regard was supported by the voluntary principle accepted in the educational system of the country: in so far as the guarantors of the Public schools undertook to educate only those who could pay a certain fee, the Church was driven by conscience and a sense of duty to provide for the poor.[155] The Catholic schools remained virtually private schools in many of which admissions were restricted to pupils of the better social class: a Catholic priest felt that, although one or two Coloured children might not cause a stir, there was a point at which a school was ruined by the admission of Coloured children.[156]

The major denominational opposition to the transfer of the White pupils from the Mission schools to the Fourth Class schools came from some of the representatives of the English Church in Cape Town. In their Mission schools they kept no classification of the pupils according to colour,[157] and they had never excluded pupils on grounds of colour.[158] Of the 2,769 pupils in the English Church Mission schools in Cape Town and suburbs at least half were regarded as

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153) Education Commission, 1863. Report, p.lviii.

154) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Innes, p.21.

155) Education Commission, 1891. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Father Fitz Henry, p.p.59, 60.

156) Ibid. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Fitz Henry, p.76.

157) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p.154.

158) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.59.

Coloured pupils.[159] Among the representatives of the Church were those who were opposed to any separation of Coloured and White pupils in the Mission schools. They deprecated any rigid distinction based on colour, and felt it was not prejudicial to have a mixture of the pupils.[160] In fact, the Bishop of Cape Town thought that the presence of the two groups of pupils in the same school was really advantageous to both: the influence of the White children, when properly educated, was an advantage to the others, and the influence of the Coloured children was not disadvantageous to the White pupils.[161] In any case, they submitted that in places such as Cape Town the children were so thoroughly mixed in their daily lives, and the line of colour so impossible to draw that the separation of the pupils was quite impracticable.[162] The Bishop of Cape Town held that the division of the pupils in the 25 Mission schools in Cape Town into 3,000 White and 4,283 Coloured children was an arbitrary one, according to the fancy of the person separating the two classes.[163]

However, even amongst those who were altogether opposed to rigid colour distinctions, both in theory and on grounds of impracticability, there was not only an awareness but an acceptance of the desirability of social differences being recognised in the administration of the schools, even in those schools for persons generally too poor to take advantage of the Undenominational schools. They were prepared to concede to Managers a right to the exclusion of pupils, but they felt it ought to be for some reason other than colour only.[164] They

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159) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.59.

160) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.60.

161) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p.151.

162) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T.F. Lightfoot, p.60.

163) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p.153.

164) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T.F. Lightfoot, p.60.

suggested a line of division between those who could pay higher fees and those who could not, and if Fourth Class schools were to be established, they could become available for the children of the European artisans and admit only the respectable children.[165] Similarly, those schools where some influence was already used to keep out Coloured children might become Fourth Class schools.[166] Representatives of the English Church who were totally opposed to the Fourth Class schools because they were to be Undenominational, conceded the same principle of social separation: they felt that such schools were really unnecessary because they would merely do what the more efficient Mission schools were already doing.[167] Father Osborne was in favour of a distinction being drawn between the light-skinned and respectable Coloured children of mixed European parentage, on the one side, and the "degraded Coloured children" whose numbers in Cape Town were being increased by the large influx of "neglected country children".[168]

The opposition to the transfer of the White pupils from the Mission schools was also motivated by certain other considerations. Generally speaking, because the White pupils came from families of a relatively higher social and economic status, their attendance at a Mission school added to its prestige and standing, and enhanced the tone of the school.[169] And since the Mission schools had to

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165) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.60.

166) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence. Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.63.

167) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. H. Peters, p.122.

168) Select Committee on Education. Legislative Council, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Father Osborne, p.p. 58, 60, 61, 62, 64. Education Commission, 1891.

169) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. H. Peters, p.120.

augment the small Government grants, they were loath to lose the better-off White pupils who were more easily able to pay the fees, and to be left with nothing but "the poorest of the poor".[170] The Bishop of Cape Town, in fact, expressed the fear that without the White pupils the Church would hardly be able to maintain the schools.[171]

There was also the strong feeling that, although the English Church recognised the need of Undenominational schools in certain cases and was not disinclined to assist in the establishment of such schools, it preferred to have schools directly under its own control.[172] It was possible that in their suggested mode of establishment through the initiative of the Churches the religious connection would in practice continue in the Fourth Class schools: Catholics would go to the schools started by Catholics, Anglicans to schools started by Anglicans and so on, and the schools would therefore merely continue to be Mission schools under another name.[173] Nevertheless, the Church feared that it would lose its influence over some of its potential adherents if the White pupils were denied admission to the Mission schools. The Bishop of Cape Town maintained that the parents expected and had a right to expect that their children would be brought up in the teaching of the Church to which they belonged, and the English Church was therefore opposed to the establishment of the Fourth Class schools because they would be Undenominational and would deny the parents this right.[174] Alternatively, the representatives of the Church felt that, if such schools were established, the

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170) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Canon Brooke, Principal, Diocesan College, p.66. Canon Brooke had 25 years experience at the Cape; O. D. Danallier, p.108.

171) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p.152.

172) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.63.

173) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rowan, p.21.

174) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p.153.

Churches should have some special control over them.[175]

White Mission Schools.

There were objections at Parliamentary level to the establishment of the proposed Fourth Class schools. A motion was tabled by Theron, the Member for Richmond, to the effect that the proposal of the S.G.E. did not provide the answers to the problems.[176] He stigmatised the suggestion to subsidise the Fourth Class schools more advantageously according to the attendance as a "dangerous innovation".[177] Members felt that since the Fourth Class schools could be more easily founded they would be established in many villages, and, being able to provide cheaper education, they would draw the pupils away from the established Third Class schools.[178] On behalf of the Government, Sauer, the Colonial Secretary in the new Rhodes Government which took office on 17th July, 1890, stated that the money to be spent on such schools could better be used for strengthening the existing Third Class schools and raising their standard.[179] He suggested that the question be investigated by a Commission and the matter be left in abeyance pending its report.[180] At the end of the session the Governor announced that a Commission would be appointed to enquire into the educational questions that faced the Colony.[181]

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175) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.64.

176) Debates ....., 1890. Theron, p.186.

177) Ibid. Theron, p.186.

178) Ibid. Theron, de Vos, p.186.

179) Ibid. Sauer, p.186.

180) Ibid. Sauer, p.297.

181) Ibid. Governor, p.309.

The Commission rather minimised the importance of the matter and felt, on the one side, that the estimated 5,000 European children amidst the 41,000 children of "all ages, classes, creeds and colours" in the Mission schools were hardly likely by their presence to be a grave infringement of the rights of the Coloured children, and on the other, that their removal was hardly likely to prove a serious cause of weakness to the Mission schools.[182] However, the serious objections to the Fourth Class schools clearly carried weight, especially in so far as these schools might prejudice the existing Public schools, unless they were placed under their management.[183] In any case, the Commission thought that the necessity for compulsory education in the larger centres would in the long run settle the question, since the proposed School Boards would become responsible for the provision of the additional schools required for European pupils, preferably through Public schools.[184]

While it agreed that an exception might sometimes be made to the general rule that European pupils should be educated in Undenominational schools, the Commission recommended that a School Board might be authorised to accept Mission schools, approved by the Department as efficient, subject to certain definite conditions, intended to subject such schools to the strict control of the School Board. The payment of grants to such Mission schools was to be dependent on a recommendation by the Board and, where the grant had been issued before the creation of the Board, it was to cease if the Board failed to recommend its continuation and if the Department concurred. Any recommendations by a Board were to be renewed at least once in

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182) Education Commission, 1891. Third Report, p.5.

183) Ibid. Third Report, p.19.

184) Ibid. Third Report, p.19.

every five years, and failure in this respect would, with the approval of the Department and after six months notice, lead to the cessation of the grant to the Mission school.

Any Mission schools thus accepted for the education of White pupils were to be open to inspection by the officers of the Board and, when required by the Board, the Managers were to be obliged to supply a copy of the School Roll and the table of School Fees. Local bodies were also to be prohibited from making any contribution from local rates to any Mission school for buildings, maintenance, dificiencies or any other purpose, and the Government was equally to be precluded from making grants for buildings, unless these were previously vested in the Department or the School Board.[185] The intention of the Commission was therefore that, as a matter of public policy for the future, the pupils of European parentage were to be educated through the Undenominational system, and where Mission schools were permitted their continued existence was to be in the discretion of the School Board, and their permanence was not to be encouraged.

However, the solution of the twin problems of School Boards and Compulsory Education remained goals of the future. In the meanwhile, nothing in the way of radical reform of the school system was advocated by Dr. Muir, who succeeded Dale as S.G.E. in the middle of 1892. Pending the fundamental change in the system, he thought it wiser merely to supplement the existing School Regulations to provide for immediate needs.[186] The most urgent of these were the requirements of the poorer sections of the White population. Early in his tenure of office, Dr. Muir observed that a number of the Mission schools which restricted their enrolments to White pupils were very deserving institutions, in which the teaching and management were far better than in many Undenominational schools.[187]

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185) Ibid. Third Report, p.p.18, 19.

186) S.G.E. Report, 1893, p.30.

187) S.G.E. Report, 1892, p.p.18, 19.

Moreover in some cases they were no more denominational than the Public schools, and it was therefore doubly to be deplored that "a distinction without a difference" should stand in the way of the development of such White Mission schools. He greatly regretted that, under existing Regulations, these schools were not receiving a greater measure of Government assistance.[188]

The issue was closely similar to that which arose from the denominational opposition to the Fourth Class schools: whether the separation of the White pupils should be secured through such schools as part of the Undenominational system, or whether the objective would be more easily secured through a system of Mission schools reserved for White pupils, and receiving additional Governmental aid in order to provide a sufficiently good education for the children attending them.[189] In 1893 it was decided to achieve the objective through the latter alternative. The Government agreed that, under certain conditions, special recognition should be given to those Mission schools in which the separation of the White pupils had been effectively secured, and that they should be treated differently from the Mission schools for Coloured pupils. Any White Mission school situated in a town having a First or Second Class Public school became eligible for the larger grants paid to Third Class Public schools, provided such schools were prepared to accept a change in the form of their management.[190]

Broadly, this alteration in the management was intended to provide for control by persons in addition to the Missionary superintendent as Chairman. But there were differences of opinion in Parliament on the manner in which the Committee of Managers should be constituted. Those who wished to protect the interests of the existing Public schools were in favour of the addition of two members chosen by the Managers of the

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188) Ibid. p.p.18, 19.

189) Education Commission, 1891. Second Report. Minutes of Evidence, President, p.62; Berry, p.135½

190) Proclamation No. 388, 1893.

Public schools in the town,[191] or approved by them.[192] Others felt that since it had no control over the Mission schools, the Government should be represented on the committees of these White Mission schools through lay members appointed or approved by the S.G.E.[193] This view was supported by the Legislative Council, and it was finally agreed by Parliament that the committee would consist of the Missionary superintendent, or clergyman, as Chairman and two lay members approved by the S.G.E.[194] The distinction between Mission schools restricted to White pupils and those for the Coloured pupils, though not necessarily refusing admission to White pupils, was thus drawn in two respects: in the extent of their assistance by the Government and in the nature of their management and control.[195]

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191) Debates ..... 1893. p.286.

192) Ibid. p.290.

193) Ibid. p.p.291, 292.

194) Ibid. p.p.375, 376, Proclamation No. 388, 1893.

195) In 1896 Father Osborne suggested that a similar arrangement be made for an alteration in the status of "the better class denominational schools" which provided for the respectable Coloured children of mixed European parentage. Vide Select Committee on Education. Legislative Council, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Father Osborne, p.p.64, 66.

CHAPTER III.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND SCHOOL BOARDS.

Early Views on Compulsion.

As early as 1863 the question was being asked by a Commission of Enquiry whether elementary education at the Cape should be made compulsory and, if so, how such a system should operate.[1] The consensus of opinion among those by whom the question was considered was that, although it might be desirable, a system of compulsory education was not practicable in the circumstances of the country.[2] When a further investigation was conducted by a Commission in 1879 the weight of evidence still supported the view that the Colony was not yet ready for a general scheme of compulsory education.[3] However, the Commission thought the Government should make some attempt to free the streets of Cape Town and the other bigger towns of the large number of children who were growing up in idleness and vice, and should make it clear that it did not admit the right of parents to allow their children to grow up in ignorance. The Commission therefore suggested that a modified system of compulsory attendance might be introduced in Municipal areas, with provisions sufficiently elastic to ensure public approval and support.[4]

The Commission proposed that the Government impose upon all parents living in the neighbourhood of an Undenominational school the duty of obtaining elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic for their children between the ages of 5 and 13 years. Within a

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1) Education Commission, 1863. Appendix I, Circular of Questions, Question 12; Appendix II, Questions to Government School Teachers, Question 11.

2) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, passim.

3) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Report, p.6.

4) Ibid. Report, p.6.

proposed system of School Boards[5], a special officer was to be appointed by the Boards to ensure that this parental obligation was not neglected. The Boards were to be empowered to take legal action, after due warning, against those parents, living within two miles of an Undenominational school, whose children were found, without valid reason or exemption, in the streets and public places during ordinary school hours. Negligent parents were to be liable to fines of 20/-, or imprisonment for 14 days.[6]

The Bishop of Cape Town had held firmly in his evidence before the Commission that the Mission schools would not become effective unless the parents were compelled to send their children to school to a certain age and to a certain standard.[7] Although the Mission schools were not to be incorporated in the Commission's scheme, the proposal was made concurrently with a recommendation which envisaged the partial termination of the Mission schools, and the development of a system of Undenominational schools.[8] There was therefore no stated or implied intention to exclude Coloured children from the compulsory provisions; and, in so far as they represented a large part of the idle and vagrant child population of places such as Cape Town, the proposed measure was intended to include them in its scope. But both Dr. Philip Faure, D.R.C. Minister, Wynberg, and Moderator of the Church Synod, and the Rev. T. F. Lightfoot anticipated that the Moslem children would present some difficulty in a compulsory system because of the religious question.[9]

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5) Vide infra p.128 et seq.

6) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Report, Annexure I.

7) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Bishop of Cape Town, p.p.222, 223.

8) Vide supra p.45 et seq.

9) Education Commission, 1863. Minutes of Evidence, Dr. Philip Faure, p.147;
Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, p.362.

Dale, the S.G.E., had some reservations in regard to the application of the general principle of compulsion in education. He was All in favour of actively cultivating in the parents the virtues of self-help and self-reliance through responsibilities imposed upon them by the educational system, and expecting them to realise the obligation to educate their children as a matter of parental duty. Compulsion to him was the abnegation of the natural rights and responsibilities of the parents. His guiding administrative principle was encouragement and incentive rather than obligation and compulsion, and he thought the incentives for the spread of education could also be provided through the social and political advantages to be gained.[10] In any case he submitted that in the Mission schools the very low fees and the free admission of those who could not pay removed all obstacles for those parents who really desired education for their children.[11]

The objection of the S.G.E. to a general compulsory system was also influenced by certain other considerations. Its introduction would be exceptionally expensive, since it presupposed that schools would be established within reach of everybody. Even in the towns, where he conceded such a system could be practicable if supported by the levy of a school rate, it could be introduced only at very great cost and at the risk, therefore, of producing a greater evil than the ignorance it was intended to remove.[12]

Dale took account also of the demographical and social conditions of the Colony. He did not envisage a legally restrictive application of compulsion to European pupils only and, therefore, though he acknowledged compulsory attendance to be a desirable ideal, he thought

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10) S.G.E. Report, 1882, p.p.14, 15.

11) Special Report of the S.G.E. .... 1890, p.7.

12) S.G.E. Report, 1882, p.13.

it rather a distant ideal, far removed from practical enforcement, and perhaps to be delayed for a long time by the circumstances of the Colony and, especially, because of the heterogeneous population.[13] In particular, he thought that compulsion was as impracticable for the farming population as for the Native population.[14] In regard to the latter, he expected that compulsory education would lead to continual strife and conflict with the authorities, unless the system was administered by some local body on which the Natives were represented.[15] The Commission of Enquiry in 1891 also considered that, however desirable it might be that education of the right kind should be compulsory for Native pupils, its introduction for them was not opportune.[16]

Some consideration was given to the position of the children whose labour was required or who were in employment, and were of value to their parents in this respect. The poorer farmers, for example, sometimes needed the labour of their children, and the S.G.E. thought that to force their children into schools by means of legal penalties would be unreasonable and would only alienate their sympathies.[17] It was also a custom, long rooted in the social traditions of the country, for some of the poor European boys and young Coloured children, around 9 to 13 years of age, to be "in service" to employers and to be used, for example, as domestic servants in the households in towns and villages.[18] Their position led to some divergence of approach to the question of compulsion. The Rev. R. Brooke, of Claremont, for example, felt that, no matter how attractive or efficient a Mission school might be, the parents would never be

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13) S.G.E. Report, 1887, p.12.

14) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.29.

15) S.G.E. Report, 1882, p.13.

16) Education Commission, 1891. Third Report, p.33

17) S.G.E. Report, 1882, p.13.

18) Ibid. p.13; Select Committee on Education .... Legislative Council, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Dr. Kolbe, p.48.

induced to send their children to school regularly as long as they were allowed "to farm out their children to the highest bidder", or to make money out of them in any other way. He thought some "wise and vigorous system" of compulsory education in towns and villages was the only immediate remedy.[19]

The S.G.E. thought, however, that the Coloured children, in particular, benefited from the early training in practical work provided by domestic service, because they lacked a capacity for regular and continuous industry. It would therefore be a mistake to compel children to forego "this career of usefulness" by obliging them to attend school. They earned very remunerative wages and, everything considered, he thought the somewhat higher standard of elementary instruction which would result from compulsion was not an adequate compensation for the withdrawal of the children from the labour market.[20] In his evidence before the Education Commission, 1879 - 80, Dale said that he was opposed to a stringent compulsory law, even in Cape Town, because he felt that, if every Coloured and European boy between the ages of 6 or 7 and 14 or 15 years was forced to stay at school, it would empty the houses of half of their domestic servants, which he regarded as a very serious thing with the prevailing scarcity of such labour.[21] He thought the lower classes would welcome such compulsion because, not being very fond of hard work, they would prefer "the elegant occupation of going to school", and thus aggravate the problem of older children remaining at school when they could be more profitably employed.[22]

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19) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Appendix I. Written Replies to Commission's Enquiries, Rev. R. Brooke, Claremont, p.60.

20) S.G.E. Report, 1882, p.13.

21) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.29.

22) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.29.

First Legislative Steps.

Although it was Dale's view that the desire of the people for education could be satisfied without a direct system of compulsory attendance, and he therefore hesitated to recommend any immediate law,[23] he was not opposed to a Permissive Act after a greater extension of school facilities.[24] He also conceded that a modified form of enforced school attendance was desirable and required urgent attention, in order to curb the great irregularity of attendance and, particularly, to stop the truancy among the pupils attending the Mission schools in the larger towns and villages. For this purpose, he suggested the employment of a Truancy Officer in towns which had Municipal or Village Boards, to ensure that in places like Cape Town no child of school-going age was found in any public place during school hours without having to show cause for his absence from school.[25] During the eighties the irregularity of attendance and the widespread "preventable truancy", particularly in many large Mission schools in Cape Town, became an urgent problem.[26] The "waifs and strays" who went to no school at all and merely frequented the streets were becoming a nuisance to the community, and the S.G.E. feared they would increase the criminal elements if left unchecked.[27] In 1883 he therefore urged the acceptance by Parliament of a Compulsory School Attendance Act.[28]

In reply to a request from Parliament in the following year to

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23) S.G.E. Report, 1882, p.14.

24) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.31.

25) S.G.E. Report, 1882, p.14.; Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.29

26) S.G.E. Report, 1888, p.11.

27) Special Report of the S.G.E. ..... 1890, p.6.

28) S.G.E. Report, 1888, p.11.

consider how the cost of education in the towns could be reduced and all children be compelled to attend,[29] the S.G.E. presented a draft Bill[30] to enforce by law the regular attendance of all pupils at schools in those towns and villages proclaimed for the purpose by the Governor. In terms of the Bill one or more School Attendance Officers, working under the direction and control of the S.G.E., were to be appointed for each proclaimed area. Their duties would be to enquire into all cases where there was reason to believe that the children in a family were not attending school, to warn the parents and to summon them to appear before the Resident Magistrate if they failed to heed the warning. The Attendance Officers were also to be empowered to summon the parents or guardians of all children between the ages of seven and thirteen years who were found playing or loitering in the streets and public places during the ordinary school hours. Parents who failed to answer a summons, or were unable to give a satisfactory reason for a child's absence from school, were to be liable to a fine not exceeding Ten Shillings, or one week's imprisonment for each offence. Exemptions were to be granted to children who possessed a Certificate from the Department that they had reached a satisfactory standard of attainment in the elementary subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic.[31]

The S.G.E. made it clear that all he proposed in this measure was that the parents could be compelled to give an account of their children's absence from school.[32] Although he conceded that it

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29) Debates ..... 1889, p.p.335, 337.

30) Bill to Enforce the Regular Attendance of children at Schools in certain Towns and Villages. School Attendance Bill, 1891, submitted to Government, 1889; Vide Special Report of the S.G.E. ..... 1890. Appendix B.

31) Ibid.

32) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.27.

was "pretty nearly" a compulsory system, he did not intend it as such: the law would "simply sweep the streets", and the children would either have to stay indoors or go to school.[33] Its provisions were to be applied to a town only after the Department had satisfied the Government that there was adequate accommodation available.[34] This was practically so in Cape Town, for example,[35] where the S.G.E. thought it could serve a useful purpose and, as circumstances allowed, it could be extended to other areas.[36] Both "black and white" were to be included in the ambit of the law.[37]

Although the Bill was actually approved by the Government, its acceptance virtually coincided with the fall of the Sprigg Ministry, and the Bill followed the fate of the Government and fell through during the interregnum.[38] Its subject, however, continued to evoke the concern of the succeeding Rhodes Ministry. Although it did not contemplate a general plan of compulsory education for the Colony, the new Government was also prepared to consider remedies for the evils of irregular attendance and truancy in the larger centres of population, and this question was specially referred to the Commission of Enquiry it appointed in 1891.[39]

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33) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.27.

34) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.28.

35) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.31.

36) S.G.E. Report, 1890, p.22.

37) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.27.

38) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.28.

39) Ibid. Third Report, Letter from J. W. Sauer, Colonial Secretary, to the Commission. p.2.

The Poor White Question and Compulsion.

The Commission found much evidence of children not at school and of irregularity of attendance among sections of both the White and Coloured pupils. The chief causes were closely similar. There was the same ignorance and indifference of the parents in regard to the value of school training, as evidenced by their neglect to send their children to school and the readiness with which they kept them from school on the flimsiest excuses. Both groups of parents were often poor, unable to care for their children and pay the school fees, and often required their children at home or to augment the family income. The scarcity of domestic servants and farm labourers compelled the farmers, in particular, sometimes to depend on the labour of their own children. In some areas there was a lack of schools and a shortage of teachers, and an ignorance of the facilities offered by the Department for the establishment of schools. And the children often played truant.[40]

Though sometimes different in form, all the arts of suasion had been tried among both Coloured and White parents. They were interviewed and coaxed, and their children tempted by promises of rewards, school treats and hopes of advancement.[41] Whatever other methods might be employed to attract the pupils, the Commission felt that neither counsels of perfection addressed to the parents and children, nor any other similar devices, would remove the "youthful loiterers" from the streets of the larger towns and get them into the schools. The only remedy was a law to compel the parents to discharge their duty, and to enforce attendance immediately for at least a certain class of children in the more populous cities.

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40) Ibid. Third Report, p.p.9, 10.

41) Ibid. Third Report, p.p.11, 12.

With certain amendments, the Commission approved the Bill presented by the S.G.E.[42]

The Commission was encouraged in making this recommendation by the fact that similar laws had been previously recommended in the Colony and had been enacted in other countries, and that influential people were in favour of such a step.[43] In particular, it had discovered that a large number of European and non-European children were not attending school at all.[44] But while it did not specifically exclude Coloured children from the scope of its recommendation, it was motivated in the main by a definite intention that no time should be lost in devising and perfecting the means to give every European child a school life of at least some six or seven years duration.[45] The restrictive character and approach of this and other recommendations of the Commission[46] reflected a trend which was revealed very strongly in the last decade of the Nineteenth century. During those years the plight of large sections of the poorer European population was drawn into the full focus of Departmental, Parliamentary and public attention, and the need for taking action was strongly felt.[47]

Soon after his assumption of office as S.G.E. in 1892, Muir inaugurated Educational Surveys of the various districts of the Colony, designed to ascertain in each area the number of children not at school and the school requirements, and to suggest the remedies.[48]

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42) Ibid. Third Report, p.p.11, 12; Minutes of Proceedings, p.ix.

43) Ibid. Third Report, p.p.11, 12.

44) Ibid. Third Report, p.3. et seq..

45) Ibid. Third Report, p.p.10, 11, 12.

46) Vide infra p.130.

47) S.G.E. Report, 1911, p.7.

48) S.G.E. Report, 1893, p.p.8, 9.

Although the Coloured children were not excluded, Inspectors were required to report especially on the number of European children not at school.[49] In order to prevent confusion and to make comparisons possible, the form of the statistical returns from the schools was altered to provide separate details for White and Coloured pupils, since the fact that such a distinction had not been previously made was a great drawback in the investigation of the needs of the White section.[50]

Muir regarded the creation of School Boards and the introduction of Compulsory Attendance as two of the three major requirements.[51] for the improvement of the educational system and, pending radical reform, he recommended action to provide for immediate needs within the framework of existing legislation.[52] The Rhodes Ministry gave urgent consideration to the circumstances of the poor White rural population and introduced further School Regulations, which were aimed to give them increased educational facilities in order to assist them to become prosperous and useful members of the community.[53] In terms of these Regulations, Government assistance for building loans and for the payment of rent for hired premises became available. Poor schools could also be established for the pupils of European extraction in any place where an Undenominational school could not be maintained according to the ordinary conditions. In these schools extra financial assistance could be given to those parents unable to pay the usual school fees, and certain pupils became eligible for boarding grants.[54]

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49) S.G.E. Report, 1892, p.5.

50) S.G.E. Report, 1893, p.5.

51) S.G.E. Report, 1892, p.43.

52) S.G.E. Report, 1893, p.30.

53) Debates ..... 1893. Governor's Opening Speech, p.1.

54) Proclamation No. 388, 1893.

Many Members of Parliament doubted whether these Regulations would succeed in their purpose.[55] On a motion by Jan Hofmeyr, Parliament also agreed that, although the desire of the Government to promote the education of the poorer European inhabitants was appreciated, further measures were necessary, such as the establishment of schools providing a greater emphasis on practical and moral education, and a system of permissive compulsory attendance.[56] Merriman and Sauer, for example, agreed that, because some of the Europeans would not take advantage of the schools even when they were conveniently situated, some kind of compulsion was essential.[57] Rhodes, the Prime Minister, supported a system of compulsion to solve the problem.[58]

The debates on the subject revealed a deep concern among the Parliamentary leaders for the interests of the poorer White section, and a widespread determination to overcome the disadvantages they suffered. Sauer, who in the absence of legislation by the Government itself introduced the first Bill to provide for the compulsory attendance of European pupils,[59] held that, although Parliament might ignore the parents who were too indolent to work, it was responsible for the children, and even if the Poor Whites had themselves to blame for their position, it was not the fault of the children. If the parents neglected their children, it was the duty of the State to provide the machinery to prevent the children from falling into the same degraded condition as their parents.[60]

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55) Debates ..... 1893, p.p.287, 372. Speakers who used the Dutch language were not reported.

56) Ibid. Hofmeyr, p.372 et seq..

57) Ibid. Merriman, p.288; Sauer, p.p.289, 373.

58) Ibid. Rhodes, p.374.

59) Vide infra p.115.

60) Debates ..... 1896. Sauer, p.400. These views were greeted with loud cheers in the House.

Merriman and Sivewright supported the view that every European child should be educated, and that it was the function of the State to make it possible.[61]

The importance of education for the European population because of their position in the country was emphasised by the Parliamentary leaders. Innes held that education was a most important matter for any Government at the Cape because it was more than a fundamental principle that the education of the Europeans could not be neglected: if they were to remain the masters they had to have education extended to them in every possible way,[62] and the only way to educate some of the children was by a measure of compulsion.[63] To Sauer also, education was a matter more vital to the country than any other,[64] because it was the safest and surest way to promote the interests of the European population and enable them to retain their supremacy and be an example to the other races.[65] He submitted that, with the small European population and large Native population, it was a first essential that everything should be done to educate the Europeans[66] because that was their best equipment in the struggle.[67] If their supremacy was to be maintained Parliament would have to ensure that the next generation of Europeans was well educated.[68] Merriman, whom Sauer regarded as the first public man to see the need to deal with this important question,[69] also felt that the remedy lay in

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61) Ibid. Merriman, p.403; Sivewright, p.405.

62) Ibid. Innes, p.329. These statements were applauded in the House.

63) Ibid. Innes, p.406.

64) Ibid. Sauer, p.337.

65) Debates ..... 1895. Sauer, p.394.

66) Ibid. Sauer, p.394. These statements were applauded in the House.

67) Debates ..... 1896. Sauer, p.401.

68) Debates ..... 1893. Sauer, p.373.

69) Ibid. Sauer, p.289.

education,[70] and if the White people were to maintain their position of dominance it was in their interests to lift the poor White sections from their degraded conditions.[71] He and Sauer referred to the increasing advances being made by the Native and Coloured people;[72] in Cape Town and some of the villages Coloured men had come extensively into the trades,[73] and the Coloured people in some districts were already looking down upon the degraded section of the White population.[74] Merriman feared that if this situation was allowed to continue the future of the country would be brought into question.[75]

The educational requirements of the poor White section were also fully discussed at the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church and at the Congress of the Afrikaner Bond,[76] both of which were deeply interested in the social conditions of the rural White population. The Bond Congress had agreed that legislation was necessary, and the only way to "raise the sunken and reach all".[77] And the Synod of the Church, while accepting the fundamental responsibility of the parents to provide for their children, also agreed that when the parents, through negligence or inability, failed in this duty, the State was bound to ensure that neither the child nor society suffered. Although it thought a general compulsory law would prove

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70) Debates ..... 1896, Merriman, p.332. The statement was applauded in the House.

71) Debates ..... 1893, Merriman, p.289.

72) Ibid. Merriman, p.p.287, 288;
Debates ..... 1895, Sauer, p.393.
Debates ..... 1896, Sauer, p.398.

73) Debates ..... 1893, Merriman, p.288; Palmer, p.374.

74) Ibid. Merriman, p.288.

75) Ibid. Merriman, p.286.

76) Debates ..... 1896. T. P. Theron, p.327

77) Ibid. T. P. Theron, p.327.

impracticable, the Synod felt that, subject to certain exemptions and conditions, the parents ought to be compelled by law to give their children an elementary education.[78]

Legislative Restriction to Europeans.

Sauer felt that, although Parliament should "hasten slowly" in any legislative action for a fundamental change in the school system, it had nevertheless to "begin to hasten".[79] In 1895, as the Member for Aliwal North, he introduced a motion in Parliament which required the Government to give its attention to the subject of school attendance with a view to legislation.[80] As formulated, the motion contained no formal restriction of its request to European children, although Sauer quite definitely did not propose compulsory attendance for non-European children, at least before the European children were provided for.[81] Rhodes, the Prime Minister, indicated that the whole basis of the resolution was to provide compulsory education for the children of European parents only,[82] and Theron moved the restriction.[83] Although there was an objection by Innes to the complete exclusion of Coloured children,[84] the intended legislation, in accordance with the amended form of the motion

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78) Select Committee on Three Education Bills. House of Assembly, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Adriaan Moorees, p.p.177, 178. The Resolution was passed by 150 or 160 votes to 3 or 4 against. Ibid. Rev. Hofmeyer, p.160.

79) Debates ..... 1895, Sauer, p.393.

80) Ibid. Sauer, p.393

81) Ibid. Sauer, p.394.

82) Ibid. Rhodes, p.396.

83) Ibid. Theron, p.395.

84) Ibid. Innes, p.483.

accepted by the House, was to be restricted to European pupils.[85]

Despite its promise to introduce a measure in the following session,[86] the Government failed to initiate the legislation. Sauer himself therefore introduced the School Attendance Bill[87] in the Assembly in 1896.[88] The two major objectives he had in mind were to secure the regular attendance of the pupils already enrolled and to provide for the children not at school,[89] and the central idea of the Bill was to find the means to pay for the education of the European children of indigent parents.[90] Sauer questioned whether it was wise summarily to abolish the prevailing system, which he thought worked fairly well, and to introduce a new system which arbitrarily displaced the School Committees.[91] He intended, therefore, to achieve his aim through a more effective use of the School Committees and the current system for establishing schools.[92] And in this line of action he had the support of the S.G.E., who agreed that, pending the establishment of School Boards, such a system could be instituted.[93] The S.G.E. was aware that many existing schools could accommodate more children than were actually enrolled and that many children within easy reach of a school did not attend.[94]

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85) Ibid. p.484.

86) Ibid. Faure, p.395.

87) Bill to Provide for the Establishment of School Attendance Boards. The School Attendance Bill, 1896.
Vide Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 19th June, 1896. p.1298. et seq..

88) Debates ..... 1896, Sauer, p.397. et seq..

89) Ibid. Sauer, p.398.

90) Ibid. Sauer, p.336.

91) Select Committee on Three Education Bills. House of Assembly, 1896.
Minutes of Evidence, Sauer, p.p.83, 84. Vide infra p 123 et seq.

92) Debates ..... 1896, Sauer, p.398.

93) Debates ..... 1896, Sauer, p.394;
Select Committee on Three Education Bills. House of Assembly, 1896.
Minutes of Evidence, Muir, p.133.

94) Select Committee on Three Education Bills. House of Assembly, 1896.
Minutes of Evidence, Muir, p.p.129, 133.

The Bill provided for the constitution of Attendance Boards nominated and elected annually by the School Committees.[95] The Boards had to compile annual registers, with details, of all children in their districts between the ages of 5 and 15 years.[96] They had to enquire into the case of every European child not at school and, if the reason was the poverty of the parents, the Boards were obliged to make provision for such children at one of the schools.[97] If there was a shortage of accommodation they had to report this to the Department, and could themselves be approved by the S.C.E. as the Boards of Management for any new school to be established under the School Regulations.[98] After approval of their annual estimates, they were entitled to claim from the Department half of their expenses incurred in carrying out the provisions of the law, and the other half from the local Municipal or Divisional Council.[99] Although this financial arrangement contained the anomaly that, while the Attendance Boards were not directly representative of the ratepayers, they would nevertheless be entitled to a claim on local rates,[100] Sauer hoped that the local Councils would not be averse to making contributions towards the cost of educating the European children.[101]

If the local Councils resolved to compel the attendance of European children, the Attendance Boards would have to provide

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95) The School Attendance Bill, 1896. Part II.

96) Ibid. Part IV.

97) Ibid. Part IV.

98) Ibid. Part IV.

99) Ibid. Part V.

100) Select Committee on Three Education Bills. House of Assembly, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, p.104.

101) Debates ..... 1896, Sauer, p.400.

the regulations, to be enforced after approval by the Government.[102] But the "vexed question of compulsory education",[103] so often discussed and debated in the Colony, was approached with some caution by Parliament. Some Members appreciated that a general compulsory law would present difficulties and cause dissatisfaction.[104] The Colonial Secretary, to whom the time was not yet ripe for compulsion, thought the Bill introduced it "by a side wind", and created "the thin edge of the wedge".[105] However, Sauer emphasised that the provisions of the Bill in this respect were strictly permissive, and that he did not intend to force legislation if people were against it. Although he believed that a degree of compulsion would do good, he was prepared to omit the provision if it was to hinder the acceptance of the remainder of the Bill.[106]

The schools to be included in the new system were limited to those intended for European pupils,[107] and Coloured pupils attending Undenominational schools, for example, were naturally excluded from the provisions of the law by reason of their parentage and extraction. Sauer expected that some Members of Parliament would disagree with the inclusion of only the White Mission schools,[108] and the exclusion of the ordinary Mission schools attended by many White pupils alongside the Coloured pupils. But his purpose was to ensure that the European pupils were subject to the compulsory law, and compelled at the same time to attend schools restricted to European pupils.

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102) The School Attendance Bill, 1896. Part IV.

103) Debates ..... 1896, Schreiner, p.404.

104) Ibid. Van Zyl, p.404; A. T. du Plessis p.404; Sivewright, p.405.

105) Ibid. Te Water, p.401.

106) Ibid. Sauer, p.p.400, 401.

107) The School Attendance Bill, 1896. Part I.

108) Debates ..... 1896, Sauer, p.399.

The distinction that was drawn in the Bill arose therefore in part from a strong desire to enforce the separation of the European and Coloured pupils and to provide the machinery for the purpose. Sauer held strongly that European and Coloured children should not attend the same schools, and that everything possible should be done to have the European children in one set of schools and the Coloured children in another set. He considered the separation better for both groups, and he stated that this was his chief reason for confining the provisions of his Bill to schools for European pupils.[109] In his acceptance of the principle of solving the educational problems of the European children separately and in different schools he was supported, for example, by the Rev. Adriaan Moorrees.[110]

But although the achievement of the separation of the two groups of pupils was an important consideration in the particular terms of the School Attendance Bill, the inclusion of only European pupils in the ambit of the law was influenced also by the desire to achieve a further concurrent objective. Sauer felt that, apart from the question whether both European and Coloured pupils should be educated immediately to the same extent, Parliament should certainly do its duty to give all the non-European children a satisfactory measure of education.[111] But while he accepted that Parliament owed a duty to all the people, he felt that the first responsibility was to the European population.[112] The restriction in the law was therefore intended, in addition, to give the European pupils the advantage over Coloured pupils. Theron, for example, also feared that without the specific limitation a system of

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109) Ibid. Sauer, p.p.336, 337, 399. His views were applauded in the House.

110) Select Committee on Three Education Bills, 1896. House of Assembly, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Adriaan Moorees, p.184.

111) Debates ..... 1896, Sauer, p.399.

112) Debates ..... 1895, Sauer, p.394. The statement was applauded in the House.

compulsion would give the non-White pupils better privileges than the European pupils.[113] And the Rev. Adriaan Moorrees, while agreeing that the State should not neglect the education of the Coloured children,[114] was not in favour of a system of compulsion which did not discriminate, because the Coloured children in the towns would be educated and the children of the poorer farmers would not.[115]

Although the Second Reading was negatived, the Bill was referred to a Select Committee by common consent.[116] The Committee, however, while recording a general consensus of opinion in favour of some form of compulsion, took the question no further towards solution. It left the onus with the Government, with the hope that it would present a Bill.[117] At the same time a Select Committee of the Legislative Council came to the conclusion that some remedy was urgently necessary for the irregularity of attendance in cities such as Cape Town, and that compulsion was not only desirable but necessary if education was to be extended. It therefore recommended that the Government should take action at the following session in 1897 to provide for compulsory attendance in the larger centres of population.[118]

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113) Ibid. Theron, p.395.

114) Select Committee on Three Education Bills. House of Assembly, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Adriaan Moorrees, p.184.

115) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Adriaan Moorrees, p.180.

116) Debates ..... 1896, p.406.

117) Select Committee on Three Education Bills. House of Assembly, 1896. Second Report, p.p.xiii, xiv.
Vide Votes and Proceedings of Parliament. Appendix II. Volume I, 1896.

118) Select Committee on Education. Legislative Council, 1896. Report, p.iv.

The Coloured Pupils and Compulsion, 1896.

The claims of the Coloured pupils, or certain groups of them, for inclusion in a system of compulsory attendance were advanced in various ways. The Imaum Mahmood Fakee, Effendi, representative of the Malay community in Cape Town, for example, welcomed the application of compulsion to the Malay pupils in order to bring into the schools the large number of them still outside.[119] But the questions that presented themselves to the Select Committee of the Legislative Council in 1896 were whether the Coloured children would learn to work if they were forced to go to school, whether too much education would not make them unfit for labour,[120] and whether the Government should have the right by law to force the employed children to leave their masters' service and compel them to go to school.[121] The Select Committee gained the impression that the Coloured children were already frequently allowed to remain too long at school, and thought it certainly not desirable that they should remain after they had passed the Third Standard or had attained the age of 14 years.[122]

Taking these factors into account, the Rev. Dr. Kolbe, of the Roman Catholic Church, who felt that the necessary schools should be established before the introduction of compulsion and that the Coloured and European pupils should as far as possible, be separated, favoured differential systems of compulsion for the European and for the Coloured pupils. He approved

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119) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence. Imaum Mahmood Fakee, Effendi, p.66. The Effendi was master of the religious school for Malays.

120) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Dr. Kolbe, Roman Catholic Minister, p.p.52, 53; Father Osborne, p.60.

121) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Dr. Kolbe, p.48.

122) Ibid. Report, p.204.

the compulsory principle for both groups, but he thought the Coloured pupils should not be compelled to the same extent as the White pupils: the young indentured children should have some schooling, and for a Coloured boy or girl going into service a couple of years of schooling at an early age would be sufficient, though exceptions could be made in the case of those who wished to be tradesmen.[123] Although it would be difficult to restrict attendance to the 14th year in the Mission schools, and the teachers should not be altogether prevented from encouraging some pupils to go beyond the 3rd or 4th standards, he felt the pupils should not be compelled beyond their 14th year. He saw two advantages in such a system. Firstly, the children would be at school at an age when their attendance would cause least inconvenience to employers. Secondly, the limited compulsory schooling would give them the benefit of practical instruction, and an early discipline in obedience and in the training of character, which they so much needed and which would increase their value to their future employers.[124]

Father Osborne, Superior of St. Philip's Mission, Cape Town, regarded compulsion as the remedy for the irregularity of attendance, and the only means to get the idle children of Cape Town into the schools and of overcoming the difficulty of getting the pupils in the Mission schools beyond the Third Standard.[125] He thought that the Coloured children should remain at school to the Fourth Standard if their schooling was to be useful to them, because all children ought to be able to write decent letters to their parents and to calculate money accurately.[126] If he attended school

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123) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Dr. Kolbe, p.p.47, 48.

124) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Rev. Dr. Kolbe, p.p.52, 53.

125) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Father Osborne, p.p.55, 56, 57.

126) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Father Osborne, p.59.

regularly, a pupil should reach Standard Four by the age of 11 or 12 years, and he therefore suggested that every child should be kept at school till 12 years of age.[127] The Fourth Standard, in fact, was considered by Dale to provide a satisfactory school-leaving test for pupils attending Mission schools,[128] and Muir also aimed at providing that Standard of education in such schools.[129]

The complete restriction of a compulsory system to European pupils led also to some reservations and doubts in regard to its practicability, because of the difficulty of distinguishing between European and Coloured in certain instances. In Parliament, Wiener, for example, foresaw that such a limitation would lead to some difficulty in the Cape Division, owing to the large number of Coloured persons of partly European parentage.[130] Innes thought that compulsion was necessary for the White pupils especially, and that there was no question of applying compulsion to Aboriginals because it was impracticable and nobody desired it. But he wished to have the mixed Coloured children in Cape Town, for example, included, because their explicit omission would make it difficult for the S.G.E. initially to devise a scheme for compulsory education.[131] Merriman and the Rev. Adriaan Moorrees, in giving special attention to the respectable and more affluent groups of Coloured people, admitted that their situation presented some difficulty in regard to compulsion in the towns, and that no easy solution presented itself.[132]

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127) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Father Osborne, p.p.60, 63.

128) S.G.E. Report, 1891, p.6.

129) Select Committee on Education ..... Legislative Council, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Muir, p.18.

130) Debates ..... 1895. Wiener, p.396.

131) Ibid. Innes, p.483.

132) Select Committee on Three Education Bills. House of Assembly, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Merriman; Rev. Adriaan Moorrees, p.180.

The Voluntary-Guarantee System for Undenominational Schools.

When Sauer introduced the School Attendance Bill the Public Undenominational system, built upon co-operation between the Education Department and local public-spirited individuals, had served the Colony for half a century. The promotors of a school gave public notice of their intention to apply for a Government grant, and invited the local residents to a meeting at which those present were invited to sign a "guarantee list". From among those who showed their interest by becoming signatories, mostly Clergymen and professional people, the Board of Management or School Committee was chosen and, having been approved by the Department, it entered into an agreement with the Department. In terms of the agreement the Board of Management guaranteed for three years to provide and maintain the accommodation for the school and the teachers, and to make an annual contribution to the salary of each teacher, equal at least to the grant-in-aid paid by the Government in terms of the School Regulations framed under the Education Act, 1865.[133] In the words of Merriman, the system made everything dependent on "a collection of private gentlemen who are patriotic enough to start a school".[134]

The shortcomings of this voluntary-guarantee system and its ineffectiveness in providing all the Undenominational schools required were quite evident to two Commissions of Enquiry. A Board of Management accepted its responsibilities for a period of only three years, after which the procedure for the control of the school had to be initiated de novo, and the guarantors were under no obligation to carry on the school. But even if continuity was maintained, a new

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133) Education Commission, 1891. Third Report, p.13; First Report, Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.7.

134) Select Committee on Three Education Bills. House of Assembly, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Merriman, p.104.

Board of Management was under no obligation to accept the liabilities of its predecessors in office, and the control of the school thus lacked stability. Although the members were required to undertake a joint risk in regard to their share of the school expenses, a Board of Management had no corporate existence, and it was not empowered by law to acquire property, to borrow money or to enter into any contractual arrangements for school purposes. Because the members were personally liable for deficiencies they were often unwilling to continue to incur the necessary expenses for the schools.[135]

But the major defect of the system was that, beyond the Department itself, there were no "authorised local caretakers" to promote and advance education: the Boards of Management had no onus devolving upon them to ascertain the needs of an area or to establish schools, and in many cases they believed their sole duty to be to guarantee certain monetary payments in connection with the particular school under their control.[136] Where the local people were interested in the education of their children and could afford it, they were therefore able to provide themselves with schools without much difficulty; and where they were backward and poor they were seriously disadvantaged. Rather invidiously, the system helped those who could help themselves and neglected those who needed assistance. The voluntary-guarantee system was used mainly for the establishment of Undenominational schools for European pupils, but it did not provide the schools for a large proportion of the European children, especially in the rural areas.[137]

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135) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Report, p.17; Education Commission, 1891. Third Report, p.p.13, 14.

136) Education Commission, 1891. Third Report, p.p.12, 13.

137) For estimates of the European children not at school around 1890 see Education Commission, 1891. Third Report, p.p.3, 6, 7, 8.

The Coloured People and the Undenominational System.

These anomalies and weaknesses of the Undenominational system were not present to the same extent in the Mission school system. Although the Mission schools were expected to have a local income, no financial guarantee was required as a condition for a grant-in-aid by the Government. The Churches and Missionary Societies, which managed and controlled them, were permanent institutions which could acquire property, if necessary and able to do so. Although they were placed under no legal obligation to provide the schools in an area, they served as active and positive agencies for the establishment of schools under the system and, in their accepted role as guardians and trustees of the heathen and the poor, their field of labour was often by choice and design largely among those who could not help themselves. Dale was aware of complaints that in some instances the Coloured children received a better education than some of the farmers' children in the neighbourhood, because the Churches provided them with schools and the farmers had no Missionaries to help them and had to make their own arrangements.[138]

Although there was no legal barrier to preclude Coloured persons, as such, from using the voluntary-guarantee system to establish Undenominational schools for their children, there were several reasons for their not taking advantage of the system to any appreciable extent. The system presented many financial difficulties to the poorer European section, and the obstacles were naturally increased for the Coloured parents by reason of their generally lower social and economic position. Although they often faced local restrictions on their admission to the established Undenominational schools, the more affluent group among the Coloured people in the towns, who could perhaps have provided the guarantees and were in a position to take the lead, were sometimes able to secure the

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138) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.26.

admission of their children, and thus the need for separate Undenominational schools was not actually felt by them. Before the turn of the century the Coloured people as a community had not to any great extent reached the stage where they themselves made organised demands for a better type of school. The Churches, with whom they were so closely identified and upon whom they were so largely dependent for leadership, actively supported the Mission school system and made little effort, or saw small opportunity, to provide schools for the Coloured pupils through the Undenominational system. The policy of the Department was also that their requirements should be met by the Mission school system. And the system had the advantage of providing schools easily and cheaply for a depressed group, without requiring the more advanced social initiative and greater financial responsibility necessary for the establishment of Undenominational schools.

However, in the Kimberley area towards the end of the century, as a result of the efforts of the Rev. William Pescod, a local Minister, a Mission school started in 1885 was successfully converted into an Undenominational school in 1897. When the original application was made to the Department in the previous year, after arrangements had been concluded for the guarantee of the salary, the S.G.E. was hesitant to grant approval. However, after it had been pointed out that there were also 27 European children who wished to attend, permission was granted. But there was a difficulty with the election of a School Committee. It was only after other guarantors had been found and the local Board of Management, which controlled other Undenominational schools for European pupils, had agreed to take control, that the school was actually started in July, 1897, as a Third Class Public School.[139] Within two years the school moved

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139) J.P. Botma,, Die Geskiedenis van die Onderwys in Griekwaland-Wes, 1800 - 1940. D.Ed. Thesis. University of Stellenbosch, June, 1947. p.p.187, 188,189.

to a new building, regarded as the best school building in the country for non-European pupils, and by 1901 the school had an enrolment of 400 pupils and was graded as a Second Class School.[140] Many of the Coloured parents who supported the school were keen that their children should be taught alongside White children and welcomed them to the school, but they objected to the admission of Native children.[141]

A further, but short-lived, attempt to maintain an Undenominational school was made in neighbouring Beaconsfield where, after the supply of the necessary guarantee, a private school was converted in 1893, in spite of objections to the Department by the Managers of the local Mission schools, who requested disapproval on the ground that the interests of their schools would be prejudiced.[142] The S.C.E., however, granted the application in order to provide the "off-Coloured" children with a better education than was being given in the Mission schools, but the school apparently ceased to function after 1897.[143] An application for an Undenominational school to provide a better education was also made in 1895 by the Coloured and Indian parents of Malay Camp in Kimberley but, although the Inspector of Schools favoured its approval, the local Board of Management was opposed to this step.[144]

Recommendations for School Boards.

Dale was committed in every way to the system based on co-operation between the central authority and local voluntary effort, in which parent, School Manager and teacher contributed to their own individual

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140) Ibid. p.189.

141) Ibid. p.191.

142) Ibid. p.198.

143) Ibid. p.198.

144) Ibid. p.199.

and collective interests, and the Government intervened only to compensate for what was lacking in the school agencies by augmenting the funds, exercising proper control and supervising the scope and methods of study.[145] He was opposed to any system of free, State schools,[146] and he feared that careless and indifferent parents would shift to the Government the duties which he thought naturally devolved on them.[147] He thought that the voluntary system had the special merit of enlisting the aid of persons who were really interested in education.[148] He expected that elected School Boards would, amongst other things, be disinclined to incur expenditure,[149] and that the imposition of a school rate on property would place the cost of educating the masses of the people almost entirely on the ratepayers of the upper and middle classes.[150] In his view, the extension of the existing agencies and rather more generous financial assistance was all that was required, and Cape Town, for example, could be fully provided with schools without any "complicated machinery".[151] Many persons of experience and with an intimate knowledge of the needs of the country districts shared his aversion to School Boards with rating powers.[152]

In 1879, however, the Commission of Enquiry recommended the abolition of the voluntary-guarantee system and the payment of the deficits on the schools equally out of public revenue and local rates.[153] It proposed the establishment of School Boards, elected

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145) S.G.E. Report, 1882, p.15.

146) Ibid. p.14.

147) S.G.E. Report, 1888, p.6.

148) Education Commission, 1891. First Report, Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.7.

149) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.7.

150) S.G.E. Report, 1882, p.14.

151) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.20.

152) Ibid. Third Report, p.p.13, 16.

153) Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Report, p.7. et seq..

by the ratepayers, to ascertain and supply the needs of their districts and administer a system of compulsory attendance.[154] But the recommendation was not implemented.[155] To Dale it was the most difficult question in education that had to be dealt with,[156] although he agreed that the continuity of the Boards of Management should be assured and that they should be empowered to acquire property; and he conceded that the guarantors should not be personally liable for bona fide deficits and that these should be paid partly by the local bodies and partly by the Government.[157]

In its investigation in 1891 the Commission of Enquiry recognised that the Boards of Management had done important and valuable work. The Undenominational schools had increased, and it spoke volumes for the spirit of self-sacrifice that so many persons were found willing to give their time to manage schools in which they had no direct personal interest, and to risk their private means in doing so.[158] But the Commission questioned whether the system had not served its time and purpose, and whether the much needed advance in education did not require the local management of the schools to be placed on a broader and better footing.[159] It saw the danger that, under the voluntary-guarantee system, the public might tend to lose sight of the fact that education was a matter of general public concern, which it ought to insist on controlling.[160] A fundamental alteration of the school system

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154) Ibid. Report, p.p.8, 9.; Annexure I.

155) Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.6.

156) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.7.

157) Ibid. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p.p.7, 8.

158) Ibid. Third Report, p.13.

159) Ibid. Third Report, p.13.

160) Ibid. Third Report, p.20.

was therefore necessary to transfer the responsibilities for education from the guarantors to the whole community,[161] and a considerable increase in the money provided by Parliament was essential to bring into the schools the full complement of European children.[162]

The Commission therefore recommended to the Government that a system of School Boards be brought into immediate operation in the seven larger urban areas of Cape Town, Woodstock, Kimberley, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Kingwilliamstown and East London, and in other areas by arrangement.[163] These Boards were to be constituted and financed in a particular way.[164] They were to ascertain the school needs of their districts, having regard to the requirements of the children of European parentage,[165] to provide their districts with the accommodation required,[166] and to administer proposed laws for compulsory attendance.[167] This recommendation for the establishment of School Boards as the agency for the introduction of compulsory attendance, which practically coincided with his appointment as S.G.E., had the full support of Muir.[168]

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161) Ibid. Third Report, p.14.

162) Ibid. Third Report, p.11.

163) Ibid. Third Report, p.p.12, 16.

164) Ibid. Third Report, p.p.17, 20, 21.

165) Ibid. Third Report, p.17.

166) Ibid. Third Report, p.p.17, 18.

167) Ibid. Third Report, p.p.12, 13.

168) S.G.E. Report, 1892, p.43.

First Legislative Action for School Boards.

At the Parliamentary session in 1895 T. P. Theron, the Member for Richmond, reminded the Government that these recommendations for the introduction of School Boards and compulsory education had not been implemented.[169] The Government, however, was still awaiting the report of the S.G.E.[170] Theron did not think that a system embracing the existing School Committees, as in the School Attendance Bill introduced by Sauer,[171] should be entrusted with carrying out the provisions for compulsory attendance: a permanent body was a pre-requisite for its introduction.[172] In the absence of Government action, and with the support of the Afrikaner Bond and the Dutch Reformed Church,[173] Theron introduced a measure in the Legislative Assembly in 1896, which was the direct consequence of the recommendations of the Commission, and was based largely upon its proposals.[174]

The Bill[175] provided for the division of the Colony into School Districts and the gradual establishment of School Boards at the request of Municipal and Divisional Councils, or upon resolution of both Houses of Parliament. The Boards were to be partly elected by the voters on the Municipal and Divisional Council Rolls, and partly nominated by these local bodies. They were to hold office for three years and were to be corporate bodies, undertaking the

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169) Debates ..... 1895. Theron, p.27.

170) Ibid. Faure, p.p.27, 28.

171) Vide supra p.115 et seq.

172) Debates ..... 1895. Theron, p.395.

173) Debates ..... 1896. Theron, p.327.

174) Ibid. Theron, p.327. Theron was a member of the Commission of Enquiry.

175) Bill to Provide for the Establishment of School Boards. School Boards Bill, 1896. Vide Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 29th May, 1896, p.1187, et seq..

liabilities and engagements of their predecessors and able to own immovable property.[176] Among their general supervisory powers over the schools under their control were the right to appoint local school committees, to prescribe the school fees and the conditions for the admission of pupils, to appoint the teachers and arrange their conditions of service, to decide the medium of instruction, the courses of study and, with the consent of the parents, to provide for the religious instruction of the pupils during school hours.[177]

The Bill limited the duties of a School Board to the promotion and control of schools for European pupils. In discharging this onus a Board was to be enjoined to perform two specific tasks. In the first place, it was to ascertain and consider the educational requirements of its district and the extent to which the existing schools met these requirements, both in regard to the quality and the number of the schools. Its survey of the available accommodation was to include every school which would give efficient education to, and was available for the education of, European children. The first constituted Board in a district was to ensure that its report on the needs of the European pupils was submitted within one month of its election, and once its report was approved by the C.G.E. it had to act accordingly. If a Board failed to report, or its reports were unsatisfactory, the Department could stop its grants, and even if its survey showed the school accommodation to be adequate it had to report the facts and circumstances to the Department. In the second place, if additional accommodation was required, the Bill imposed an obligation upon the Board to determine the extent and manner in which it ought to be provided, so that

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176) The School Boards Bill, 1896. Parts I, II, III, IV.

177) Ibid. Parts VI, X.

there would at all times be sufficient provision for the efficient education of the European children. If, after being called upon by the S.G.E., a Board continued to neglect to supply the schools for any part of its district, the S.G.E. was empowered to act independently of a Board.[178] Theron emphasised that it was to be the right and duty of a Board to report to the Department when it thought a new school for European pupils was necessary, and the S.G.E. and the Colonial Secretary would decide whether the school should be started.[179]

For the purpose of carrying out its functions a Board was to derive its revenue from the grants payable by the Government in terms of the School Regulations under the 1865 Education Act, school fees, funds specially voted by Parliament and other monies. The Bill also empowered the Government to lend money to a School Board to acquire property for school purposes, half the interest on such loans being borne by the Department. At its first meeting of the year a Board was to regulate its expenditure on items such as accommodation and salaries according to its estimated income, and to submit its budget to the Department. If approved, the Government would undertake to pay its half and the Board would have the right to commence its activities.[180] In accordance with the general principle enunciated by the Commission, that the expenditure of Undenominational schools under Boards should be defrayed equally out of local sources of income and funds provided by Parliament and that any annual deficit should be borne equally by the Department and by local rates,[181] the Bill enabled a Board in respect of any school under

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178) Ibid. Part VI.

179) Debates ..... 1896, Theron, p.328.

180) School Boards Bill, 1896. Part VIII;
Debates ..... 1896, Theron, p.328.

181) Education Commission, 1891. Third Report, p.p.20, 21.

ite control to claim one half of any deficit from the Department and the other half from the local body, with a special procedure stipulated for deficiencies exceeding £100 on any extraordinary expenditure for a particular need.[182]

The School Boards Bill was criticised on various grounds by Members of Parliament. Merriman, for example, felt that it would not assist in solving the problem of providing schools for the mass of the European pupils. He contended that, because the rates would fall exclusively on the owners of landed property, they would hesitate to tax themselves to educate the poorer section. He predicted that rich School Boards would develop in the larger Municipalities and poor Boards in the Divisional Council districts, and therefore the Boards would not be successful where they were most required.[183] Because the existing schools were not compulsorily to be transferred to the control of the Boards,[184] Innes felt that the Bill would not remove completely the evils of the voluntary-guarantee system.[185] Moreover, on the advice of the S.G.E., consideration was not given in the Bill to the Mission schools in which many European pupils were receiving an unsatisfactory education.[186] One Member of Parliament raised an objection to the terms of the Bill because it dealt exclusively with the education of European children: he felt that denominational schools which met the requirements of the Department should receive the

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182) School Boards Bill, 1896. Part VIII.

183) Debates ..... 1896. Merriman, p.332, et seq..

184) School Boards Bill, 1896. Part VII;
Debates ..... 1896. Theron, p.328.

185) Debates ..... 1896. Innes, p.329.

186) Ibid. Innes; Theron, p.330.

same consideration as Undenominational schools.[187] But J.R. Cuthbert, of the Teachers' Association, thought the Mission schools should not come under the control of the School Boards because they were well looked after by the Churches.[188]

Although the introduction of School Boards had been recommended by the Commission specifically as the agency for the gradual introduction of compulsory education,[189] the Bill imposed no such specific duty on the Boards, although they had to encourage and induce the attendance of European children and had to make the necessary provisions in cases of poverty.[190] Theron thought that the Bill would provide the machinery for a later system of compulsory attendance.[191] Although Innes, for example, regretted that, in spite of widespread support for a form of compulsion, the Bill failed to incorporate the principle,[192] the Colonial Secretary, Te Water, agreed that a system of School Boards should precede the introduction of compulsory attendance.[193]

On a motion by Schreiner the School Boards Bill was referred to the Select Committee[194] which also considered the School Attendance Bill introduced by Sauer. Merriman, the Chairman, was specially asked to raise in the Committee the particular problem of the large number of Coloured children of respectable parentage in the towns, other than the children of Natives and Coloured labourers, whose fathers paid taxes and probably enjoyed the same living standards

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187) Ibid. Hulton, p.337.

188) Select Committee on Three Education Bills. House of Assembly, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, J.R. Cuthbert, p.98.

189) Education Commission, 1891. Third Report, p.12.

190) School Boards Bill, Part VI.

191) Debates ..... 1896. Theron, p.328.

192) Ibid. Innes, p.p.330, 331.

193) Ibid. Te Water, p.332.

194) Ibid. Schreiner, p.p.337, 359.

as Europeans in the same social category.[195] Their parents showed the greatest desire to educate their children and, where their means permitted, they were on the average perhaps even more keen than Europeans in the same position.[196]

Two possible lines of policy emerged in the Committee in regard to the position of this group of Coloured persons in a School Board system. Firstly, the question was raised whether it was not reasonable and "a fair necessity" that, where the Coloured people in the towns were liable to pay rates in respect of any deficiency in the schools, a School Board should make fair and adequate provision for the education of Coloured children in its district, and be empowered to deal with the matter according to local circumstances.[197] Secondly, the suggestion was canvassed that, while a School Board should at first confine its attention entirely to European children, there was no reason why, once their needs had been provided, a School Board should be precluded from establishing a school for the three or four hundred children of mixed parentage in a town.[198]

The Select Committee, however, although it admitted the defects in the voluntary-guarantee system, was unable to give full consideration to the important subject of School Boards and made no definite recommendations. However, it traversed the issues involved and, drawing attention to the urgent need to deal with the question of irregularity of attendance and the general consensus of opinion in

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195) Select Committee on Three Education Bills. House of Assembly, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Merriman, p.p.179, 180.

196) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Schreiner, Rev. Adriaan Moorrees, p.183

197) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence. Berry, Rev. Adriaan Moorrees, p.186.

198) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence. Berry, J. R. Cuthbert, Teachers' Association, p.98.

favour of some form of compulsion, hoped the Government would introduce a measure. If that were found impracticable, the Committee suggested it continue its deliberations in the following session.[199]

Further Government Attempts.

At the opening of Parliament in 1897 the Government promised to introduce a measure which would impose greater responsibilities on the School Committees and give local authorities more control.[200] However, the impatient hopes and harsh admonitions of several Members[201] drew little more response from the Government during the session than that it intended to deal with the matter.[202] But Te Water, the Colonial Secretary, and the S.G.E. had given their attention to the question during the recess and, while a Bill was not ready, the Government hoped to place it soon before Parliament.[203] In the following year, after a reshuffle of the Cabinet and a change in the Colonial Secretaryship, the Government announced its intention to table a Bill to make education compulsory so far as it was possible with the scattered and diversified population of the Colony.[204]

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199) Ibid. Second Report, p.p.xi, xii, xiii, xiv. Vide supra p.119.

200) Debates ..... 1897. Governor's Opening Speech, p.3.

201) Ibid. Solomon, Sauer, Merriman, Berry, Fuller and others, p.273. et seq..

202) Ibid. Sivewright, p.278.

203) Ibid. Te Water, p.277.

204) Debates ..... 1898. First Volume. Governor's Opening Speech, p.2.

The chief purpose of the School Board and Attendance Bill,[205] introduced by Smartt, the new Colonial Secretary, was, as suggested by the title, to secure better attendance through the establishment of School Boards. It provided for the division of the whole Colony into School Districts[206] and the constitution of School Boards, two-thirds of whose members were to be elected by the Parliamentary voters of the District and one-third to be nominated by the Governor. All persons having the qualifications for the Parliamentary franchise were eligible to serve on the Boards and there was thus no limitation of membership on grounds of colour.[207] The Boards were to compile the registers of all children between 5 and 15 years of age and, in conjunction with the Department, were to do whatever was necessary to ensure that provision was made at some school for any European children not at school because of the poverty of their parents.[208] The cost was to be borne by the Department. The Boards were to report to the S.G.E. on the most suitable manner of supplying any additional accommodation required,[209] and were to be empowered to appoint Attendance Officers and, under certain conditions, to enforce attendance for European children between the ages of 7 and 13 years.[210]

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205) Bill to Provide for the Establishment of Boards for the Securing of Better School Attendance.
The School Board Attendance Bill, 1898. Vide Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 2nd August, 1898. Government Notice No. 674/1898, p.1684. et seq..

206) Ibid. Part II.

207) Ibid. Part, III, IV, V.

208) Ibid. Part VI.

209) Ibid. Part VI.

210) Ibid. Part VII.

The School Board and Attendance Bill differed in several respects from its two predecessors. Thus, for example, it introduced the completely new concept of School Boards of whom a majority were to be elected by Parliamentary voters, and in which Municipal and Divisional Councils, per se, had no voice. It excluded these local Councils from any obligation to pay a share of the school expenditure, transferring to the Department and Parliament the full responsibility for all expenditure necessarily incurred by Boards with the sanction of the Department.[211] It made no specific arrangement by which the Boards might themselves become the agencies for the establishment of schools, and made the introduction of compulsory attendance a direct, if permissive, responsibility of the Boards themselves.

In one further respect the Bill departed significantly in principle from its immediate forerunners. Whereas the School Attendance Bill and the School Boards Bill both restricted their provisions entirely to the children of European parents, the School Board and Attendance Bill, while clearly giving prior consideration to European children, nevertheless contained no such exclusiveness. Its terms took account of the colour distinction and did not accord parity of treatment to White and non-White pupils; but in three ways the new Bill showed a measure of consideration for the interests and welfare of the Coloured pupils.

In the first place, the Bill did not stipulate, nor did Smartt intend, that the registers and details of the children of school-going age should be limited to European children. When an attempt was subsequently made to introduce such a limitation in legislation,[212] Smartt welcomed its provisions to satisfy the needs of the

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211) Ibid. Part VIII.

212) Vide infra p. 143.

European children, but he felt that the investigations and surveys to be conducted by the Boards should include all children, White and Coloured, between the ages of five and fifteen, in order to give a complete picture of the position in each area.[213]

In the second place, although it was a matter of duty that a School Board should do all that was necessary to provide for the indigent European children, the Bill did not preclude it from acting in behalf of the Coloured children. A Board was permitted, if it thought it expedient and proper, to enquire also into the cases of poor children of other than European parentage or extraction who were not at school, or not receiving instruction in some other manner, and to do all that was necessary to provide for such children, on the same conditions as applied to European children in similar circumstances. Any such action by a Board, in addition to being permissive and not mandatory as in the case of European pupils, required compliance with a special procedure. Three weeks notice had to be given of a special meeting called to consider the step, and for such a meeting the usual quorum of one-third was raised to two-thirds of the members of the Board.[214] But Smartt intended the provision to have a positive purpose, for he held firmly that it was absolutely necessary that the children growing up without education should be assisted, whether they were the children of White or Coloured parents; and he felt that when a change was made it was absolutely essential to introduce a system of education for both White and Coloured children.[215]

In the third place, if a Board thought it expedient, it could,

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213) Debates ..... 1899. Smartt, p.p.467, 468.

214) The School Board and Attendance Bill, 1898. Part VI.

215) Debates ..... 1899. Smartt, p.468.

by special resolution as in the case of European pupils, agree to apply the provisions for compulsory attendance, mutatis mutandis, to the children of other than European parentage or extraction. In that event the grounds for exemption were as for the European children, and it would become equally an offence to employ any Coloured child who was under 14 years of age and had not passed the Fourth Standard, unless authorised by the Board.[216] In regard to compulsion the Bill thus placed the Coloured children in a position legally little different from that of the European pupils.

This attempt at securing some kind of equality of treatment for European and Coloured pupils remained, however, no more than an expression of the Government's intention, because its life was rather abruptly terminated by a vote of no confidence before the Bill was discussed.[217] At the first Session of the 10th Parliament at the end of 1898 the new Government, with W. P. Schreiner as Prime Minister, undertook the obligation of the previous Government to introduce legislation, although it was understandably and wisely careful to protect itself against the charge of a rash promise.[218] It felt that there was no subject that more closely affected the welfare and progress of the people than education, and the question of school attendance had therefore continued to engage its attention.[219] In response to a "general and well-founded demand",[220] Schreiner himself introduced the legislation.

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216) The School Board and Attendance Bill, 1898. Part VII.

217) Debates ..... 1898. First Volume, p.p.235, 237.

218) Debates ..... 1898. Second Volume. Governor's Opening Speech, p.6. et seq..

219) Debates ..... 1898. Governor's Opening Speech, p.2.

220) Ibid. Governor's Opening Speech, p.2.

The Bill[221] provided for the constitution of School Attendance Boards, elected in part by the Municipal or Divisional Council voters and the School Committees, and partly nominated by the Government after consultation with the S.G.E.[222] They were to compile the registers of children of school-going age and to report to the S.G.E. on the available accommodation.[223] Indigent parents unable to pay the school fees could be assisted from a special School Attendance Fund to be created.[224] Schreiner did not intend immediately to create School Boards to control the schools, after the fashion of the School Boards Bill, because he felt, for example, that such Boards would become the centre of partly political strife, and he was very determined to keep education out of "the melting pot of party politics."[225] The design and purpose of the Bill, therefore, was much the same as the previous School Attendance Bill introduced by Sauer: to provide the machinery which would improve but not replace the existing system.[226] If an Attendance Board was satisfied that school attendance should be enforced in its District it could, subject to certain conditions, arrange for the introduction of a "reasonable system",[227] provided its decision was not invalidated by the objections of a majority of the parents entitled to

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221) Bill to Provide for the Establishment of School Attendance Boards.
The School Attendance Bill, 1899. Vide Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 1899, p.1420. et seq..

222) Ibid. Sections 3 et seq..

223) Ibid. Section 20.

224) Ibid. Section 34.

225) Debates ..... 1899, Schreiner, p.54.

226) Ibid. Schreiner, p.55.

227) Ibid. Schreiner, p.56.

vote.[228] Schreiner felt the pace should not be forced, and that the application of the law should take due account of the circumstances of the country and local wishes and prejudices[229] and, like Sauer, favoured a form of "permissive compulsory education".[230] Indeed, Sauer expressed his pleasure that a part of the Bill was based on his own previous attempt.[231]

The Mission schools, other than those restricted to White pupils, were not included among those affected by the Bill, and its provisions were by formal definition restricted in application to European children.[232] Smartt strongly criticised the measure for its departure from the principle of including the non-European children incorporated in his own Bill.[233] One other Member of Parliament, who raised the question whether the new system would be extended to include the Coloured children, drew attention to the heavier cost that would be involved, although he was not against their inclusion.[234] The Bill, however, was never conclusively brought to a vote and, in any case, did not find favour in many quarters where Schreiner expected it would be approved.[235]

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228) The School Attendance Bill, 1899. Sections 21, 22, 23.

229) Debates ..... 1899. Schreiner, p.55.

230) Debates ..... 1898. Second Volume. Schreiner, p.319.

231) Debates .....1899. Sauer, p.469.

232) The School Attendance Bill, 1899. Section 2.

233) Debates .....1899. Smartt, p.468.

234) Ibid. A. S. du Plessis, p.467.

235) Debates ..... 1900. Schreiner, p.307.

Conclusion.

The outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War in 1899 and another change of Government caused an interruption in bringing to fruition these educational plans, which naturally became secondary to the more immediate and impelling tasks of the Government. While the Colony was passing through its "sea of trouble" the Government did not consider it opportune to consider legislation of a general character, however desirable.[236] In reply to the question whether it intended to introduce a measure to provide for free education and compulsory attendance,[237] Sprigg, the new Premier, saw no opportunity of doing so.[238] The "long-promised Education Bill"[239] was therefore perforce delayed.

But although the issue was for the present left undecided, there was little doubt at the beginning of the Twentieth century of the very clear direction which had been given to educational policy and the course along which it was being steered. Naturally, there was not complete unanimity. There were still those who were encouraged, amongst other things by the relative improvements brought about under the prevailing system, to doubt the need for change and to question the wisdom of altering a system to which they had become so attached. And even among those who were united in their agreement that a fundamental change was necessary, there were disagreements and differences in regard to principles and methods. But the events of the last decade of the Nineteenth

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236) Ibid. Governor's Opening Speech, p.2.

237) Ibid. Schermbrucker, p.64.

238) Ibid. Sprigg, p.64.

239) Ibid. Sonnenberg, Smith, p.307.

century had certainly served to map the route to be followed and had quite clearly signposted the road. So much so, that as the new Century opened the Minister in charge of Education could state with every confidence and assurance that "the House and country were both unanimously of opinion that the time had arrived when, whatever Government occupied the Treasury Benches, some comprehensive scheme of education should be presented".[240] Two principles were fundamental: that every man who could afford to educate his children must be compelled to do so; and that the State should educate the children of parents unable to educate them themselves.[241]

The place of the Coloured children in the scheme of things was not finally decided. But certainly the events of the last decade of the century were not without omen and portent. For they had indicated quite definitely that recognition would be given to distinctions of colour, and that this line of division would be mirrored in the impending educational legislation. But, arising from this clear dichotomy of colour, two important and related questions arose: whether the tendency towards the complete exclusion of the Coloured children from the new system, illustrated in some of the legislative Bills and debates, would finally establish itself as official policy incorporated in the law of the land; or whether some consideration, albeit secondary, would be given to the promotion of their interests, even though not as a matter of right or duty. The answers to these questions were not long delayed. For while the War certainly caused a break in the chronological continuity of events, it by no means caused any change in their trend and direction or any alteration in the objectives to be

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240) Ibid. Graham, Colonial Secretary, p.343.

241) Ibid. Graham, Colonial Secretary, p.343.

achieved. Within two years of the end of the War the first steps were taken towards a final legislative settlement.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SCHOOL BOARD ACT, 1905.

The Introductory Circular.

In 1904 the Progressive Party, led by Jameson, was returned to power in the Cape Parliament. Among the several planks in its election platform, one of the more important was its pledge to the electorate to inaugurate a vigorous education policy, with increased State aid to all branches of education, and to institute compulsory education wherever possible and free education wherever necessary.[1] On these broad principles there was no great difference or disagreement between the two Parties which had contested the election.[2] Merriman, leader of the opposition South African Party, in an election speech at Uitenhage, had reminded the voters that every effort had to be made to prevent educational reform becoming a matter of party or racial concern.[3] The Cape Times, largely the mouthpiece of the Progressive Party, put the matter rather succinctly: "Education is a question of high politics, but it would be disastrous if it were to become the sport of party politics".[4] And Colonel Crewe, the Colonial Secretary, made it clear that the Government had no desire at all to consider the matter in any way from a party point of view, and it hoped that Parliament would look upon it in the same way.[5]

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1) South African News, 8th January, 1904.

2) Cape Times. 3rd August, 1904. Editorial, "Educational Reform".

3) Ibid.

4) Ibid.

5) Cape Times. 30th November, 1904; 1st December, 1904. "The Education Bill". Speech by Colonel Crewe, Kimberley.

In pursuance of the Government's promise to the electorate, Sir Lewis Michell, the Acting Colonial Secretary,[6] initiated the plans to improve the educational system. He circulated a questionnaire to the Chairmen of all School Committees of schools which were in receipt of Government aid.[7] They were informed that the Government intended to provide in a new Education Bill for the gradual introduction of compulsory education, a matter which it believed to be generally accepted as of exceptional importance. Their views were sought, inter alia, on two particular matters: whether they advocated the principle of compulsion under suitable regulations, applicable at the outset to the larger towns, and only to the children of European descent; and whether they favoured the principle of free education for the children subject to compulsion, whose parents were in indigent circumstances. In addition, they were asked whether they favoured the extension of technical and industrial training for European children of both sexes. No reference to the education of Coloured pupils was made in the Circular, and no alternative suggestions were presented to the School Committees for comment.[8]

Objections of Coloured Leaders to the Circular.

The issue of the Circular evoked an immediate response from organised groups among the Coloured people. A deputation from the

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6) Crewe, the Colonial Secretary, was on leave in England for three months.

7) Circular No.33/1904, 12th July, 1904. Vide South African News, 3rd August, 1904.

8) Ibid.

Coloured People's Vigilance Committee placed before the Government their objections to the implications of those enquiries in the Circular which they thought indicated an intention to discriminate against the Coloured people, by confining the provisions in the proposed Bill to the children of European parentage.[9] As Michell was absent, the deputation was received by Noel Janisch, the Permanent Under-Secretary. He was informed by the deputation that the Coloured people regarded the question of their education as of paramount importance, and that they were prepared to carry their share in any sacrifice entailed in the introduction of a system of compulsory education for their children. In reply, Janisch advised them that the Government faced many difficulties in the question of compulsion, but that it was not the intention of the Government to discriminate against the Coloured people. They were further informed that a report of the deputation would be considered by the Acting Colonial Secretary, and later by the Colonial Secretary upon his return from England. Janisch did not doubt that the matter would receive the earnest attention of the Government.[10]

In addition to this direct approach to the Government, representatives of the Coloured community submitted objections to three Members of Parliament in Cape Town. The Members of Parliament questioned whether the Coloured people would accept compulsion, and they were assured that the Coloured people would make the sacrifices necessary for the education of their children. The Members agreed that there should be no discriminination against the Coloured people.[11] A protest meeting was also held in Paarl, and

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9) Cape Times, 18th August, 1904.

10) Ibid.

11) Cape Times, 23rd August, 1904.

the local Coloured community was exhorted by their leaders to register as voters. It was resolved by the meeting that when a Bill for compulsory and free education was introduced it should apply to both White and Coloured pupils.[12]

But the most vocal objection, headlined by the Cape Times as "A Strong Protest", was lodged by Coloured people at a very large public meeting held in Cape Town on 25th August, 1904, at which the Malay and Indian communities were well represented, and which was supported by a telegram from Coloured leaders at Kimberley, expressing sympathy with the objects of the meeting. Speakers at the meeting made it plain that they had not met in a spirit of hostility to the Europeans, but that they only wished the Government to treat them fairly and to provide schools for the Coloured children as well. They advanced their claims to inclusion in the proposed legislation on the grounds that they were subjects of Great Britain, which did not discriminate on grounds of colour in its schools, and that they wanted to be educated the better to fulfil their duty to serve their King and country. They felt that a limitation to European children was in conflict with the policy of equal rights for all civilised people south of the Zambesi. Confident that their children would be able to benefit from improved school facilities, they wished the authorities to place within their reach the fullest system of education to remove the stigma from Coloured persons because of their lack of education.[13]

In particular, the speakers submitted that non-Europeans constituted a large section of the population, and contributed to the

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12) Ibid.

13) Cape Times, 26th August, 1904;
South African News, 26th August, 1904.

public revenue through direct and indirect taxation. To their complaint that their taxes were already being used to support schools from which they were excluded, was added the further grievance that the Government now intended to use their taxes in assisting to provide compulsory education for European children only. They held that the Government was not entitled to legislate in a discriminatory manner against taxpayers. But the speakers took the precaution of exhorting their followers not to allow the legislation, if passed, to weaken their desire to educate their children, and urged them, if necessary, to send them overseas for further education. Meanwhile, the resolution of protest passed by the meeting, armed with these arguments, was widely publicised, and forwarded to the Government.[14]

Michell's Explanation.

The protests by the Coloured leaders were not without effect. In a speech to the Kimberley Branch of the South African Imperial Union, Michell explained the use of the phrase "of European descent" in the Circular. He admitted that it was among some phrases in the Circular which were not "very well chosen", and conceded that it was possible that the Coloured leaders might have mistaken his meaning. He realised that its use had evoked strong feelings among sections of the Coloured people, and had been construed by some Coloured people (even if not intended by him) to mean that the Government's proposals were intentionally framed to exclude the Coloured children from its provisions, and "to leave them out in the cold".[15]

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14) Ibid.

15) Cape Times, 16th September, 1904. Sir Lewis Michell, Speech to Kimberley Branch of the South African Imperial Union, 15th September, 1904. Michell, no longer Acting Colonial Secretary, was giving his own views, and not committing the Government.

He thought it hardly necessary to assure everybody that, since the law for compulsory education would include a provision for rating powers by the local authority, and since the rates would be levied on both European and Coloured persons alike, Coloured pupils would be as much entitled to education as Europeanspupils. He was most emphatic that one could not possibly levy a rate on Coloured persons and keep their children out of the schools. Those who were taxed had a right to schools for their children. What he had in mind was only that compulsory education should be introduced gradually, because there was not the accommodation for all the children who would be affected, especially in the large towns. He had intended that the compulsory principle should be applied in the beginning in large Municipal areas to all children whom it was possible to reach, whether European or Coloured. In the remoter country districts, compulsory education would involve very great difficulties, and would have to be brought about gradually in the light of experience gained. But once the principle was accepted, compulsion was to be made general throughout the country.[16)]

Michell had lived in Cape Town for twenty years and realised that Coloured people formed a very large and "a very respectable section" of the population. In the course of time he had seen them becoming more and more earnest in the desire to educate their children, very often putting European parents to shame. And he felt it would be not only extremely impolitic but absolutely impracticable to deny them their rights.[17)] Michell was therefore not opposed to the inclusion

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16) Ibid. It is difficult to say to what extent this explanation was shared at the time by the Government. However, the special provisions for persons "of other than European parentage or extraction" in the School Board Bill either give some official validity to this explanation and/or indicate that the Government had been influenced by the pressure of the Coloured leaders after the issue of the Circular.

17) Ibid. The evidence indicates that Michell had in mind a section of the Coloured community, as distinct from the general non-White population. Such distinctions were not always made at the time.

of Coloured pupils in the new system. And, according to Abdurahman, he was a person from whom the Coloured people expected some assistance in the improvement of school facilities, because when he sought their votes he declared that the Coloured people had not been treated fairly and promised to make it his first endeavour to see that better provisions were made for them.[18]

But, although Michell felt strongly that the European colonists should deal with the important subject of education, for their own children and for the Coloured children, his primary purpose was to bring the European population to an awareness of the situation in which they found themselves. He wanted them to show a greater solicitude for the education of their children. He emphasised that, if they wanted to remain the governing section in the country, they had to educate themselves, and he warned them that, if the increasing enrolment of non-European children went on for a generation only, the future of the European people would be in jeopardy.[19]

The Government was not wrong in anticipating the great importance of the subject it had broached, both among the more advanced and articulate section of the Coloured people and among the representatives of the European parents whose views were officially solicited. The response from the School Committees to the Circular was good, and about 700 replies were received.[20] Although there was a great

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18) A. Abdurahman, The Education Bill. Published Speech, 23rd February, 1905. S.A. Newspaper Company, Keerom Street, Cape Town. p2. Vide Abdurahman Papers.

19) Cape Times, 16th September, 1904. Michell, Speech .... 15th September, 1904. This viewpoint was well received by the audience.

20) Ibid.

diversity of views on the other matters canvassed in the Circular, the School Committees were almost unanimously in favour of the suggested system of compulsory education. Michell interpreted this to indicate quite clearly that those Europeans who were interested in education and were best able to assist in solving the educational problems were decidedly in favour of compelling European children to attend school.[21)]

On the question of free education, however, there was a difference of opinion among the School Committees. A small but influential group was totally opposed, because they felt that parents did not take an interest in their children's education unless they paid for it. A large number, however, were in favour of both free and compulsory education. Some were in favour of free education up to Standard Four. Others were for compulsory but not free education, although they wished education to be cheap and thought that indigent parents should have school fees remitted altogether.[22)]

The Government's Policy and Plan for European Pupils.

Parliamentary responsibility for education devolved on Crewe, the Colonial Secretary, whose task it was to solicit public support for the new Bill and to pilot it through the Legislature. Aware of the views of the School Committees and the objections and wishes of representatives of the Coloured people, he introduced the important measure to the public in a speech in Kimberley, in which he formulated the Government's policy and outlined its plans.[23)]

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21) Ibid.

22) Ibid.

23) Cape Times, 30th November, 1904; 1st December, 1904. "The Education Bill", Speech by Colonel Crewe, Kimberley. The Colonial Secretary was clearly speaking on behalf of the Government.

The Government, he said, was deeply concerned at the large number of European pupils who were not at school. It was not possible accurately to estimate the number, since the latest Census had not been completed at the time. But Crewe estimated the number to be at least 20,000, and he regarded this as sufficient justification for introducing some form of compulsion. He drew attention to the fact that the statistics showed a very big increase in the enrolment of non-European pupils since 1891, and a by no means proportionate increase in the enrolment of European children. Absolutely, there were 34,440 more non-European children than European children at school, and he indicated that the increase was 142.2% in the case of the non-European pupils, compared with 38.5% in the case of European pupils. It was these considerations, he said, that made education "perhaps the most important of all the subjects before the country" and provided the impetus for the Government's proposals.[24]

The whole Colony was to be divided into School Districts under the control of School Boards. The chief function of the Boards would be to serve as the local agency for enforcing compulsion, for in the proposed Bill the principle of compulsion was cardinal. Three years were to be allowed to complete the arrangements. In the first year the Boards were to be established, they were to compile the registers of children of school-going age, and frame their estimates of income and expenditure for the introduction of compulsion. During

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24) The Cape Times also warned its readers that the gravity of the position could be gathered from the fact that in the five years 1899 - 1904 the number of European children attending schools had increased by only 7.6%, while the number of non-European children had grown by 92%.
Vide Cape Times, 3rd August, 1904. Editorial, "Educational Reform."

the second and third years the permissive principle would be introduced and individual School Boards would be allowed to compel attendance in a system of local option. At the end of the third year, when the School Boards had had sufficient time to provide the necessary accommodation, the Government hoped to enforce the system throughout the country.[25]

It was intended to exempt those pupils who lived outside a radius of three miles of the nearest school, and to limit compulsory attendance to the Fourth Standard and to children between the ages of seven and fourteen years. But although these exceptions were to be allowed initially, they were not to be regarded as permanent. It was the expressed intention of the Government in the course of time to raise the limits they considered necessary before allowing a child to leave school.[26]

The Government was opposed to a general system of free education, if only because it thought such a system would create a financial burden which the country was at the time unable to carry. But the Government conceded that the poorer parents would have to be given financial assistance if they were to be compelled to send their children to school. It was therefore intended, under certain conditions to be enforced by the local School Boards, that the State would pay the cost of the schooling of indigent children of European descent. The Colonial Secretary, personally, sympathised with the view that people valued more what they paid for. But, although he felt that the cost of education for parents able to pay should not be borne by the State, he realised that free education for all children of European descent was available in many other Colonies, and he expressed the hope that general free education to a certain Standard would be

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25) Ibid.

26) Ibid.

granted at the Cape in the future.[27] The Government was to make available half-a-million pounds to assist the Boards in providing the necessary accommodation, and would continue to subsidise the Boards on the Pound for Pound principle. Any deficit on their accounts would be met equally by the Government and the local authority, Municipal or Divisional Council, and in the latter case from their funds or from a special rate levied for the purpose.[28]

The School Board Bill, published in January of the following year[29] followed very closely the general plan for European pupils outlined by the Colonial Secretary. The Boards were to be empowered to transfer to their control the existing Undenominational schools and the state-aided Private Farm and Poor Schools, and to establish Undenominational Schools.[30] No machinery was provided for the transfer of the White Mission schools or of the Mission schools attended mainly by the Coloured pupils. Although the Coloured children were not expressly excluded by the terms of the Bill from the census of children not at school in a School District,[31] they were specifically excluded by the later Act.[32]

In respect of all European children, the Boards were specifically enjoined as a matter of duty to consider their individual cases and to do all that was necessary to ensure that provision was made for

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27) Ibid.

28) Ibid.

29) Bill to Provide for the Establishment of School Boards and for better Management of Education throughout the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. The School Board Bill, 1905. Vide Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 13th January, 1905 p.89. et seq..

30) Ibid. Sections 34, 35, 37, 38.

31) Ibid. Section 47.

32) Vide infra p.186.

them at some school, if the reason for their not attending school was the indigency of their parents. The cost in all such instances was to be borne by the State.[33] The specific duty of the Boards to provide accommodation and the obligation to be imposed on them to enforce compulsion within the triennial period was restricted to European children between the ages of 7 and 14 years. And it was to become an offence for any person to employ during school hours any European child under 14 years of age who had not passed the Fourth Standard, except with the authority of a Board.[34] The financial arrangements were as had been indicated by the Colonial Secretary.[35]

For the European section of the population there was thus to be a planned and effective system of Undenominational schools under the local control of School Boards, in which it would become the duty of the State, acting through the local organs of government, to provide the schools and to overcome whatever difficulties there were in the way of the education of the children. While the direct parental contribution in the form of school fees would continue, poverty would no longer be a barrier to the education of European pupils, and deficits incurred in providing education would become a charge against the public revenue. In particular, it was planned that the compulsory education of all European pupils would become a reality in accordance with a definite legislative and administrative programme.

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33) The School Board Bill, 1905. Section 52.

34) Ibid. Sections 58 - 66.

35) Ibid. Sections 68 - 72.

The Policy of Separate Provisions.

The Colonial Secretary's speech clearly separated the policy and provisions for those of European parentage from those who were not, and this dichotomy was explicit in the School Board Bill. After 1890, when action was first suggested to prevent the attendance of both European and Coloured pupils at the same Mission schools, and to educate the European pupils in a system of Undenominational schools,[36] the separation of the pupils engaged much of the "quiet attention" of the Education Department and school authorities.[37] The chief means employed to draw the European pupils away from the Coloured pupils was the School Regulations promulgated in 1893 and, in particular, the recognition under the Regulations of White Mission schools and the establishment of Poor Schools restricted to the admission of European pupils.[38] By 1900 the number of Poor Schools had increased to 258.[39] But the "very serious difficulty" presented by the mixture of European and Coloured pupils in the schools was by no means solved by the provisions of these Regulations.[40]

In the Cape Division, where the dependence of the European pupils on the Mission schools was most evident, the number of European pupils in 1894 being taught in Mission schools and alongside Coloured pupils in many instances, exceeded the number of pupils enrolled in all the Undenominational schools, the figures being respectively 4,155 and 3,240.[41] In 1896 in a school in Cape Town,

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36) Vide supra. p.72.

37) S.G.E. Report, 1909, p.3.

38) S.G.E. Report, 1913, p.6.; S.G.E. Report, 30th June, 1915, p.3.

39) Debates ..... 1900. Graham, Colonial Secretary, p.305.

40) S.G.E. Report, 30th June, 1915, p.24.

41) S.G.E. Report, 1909, p.3.

considered by Father Osborne to be the largest Mission school in South Africa, one-fifth of the 604 pupils were White and the remainder "lightly coloured children of all sorts". Although professedly a school for Coloured pupils, the difficulty was the virtual impossibility of drawing any line because in some families there were White and light coloured children.[42]

The Department's policy, however, was also to convert Mission schools into Third class schools when dealing with European pupils. The Mission schools took advantage to a great extent of this option of contributing on the Pound for Pound principle and restricting admission to European pupils. As a consequence, the separation of the pupils was achieved "to a considerable degree", and the S.G.E. thought in 1896 that "a wonderful change" had taken place since the extent of the mixture of the pupils in the Mission schools was revealed around 1890.[43] But the Undenominational schools, dependent on the Government grant and school fees, did not always find it possible to exempt the indigent European pupils from payment of fees, for fear of being unable to meet their financial obligations. The result was that in District Six, Cape Town, for example, there was in 1905 a Second Class Undenominational school, with buildings worth £7,000, which had an enrolment of 205 pupils but accommodation for a further 230 pupils. And yet there were estimated to be 150 to 200 European children in the area attending Mission schools.[44]

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42) Select Committee on Education. Legislative Council, 1896. Minutes of Evidence. Father Osborne, p.p.59, 59.

43) Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Muir, p.11

44) Debates ..... 1905. Cartwright, p.116. He thought the School Board Bill would provide relief in such cases.

In the social milieu at the Cape the separation of the pupils in different schools was an important matter of policy, applied to a situation which presented many difficulties in the path of its success. But it was fostered and determined by a social climate in which the separation was welcomed and insisted upon by local European communities. The intransigence of their attitude on the question of colour, which led on occasion to overt objections to the presence of Coloured pupils and actual withdrawal of European pupils from schools,[45] was so firm in some communities, and so important a factor in the effort to get all the European pupils into schools, that cognisance was taken of its existence and account taken of its effects. When the question, whether it was the duty of the Government to provide sufficient schools to ensure the European children being educated separately from the Coloured children, was canvassed in the deliberations of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council in 1896,[46] for example, it recommended that as far as possible separate schools should be used and, in any case, that there should in all instances be a dividing line between European and Coloured children in the schools.[47]

It seemed generally obvious to Justice Lawrence of the Appellate Division in Moller vs Keimoes School Committee and J. M. Blomerus in 1911 that any attempt to bring together pupils of all shades of colour would, in the circumstances of the country, disorganise the whole system and make it impossible for the education authorities to perform

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45) See, for example, Moller vs Keimoes School Committee and J.M. Blomerus, 1911. C.P.D. Affidavits: School Committee; J. M. Blomerus, School Principal; Eight Parents; Six Parents. Court Record, p.p.20, 28, 29, 31, 34. Vide Abdurahman Papers.

46) Select Committee on Education. Legislative Council, 1896. Minutes of Evidence, Question, Father Osborne, p.61.

47) Ibid. Report, p.v.

their statutory duties.[48] As the Secretary of the Gordonia School Board and the Keimoes School Committee stated, if the European parents insisted on withdrawing their children because of the presence of Coloured children, it would prove dangerous to the welfare of a school,[49] and in areas where only one school was provided the European children might remain out of school altogether.[50] Whatever the hardship in individual cases, they feared that any concession to the admission of particular pupils of colour would be followed by many other applications,[51] and the schools would run the risk of being inundated with Coloured children.[52] So strong were the feelings of the European section that Justice de Villiers thought it was inconceivable that the average legislator would be a consenting party to a law which compelled European parents to send their children to any school which Coloured children could also be compelled to attend.

The policy behind the proposed law reflected not only the prepossessions and attitudes of many of the European parents, but also embodied the remedy of the legislators to prevent the social equality of European and Coloured persons,[54] through the prohibition of the possibility of the two groups associating in the schools.[55]

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48) Moller vs Keimoes School Committee and J. M. Blomerus, 1911. A.D. Justice Lawrence, p.p.651, 652.

49) Ibid. 1911. C.P.D. Affidavit: Secretary, Gordonia School Board. Court Record, p.36.

50) Ibid. 1911. C.P.D. Affidavit: School Committee. Court Record, p.21.

51) Ibid. 1911. C.P.D. Affidavit: School Committee. Court Record, p.21.

52) Ibid. 1911. C.P.D. Affidavit: Secretary Gordonia School Board. Court Record, p.36.

53) Ibid. 1911, A.D. Lord de Villiers, p.644.

54) Ibid. 1911, A.D. Lord de Villiers, p.p.643, 644.

55) Ibid. 1911, A.D. Justice Innes, p.648.

But these very strong feelings did not, however, manifest themselves in any desire to deny education to Coloured children. They were rather reinforced by the fact that Mission schools were providing for Coloured pupils,[56] although, however good and efficient such schools were claimed to be,[57] certain persons whose children were classified as Coloured, also objected for social reasons to sending their children to them.[58]

Provisions for non-European Pupils.

The Colonial Secretary regarded the education of the pupils who were not of European descent as "a question of great difficulty that had caused a good deal of heartburning and trouble".[59] The Government had decided that the Mission schools were to remain largely for them, and that recognition should be given to the very valuable work these schools had done. But it was the Government's view that the Mission schools had been in a more favourable position than the other schools, because they had received aid from the State in the form of grants, without any equivalent contribution being required from the parents, as in the case of European parents. In the circumstances, the Government felt that the Coloured parents had themselves to recognise that they should pay something towards their own education. It accepted that they were not in a financial

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56) Ibid. 1911 C.P.D. Affidavits: School Committee; Eight Parents. Court Record, p.p.20, 32.

57) Ibid. 1911 C.P.D. Affidavit: Alexander Stewart, Superintendent, Independent Mission School, Keimoes. Court Record, p.41.

58) Ibid. 1911 C.P.D. Replying Affidavit: Moller. Court Record, p.44.

59) Cape Times, 30th November, 1904; 1st December, 1904. "The Education Bill", Speech by Colonel Crewe, Kimberley.

position to pay to the same extent as European parents, but the Government had decided that they should pay something.[60]

The Mission schools, however, were limited generally to Standard Four, and there remained the very important question of educational provisions beyond that Standard. It was not the policy of the Government that Native or Coloured pupils should be prevented from going to a Standard higher than that usually provided in the Mission schools. The Colonial Secretary felt that an attempt should be made to recognise the desire, especially of the clevérer pupils, to improve their position, and those whose parents were prepared to pay for it should therefore have the opportunity of reaching a Standard higher than the Fourth or Fifth. He realised that there were difficulties in the way of educating European and non-European pupils together in such schools of higher grade, but in any case he did not think the Native and Coloured parents themselves wished to have their children taught alongside European children.[61]

The Government therefore proposed to make special provisions for the establishment of schools of higher grade than the Mission schools for the education of children of other than European parentage. If the Coloured parents, for example, were willing to pay and were able to satisfy a School Board that a school of higher grade would have sufficient support from them, such a school would be established with the consent of the School Board. If desired by the Coloured parents, such a school could be managed, under the direction of the School Board, by a local committee of Coloured people, and they would thus have "their ways and their right say in their own education". The Colonial Secretary thought that the matter of a more advanced education

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60) Ibid.

61) Ibid.

for non-European pupils was "a very difficult and a knotty question". But he thought that the proposal the Government had in mind must "in common fairness" be allowed the Native and Coloured people, and he submitted that it offered a solution of a difficulty which was likely to be found to increase as time went on, if they did not meet it.[62]

For the people of other than European parentage or extraction the Bill therefore provided that, if they wished to have a school or schools of a grade higher than Mission schools established, they had to petition the local School Board, which, in conjunction with the Education Department, would establish such a school or schools. The petition to the Board had to be signed by non-European parents residing in the School District, although the number of signatories required was not stipulated in the Bill.[63] These Undenominational schools were to be managed, subject to control by the local Board, by a Committee appointed by the Board, although the election of members was also envisaged.[64] Although the Colonial Secretary had made no reference in his introductory speech to compulsion for Coloured pupils, the Bill further provided that, in any School Board District in which a Management Committee existed for an Undenominational school for non-European pupils and in which there was sufficient and suitable school accommodation for them, the local School Board could enforce attendance for such children according to the procedure laid down for European children, provided the Management Committee was in favour.[65]

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62) Ibid.

63) The School Board Bill, 1905. Section 42. Vide infra p.185.

64) Ibid. Sections 39, 42, 43. Vide infra p.186.

65) Ibid. Section 67.

Views of the Coloured Leaders.

The reaction among the Coloured leaders to the provisions of the School Board Bill, and the opinions of the more advanced urbanised section on the education of the Coloured pupils, became evident at a public meeting held at Clifton Hill School, District Six, Cape Town on 23rd February, 1905.[66] The Address on the Bill was delivered by Dr. A. Abdurahman,[67] President of the African Political Organisation (later the African People's Organisation and always referred to as the A.P.O.), established in 1902 in order to give expression to the political, educational, economic and social aspirations of the Coloured people.[68] His views were fully supported by the audience. The Cape Argus reported that they showed an "extraordinary interest" in the subject and revealed high feelings. According to its report, there were fully 500 persons present and several hundreds were unable to gain admission. The audience included "representatives of practically all the races and off-shoots of races in the Colony in whom there is colour", and persons "whose particular racial distinction it would be somewhat difficult to locate".[69] The South African News reported that there were about 350 persons present.[70]

According to the Bill, the School Boards were to consist of between 6 and 18 members: One-third nominated by the Municipal or Divisional Council, one-third nominated by the Governor and one-third elected chiefly by the parents or guardians of pupils attending

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66) Cape Argus, 25th February, 1905; South African News, 25th February, 1905.

67) Abdurahman, The Education Bill.

68) For a Note on Abdurahman and the A.P.O. see Appendix E. p 446.

69) Cape Argus, 25th February, 1905.

70) South African News, 25th February, 1905.

the Undenominational and Private Farm schools, and the guarantors.[71] Abdurahman opposed this arrangement for the constitution of the Boards. He thought that the provision for nomination by the Governor, for example, would introduce a political element, although he was not against the principle of nominated members, provided they were not appointed by a single person or a Party Government. In addition, he opposed as wrong in principle that the vote should be given to parents, as such, because parents who might pay the rates or school fees would have the vote, while ratepayers with no children at school in the District, or with children at the Mission schools, would be rated for school purposes but have no vote. His view was that, since the Boards were to administer public funds, two-thirds of the members should be elected by the ratepayers, and the majority thus be responsible to the ratepayers.[72]

He was motivated in this criticism by a desire to safeguard the interests of Coloured ratepayers, and to secure for the Coloured community some influence in the election of the School Boards. In terms of the Bill, Undenominational schools could be established for Coloured pupils, and their parents would become enfranchised in Districts where such schools were established. But Coloured ratepayers in other areas, or with children only at the Mission schools, would have no vote in the elections, but would be rated to pay for the schools.[73] The question gained added significance because the disqualifications enumerated in the Bill did not make Coloured persons ineligible for election to School Boards.[74]

Apart from the regret, frequently also expressed by the European

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71) The School Board Bill, 1905. Sections 10, 15.

72) Abdurahman, op. cit., p.p.5, 6.

73) Ibid. p.6.

74) The School Board Bill, 1905. Sections 12, 13.

leaders in regard to the education of European children, that the State had over the years done very little to improve the system of education,[75] Abdurahman revealed several grievances which were acutely felt by sections of the urbanised Coloured community. Mainly through their personal experiences as representatives of this group, which had sometimes gained admission to the superior Undenominational schools, the Coloured leaders were sensitive to the restriction of schools to European pupils, and the closing of opportunities hitherto open to them for reaching a higher Standard.[76] Abdurahman, for example, complained that two schools which he himself had attended, had closed their doors to Coloured children,[77] and Coloured parents consequently had to send their children overseas.[78] The fact that the sole reason, as far as he was concerned, was the colour of their skins, was the cause of the most bitter resentment. "We are excluded", said Abdurahman, "..... not because we are disloyal, not because it has been proved that we are inferiorly endowed and unfit for higher education, but because, although sons of the soil, God's creatures, and British subjects, we are after all black".[79] This sense of injustice was increased by the fact that little had been done to compensate for the restriction of these schools to European pupils.[80]

With reference to the Government's intention that the Mission schools were to remain largely for the Coloured children, Abdurahman

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75) Abdurahman, op. cit., p.1.

76) Ibid. p.1.

77) Ibid. p.1.

78) Ibid. p.p. 4, 5.

79) Ibid. p.5.

80) Ibid. p.1.

acknowledged unequivocally that the Coloured people owed their education to the Christian Churches.[81] But he was severely critical of conditions in the Mission schools: they were overcrowded, inadequately staffed, ill-equipped, poorly housed and scholastically ineffective.[82] And since they provided schooling only in the lower Standards, with the bulk of the pupils in the Infant classes, he suspected a tendency to discourage more advanced education for the Coloured pupils and to limit their education to Standard Four.[83] He thought the "miserably small grants" to the Mission schools were quite inadequate to be of any material value for the educational objectives he had in mind, and therefore if the education of the majority of the Coloured pupils was to be restricted to the Mission schools they would not advance as he desired.[84] He realised that the Coloured pupils were not progressing from one Standard to the next, and he emphasised that the request of the Coloured people was not so much for more Infant schools but for an improvement in the schools, and for opportunities to reach a higher Standard.[85] He conceded that the Coloured parents could not possibly ask for an exemption if the Pound for Pound principle was enforced, but he objected to the fact that only European parents in indigent circumstances would be eligible for assistance from the State.[86]

Abdurahman ascribed the unsatisfactory state of the education of the non-European people largely to the prejudiced attitude of many of the Europeans. Although he recognised that there were exceptions

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81) Ibid. p.4.

82) Ibid. p.4.

83) Ibid. p.1.

84) Ibid. p.6.

85) Ibid. p.1.

86) Ibid. p.5.

in the few liberal-minded men in Parliament, he held that there were many in the European section who looked upon the non-European people "as a means of ministering to their ease and pleasure, as a source of rendering themselves more comfortable .....".[87] He deprecated the approach of many Europeans who viewed the increasing enrolment of non-European pupils "not as a source of gain and strength to the State, but as a decided danger and as something not to be encouraged",[88] and he alleged that Crewe quoted figures to suit his purpose and omitted to mention the large number of non-European children not at school. He regarded the argument that the numerical increase in the enrolment of non-European pupils was a justification for the compulsion of European children as nothing else but the "black bogey"[90] and the "black peril even educationally".[91] He felt that in using this argument the Colonial Secretary, while doing a service to the Europeans, had perhaps prejudiced the position of the Coloured people more than he really intended.[92] Much incensed at the line of approach, Abdurahman thought it more appropriate to view the "miserable picture" presented by the Mission schools with pity and commiseration rather than as a threat to the future of the Europeans.[93]

Abdurahman was eager that the State should undertake the responsibility of educating all pupils, irrespective of colour, up to a certain Standard, and of affording the promising pupils opportunities

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87) Ibid. p.2.

88) Ibid. p.2.

89) Ibid. p.3.

90) Ibid. p.2.

91) Ibid. p.3.

92) Ibid. p.3.

93) Ibid. p.4.

of reaching the highest Standards. He was influenced in this view both by the desire to secure for the Coloured pupils what the Bill would provide for the European pupils, and by certain political and constitutional considerations in regard to the nature and functions of the State and the claims of the Coloured people to the rights of citizenship. He prescribed the ideals for his followers, and formulated his reasons for regarding it as an advantage and a duty for the State to educate everybody: it would combat ignorance of the laws of health and nature, of the principles of right and wrong and of the duties of man to man, and would produce citizens more amenable to law and order; and it would produce more intelligent workers and train men and women whose brains would provide the greatest national asset. In particular, he thought it the duty of the State to provide education, because the educated person had nobler ideals and purer aspirations, with a better conception of the duties that devolved upon him when he demanded his rights as a citizen, and less liable to abuse the privileges he was entitled to enjoy.[94]

With such demands formulated by their acknowledged leader, the policy of the Government and the provisions of the Bill earned the harsh criticism of the politically conscious section of the Coloured community. In so far as they were aware of their rights under a system of government which drew no constitutional distinctions on grounds of colour, they staked their claim to equality of treatment with the Europeans. The gravamen of their dissatisfaction lay in the increasing distinctions that were being drawn between Europeans and non-Europeans, and the privileged position that was being accorded to the European section. In this bipartisanship of educational policy they foresaw that an impetus would be given to the widening of the gap between themselves and the Europeans, and the accomplishment of what they feared most: not so much the separation of their

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94) Ibid. p.p.1, 2.

children in the schools, but the inequality of treatment which was so evident in the policy of the Government. Their opposition to the discrimination in the School Board Bill was therefore crystallised in the resolution unanimously adopted at the meeting: that they as a people were prepared to make every necessary sacrifice in common with their fellow citizens to oppose such a measure as had now been designed.[95]

In the light of the social attitudes which he clearly discerned in the Government's policy, Abdurahman's purpose was, however, also to bring to his followers the realisation that, in their opposition to discrimination, they should become more self-reliant and independent, and that it was very necessary for them to look to themselves for the solution to their problems.[96] His audience fully supported this idea, which was gaining currency among the Coloured people. The Coloured people of Beaconsfield, for example, realising that, although they had the franchise, the Coloured people lacked effective political power and adequate educational facilities for the advancement of their children, had proposed at the Conference of the A.P.O. in Graaff Reinet in April, 1904 that a National Fund be established to assist in the elevation of the Coloured people. They fully appreciated the great need for the Coloured people to help themselves and to make their own efforts to provide a better education for their children. Their proposal soon gained the approval of leading Coloured persons and well-wishers of the cause of the Coloured people.[97] Abdurahman, therefore, directed the attention of his audience, in particular, to those Sections of the Bill which referred specifically to the education of their own children and provided, under certain conditions, for the establishment of Undenominational schools, the appointment of School Committees, and for

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95) Cape Argus, 25th February, 1905; South African News, 25th February, 1905.

96) Abdurahman, op.cit., p.2.

97) Smith Fosses, The Elevation of the Coloured Race of South Africa, a speech introducing a proposal emanating from the Coloured residents of Beaconsfield. Read at A.P.O. Conference, April, 1904. p.p.1, 2, 3. Vide Abdurahman Papers.

the introduction of a form of compulsory attendance.[98]

The requirements to be fulfilled did not inspire much confidence in the possibility of Undenominational schools being established. Abdurahman was aware that the number of children who would attend such a school during the first few years of its opening would in all probability be very small.[99] The Colonial Secretary had made it clear that Coloured parents would have to contribute towards the cost, and the Bill made no provision for assistance to indigent Coloured parents. Abdurahman realised that, even if the fees were to cover one-third of the whole expenditure, they would necessarily be so high as probably to make it impossible for Coloured persons to maintain such a school,[100] and he predicted that the conditions to be fulfilled precluded the hope of establishing an Undenominational school in the near future.[101] The Cape Times also did not think the Coloured people by themselves could successfully establish and manage such a school, although it thought the provision in the Bill would offer them an ideal to which to aspire.[102]

Since the introduction of compulsory attendance in a School Board District depended upon the prior establishment of an Undenominational school and upon sufficient and suitable accommodation being available, without a corresponding obligation upon a School Board to provide such accommodation, the Bill also gave the Coloured leaders little hope in this respect. Abdurahman saw the further

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98) The School Board Bill, 1905. Sections 39, 42, 43, 67.

99) Abdurahman, op. cit., p.6.

100) Ibid. p.6.

101) Ibid. p.7.

102) Cape Times, 1st December, 1904. Editorial, "The Education Bill".

draw-back that compulsion could follow only upon a resolution of a Management Committee and a School Board which, in terms of their constitution, would be representative mainly of European opinion. For, although the Colonial Secretary had said that the Undenominational schools would be managed entirely by Coloured persons, Abdurahman was unable to find a provision in the Bill which gave Coloured persons this right. He asserted "without the hazard of contradiction that compulsory education for coloured children is as far off as the Greek Kalends".[103] In the subsequent Parliamentary debate on the Bill, T. Searle pointed out that the provision as it stood contained "an utter absurdity" and a strange anomaly: on the one hand, the Undenominational schools were only to be for children who had passed Standard Four in the Mission schools and, on the other hand, compulsory attendance was not to apply to children who had passed the Fourth Standard. The provision, therefore, pretended to give compulsory education to children in Undenominational schools, who were not affected by the principle of compulsion.[104]

Nevertheless, the Bill provided the opportunity for Coloured parents, as such, to secure Undenominational schools for their children according to a new system, and the relationship of these schools, if established, to the Mission schools was naturally an important consideration. The Mission schools had always been limited mainly to Standard Four, and the question therefore arose for decision whether schools of a higher grade than the Mission schools were to be schools in addition to Mission schools but providing education only above Standard Four, as a continuation of the Mission schools; or whether they could be established in addition to the Mission schools but provide education also below Standard

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103) Abdurahman, op. cit., p.7.

104) Debates ..... 1905. T. Searle, p.82. See, however, p.p185,186.

Four.[105]

Abdurahman regarded this as the most vital point in the whole Bill, as far as it affected the non-European children.[106] If the parents could, upon requisition, have full-range Undenominational schools established, such schools could, at least in some small way and in certain areas, constitute an alternative to the Mission schools. By providing a better education under more favourable circumstances through all the primary standards, they could perhaps be the means of reducing for certain sections the disadvantages of the Mission school system, to which the leaders of the Coloured people were beginning to raise their objections. Undenominational schools could serve to bring nearer the equality of treatment the advanced Coloured parents so much desired, and perhaps afford them the opportunity of competing on a more equitable basis with the European parents in the promotion of their own education. Abdurahman thought the Coloured people should all sincerely hope that these higher grade Undenominational schools would be open to pupils below Standard Four.[107]

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105) Abdurahman, op. cit., p.p.6, 7..

106) Ibid. p.7.

107) Ibid. p.7.

Coloured Leaders interview Colonial Secretary.

The Coloured leaders required clarity on the exact meaning and implications of these sections of the Bill. At the meeting of protest it was agreed by unanimous resolution to appoint a deputation to seek further information from the Colonial Secretary.[108] The deputation was led by Abdurahman, and there was much dissatisfaction at the reception accorded it by the Colonial Secretary. His reported discourteous treatment of Abdurahman, probably the result of the latter's public references to Crewe's speech outlining the Government's proposals, evoked much public comment.[109]

The Colonial Secretary informed the deputation that, as a matter of economy, the Government naturally preferred to keep the Coloured pupils in the Mission schools up to Standard Four, since its contribution to the Mission schools was far less than to the Undenominational schools. On the important question whether the higher grade Undenominational schools would be open to children below Standard Four, he said, according to a Cape Times report, that, if the Coloured parents preferred to send their children to such schools before they reached the Fourth Standard, there was no objection to their doing so.[110] But Abdurahman, in a letter to the South African News, describing what had happened at the interview, stated that Crewe finally admitted that for education up to Standard Four the Coloured pupils had to remain in the Mission schools, and that no pupil who had not passed that Standard would be admitted to a higher grade Undenominational

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108) Ibid. p.7.

109) See, for example, The Owl, 17th March, 1905, p.25: South African News, 8th March, 1905. Letter, "Coloured Education" from W. R. Veldsman; South African News, 11th March, 1905. Letter from A. Abdurahman, M.D.

110) Cape Times, 6th March, 1905.

school.[111] In regard to the procedure for the establishment of such schools the Colonial Secretary assured the deputation that, if the requisite number of names was attached to the petition to the School Board, neither the School Board nor the Education Department could prevent its establishment.[112] And in regard to their management, he stated that, because of a mistake in the drafting of the Bill, management by Coloured people had not been provided for, but he intended that, although the School Board was to exercise control, the schools would be managed by local committees of Coloured people.[113]

The Colonial Secretary held that the different provisions in the Bill for compulsory education of European and non-European children had nothing to do with the question of colour. He submitted that it was quite impossible to apply compulsion to some groups of people in the Colony, while it was possible in the case of other groups. The application of compulsion in the Transkei, for example, would raise a great outcry from the local people, because the children were required to look after the cattle. His view was that the non-European people objected very strongly to compulsion, but he looked to their choosing compulsion themselves in the course of time.[114] The Coloured leaders were already aware that in certain quarters it was felt that compulsory education might not operate well in the case of Coloured pupils, because their parents required them to go to work at an early age in order to maintain the family.[115] As the Colonial Secretary saw the position, there were

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111) South African News, 11th March, 1905. See also Abdurahman, The Education Bill, Post Script, p.7. Vide infra p.p.185,186.

112) Cape Times, 6th March, 1905. Vide infra p.185.

113) Ibid. Vide infra p.186.

114) Ibid.

115) See Cape Times, 26th August, 1904.

groups of people who happened to be non-European who were not ready for compulsion, and there were groups who happened to be White who were ready. The Government, therefore, did not consider it practicable to apply compulsion to all, but the Colonial Secretary thought it could not be overlooked by the Coloured leaders that it was the duty of the Europeans to assist in every way to provide for the education of the Coloured children, who had not perhaps the same advantages.[116] However discriminatory the Coloured leaders might have felt the provisions to be, the Colonial Secretary was most anxious to refute any charges of colour differentiation per se, and to allay their fears on that score.

Provision for the compulsory attendance of all children in the Colony would have entailed considerable expense, and the country was still passing through the period of financial depression which followed in the wake of the Anglo-Boer War. The Cape Argus forthrightly expressed its view that, if the Government proposed to compel both White and non-White children, the Bill "would have broken down with its own weight", for to include all Native children would have been "as onerous an undertaking as a little war".[117] Whatever other factors might have influenced its policy, the Government was definitely deterred by the large number of non-European children, widely dispersed throughout the Colony and the Native Territories, and differing markedly in social and economic position, for whom provision would have had to be made. In a reference to Native children, the Colonial Secretary stated quite categorically that it was impossible to introduce compulsion, because the Government could not provide accommodation for the enormous number of children involved. The Government felt it could provide accommodation for the 40,000 European children and had to get them into school, but that it was

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116) Cape Times, 6th March, 1905.

117) Cape Argus, 13th January, 1905. Editorial, "The Education Bill".

unable to provide accommodation for ten times that number of non-European children. For them, its policy was to provide cheap education, and it would endeavour to provide compulsory education where it was requested.[118]

For the purpose of the Bill the distinction drawn was between European and non-European. The Colonial Secretary estimated that, apart from Native pupils, there were 99,768 Coloured and Malay children of school-going age and that 62,000 of them were outside the schools.[119] But no special consideration was given to the compulsion of Coloured children, as a separate group with a distinctive status inside the general non-European population, and the public demands made by the Coloured leaders did not imply a request for any such differentiation.

However, in so far as the introduction of a system of compulsion depended on the co-operation of the Coloured parents, on their financial position, and ability to take advantage of the system, there were groups of Coloured people who could be brought within the ambit of the system. They showed a very keen desire to educate their children and a preparedness to make the sacrifices to gain for their children the advantages of a better education. For these groups the Bill may have held out the possibility of compulsion, although its terms indicated no definite intention, as in the case of the European pupils, to facilitate their inclusion in a compulsory system, or to overcome the obstacles and difficulties that hindered their attendance at school. But the possibility of such compulsion was further impeded by the nature of the legislation subsequently enacted by Parliament.[120]

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118) Debates ..... 1905. Crewe, p.p.24, 25.

119) Debates ..... 1905. Crewe, p.22.

120) Vide infra p.186.

Agreement and Negotiation between Government and Opposition.

The passage of the School Board Bill through the House of Assembly revealed the concern of many Members at the shortcomings of the prevailing system, and the unanimous desire of the legislators to secure a place in school for all European pupils.[121] Although Jagger estimated that approximately one-third of the European children were not at school,[122] there was some difference of opinion on the question. Merriman, for example, thought the Government's estimate of about 40,000 children between 7 and 14 years of age not at school was somewhat exaggerated.[123] However, as pointed out by Sampson, the difference in the estimates was a small matter in relation to the great importance of the subject: that even if there were only a thousand children involved the Government should try to get them into school.[124]

In their acceptance of compulsion for all European children at least to Standard Four the Government and Opposition were joined in common cause, because the South African Party, which had had some reservations about the matter, had accepted compulsion by a narrow majority decision at their Conference earlier in the year.[125] The differences between the Progressive Government and the Opposition therefore revolved mainly around the means to be employed to achieve the agreed objective. The chief fear of the leaders of the Opposition, representing mainly the rural areas, lay in the too great centralisation of power and the loss of local option and authority

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121) Debates ..... 1905. See, for example, Second Reading debate. p.18 et seq..

122) Ibid. Jagger, p.39.

123) Ibid. Merriman, p.55.

124) Ibid. Sampson, p.52. After the first School Board Census the S.G.E. estimated that about 23,000, or 27%, of the European children of school-going age were not at school. Vide S.G.E. Report, 1906. p.12.

125) South African News, 25th February, 1905; Debates ..... 1905. Malan, p.28; de Waal, p.83.

which they saw in the Bill. Malan put their view tersely: "The School Boards got no pay and they had no say".[126] They wished to retain what they considered valuable in the established system, and to amend and build upon it, rather than abolish it completely; and, while acknowledging the great need for changes, to bring these about by a more gradual approach than by the harsh letter of the law.[127]

In the consideration of their views on the Bill, the Opposition party found a Government anxious in its desire to negotiate and compromise in the interests of achieving the objective. Both Parties were agreed that they wanted a workable and effective measure and, after a lengthy Second Reading debate, the principles of the Bill were accepted without a division,[128] and the Parties agreed to discussions between their representatives to settle their differences in regard to the details of the Bill.[129] They "argued pro and con" for twenty one days,[130] and had thereafter to continue their discussions.[131]

Without altering the cardinal principles of the Bill, Parliament nevertheless amended it in several important respects. Thus, for example, the constitution of the School Boards was altered to provide for two-thirds of the members to be elected by the ratepayers of the Municipal or Divisional Council, leaving one-third to be nominated. Greater local responsibility was also

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126) Debates ..... 1905. Malan, p.27.

127) Ibid. de Waal, p.83. et seq..

128) Ibid. p.p.141, 142. See also E. G. Malherbe, Education in South Africa, 1652 - 1922, p.p.130, 131.

129) Ibid. Crewe, p.p.141, 310.

130) Ibid. de Waal, p.511.

131) Ibid. Crewe, p.556.

conceded, chiefly through the institution of School Committees, elected by the parents and having legally-defined rights, duties and privileges; and School Boards were empowered to incur expenditure for the conveyance of pupils who were required to attend a school more than three miles from their homes.[132] In general, the amendments agreed upon were largely in accordance with the wishes of the Opposition, especially in regard to a more gradual change to the new system and the protection of the rights of the existing School Committees and local school authorities.[133]

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132) Ibid. p.p.310 et seq.; p.456 et seq.. See The School Board Act, No. 35 of 1905. Sections 10, 33, 41, 44, 45, 68. Vide Cape of Good Hope Statutes. Volume III p.4927 et seq..

133) See The School Board Act, 1905. Sections, 34, 35, 36, 37, 40.

Further Proposals by the Coloured Leaders.

While the Bill was before Parliament a deputation of Coloured leaders interviewed the six Members for Cape Town to lodge their objections once again: chiefly against the continuation of the Mission school system, the "heavy premium on the higher education of Coloured children" in Undenominational schools, and the obstacles in the way of the Coloured people obtaining compulsory education. According to their suggested amendments to the Bill, the deputation desired that a School Board and the Department should establish an Undenominational school or schools in any District where the accommodation for non-European children was unsufficient, or where the parents wished to have such a school. They also wished these Undenominational schools to be managed by Committees having a majority of non-European members, and that the schools should be treated in the same way as similar schools for European children.[134]

The deputation proposed that, where there was sufficient and suitable accommodation for non-European children, the School Board should be empowered to compel attendance for them, and to adopt the procedure applicable to European pupils. Where a Committee was constituted and there was sufficient accommodation, they felt that compulsory attendance should be enforced by the Board on the recommendation of the Committee. The deputation also desired the same form of assistance to indigent non-European parents as was provided for European parents.[135] In short, their proposals contained an acceptance of the separation of the pupils in the schools, but required that the provisions for non-European pupils should be much the same as for European pupils.

The Members of Parliament interviewed had some reservations in

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134) South African News, 29th March, 1905.

135) Ibid.

regard to this request for equality of treatment, because they considered the cost to be prohibitive and the proposals unjustified because the non-European population was three times as large as the European population but contributed only a quarter to the rates. They also showed a reluctance to support the request for the termination of the Mission school system. However, the deputation conceded that Mission schools would suffice for the needs of the Coloured parents in some districts, although they felt that in Cape Town, where the Mission schools were already overcrowded, money should be granted for Undenominational schools rather than for more Mission schools.[136]

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136) Ibid.

Amendments to Provisions for non-European Pupils.

The Parliamentary debate gave little indication of any attempt to alter the policy of the Government that the Mission schools should remain the chief agency for the education of the non-European pupils. The Colonial Secretary told Parliament that it was absolutely necessary for non-European pupils to have moral as well as other education, and that what they really required was cheap education.[137] Where the non-European parents desired to have an Undenominational school established, Parliament stipulated that the request would have to be supported by a petition signed by at least fifty parents of children of other than European parentage and descent residing in the School District. But whereas the provisions of the Bill, as published and confirmed by the Colonial Secretary in his interview with the Coloured leaders, had made the establishment of such a school obligatory if the conditions were fulfilled, a petition from the requisite number of parents was now not necessarily bound to succeed, since the establishment of an Undenominational school by the School Board and the Department was made permissive.[138]

Beyond the change in the constitution of the School Boards to provide for election by the ratepayers of two-thirds of the members of a Board, amendments to the Bill accorded with the views of the Coloured leaders in two other respects. Although, in introducing the Bill to Parliament, the Colonial Secretary had adhered to the distinction between the Mission schools, and Undenominational schools providing education above Standard Four,[139] Parliament finally decided that an Undenominational school could be a school without

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137) Debates ..... 1905. Crewe, p.p.24, 25.

138) Ibid. p.488. See The School Board Act, 1905. Section 48.

139) Ibid. Crewe, p.24.

a restriction on the Standard of admission.[140] Further, at the commencement of the Second Reading debate the Colonial Secretary indicated the oversight in the Bill in regard to the election of School Committees.[141] Parliament agreed that such schools would be managed by Committees, elected by the parents in the same way as at schools for European pupils, and having similarly defined rights and duties.[142]

On a proposal by Merriman, accepted without discussion, Parliament specifically limited the census to be conducted by the first School Board in any District to all children of European extraction.[143] Apart from this express exclusion of the non-European pupils, Parliament amended the Bill to allow a School Board to introduce compulsion for non-European pupils after the conditions laid down in the Bill had been fulfilled and, in addition, only after it had obtained the approval of the majority of the ratepayers in its District at a poll taken for the purpose.[144] The introduction of compulsory attendance was therefore made dependent on the consent of the ratepayers, and the willingness of a School Board to raise the issue and test the feelings of the ratepayers.

Although he conceded that a system of compulsory education had first to be made a success for the European population before it was attempted for the non-European population, T. Schreiner moved the omission of this condition, but without success. He held that, while the Europeans were being encouraged, the "small portion of the civilised native population" which had already successfully taken some advantage of the Undenominational system and who might take further advantage of it, were not being encouraged in the same way. He

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140) Ibid. p.488. See The School Board Act, 1905. Section 48.

141) Ibid. Crewe, p.19.

142) Ibid. p.488. See The School Board Act, 1905. Section 48.

143) Ibid. p.508. See The School Board Act, 1905. Section 51.

144) Ibid. p.515. See The School Board Act, 1905. Section 69.

appreciated that the special condition could be defended on the ground that the ratepayers would have to meet any deficiency, but he felt that that argument "did not touch the justice of the question". And he came to the conclusion that, under the provisions, it was almost impossible that any Undenominational schools would be able to avail themselves of the opportunity to compel attendance.[145] T. Searle, in an attempt to obviate the difficulty of the ratepayers' liability for the deficit, suggested that the administration of the schools for European and non-European pupils be separated, and that the non-European section be allowed to control their own schools if they paid their own deficiencies. He thought the provisions of the Bill were "a dead letter", and that the non-European pupils would never get compulsory education.[146]

The Conference of representatives of the Government and the Opposition agreed that it was wrong that a section of the population which did not obtain any benefits under the Bill should be liable to taxation in terms of the Bill, on the principle that persons who were taxed should have the same opportunities as those who were similarly taxed.[147] In order to remove the oft-repeated objection of the Coloured leaders that, as ratepayers, the Coloured parents were entitled to schools established by public funds as in the case of the European parents, Parliament made provision in the Act, after further discussions between Government and Opposition, for the exemption from the School rate of property in the occupation of persons of other than European extraction in those School Districts where there were no Undenominational schools for the non-European pupils.[148] Where this exemption was granted, non-Europeans were excluded from

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145) Ibid. T. Schreiner, p.p.515, 516.

146) Ibid. T. Searle, p.516.

147) Ibid. Sauer, p.311.

148) Ibid. p.626. See The School Board Act, 1905. Section 74.

voting in the School Board elections.[149] Sauer thought this provision in the law "would give the Coloured people the same rights and would make them subject to the same burdens", and was "a very great point gained".[150]

As shown in Moller vs Keimoes School Committee and J. M. Blomerus in 1911, this special provision did not anticipate the situation in those cases where a European property owner, married to a Coloured woman, and whose children were therefore Coloured, was required to pay School Board rates, although there was no Undenominational school for Coloured pupils in the School District. The anomaly was that he was entitled to exemption because there was no Undenominational school for his children;[151] and yet, as a European, his property was rateable for school purposes, although the right to the admission of his Coloured children was not decided by that fact.[152] Justice Lawrence suggested that the grievance of such persons might be removed by the Legislature exempting from School rates the property of all those persons for whose children no Undenominational schools had been established.[153]

In the debate, two Members in particular, not aligned with either Party, raised a general objection to the provisions of the Bill as it affected the non-European section generally, and the Natives especially. T. Searle felt that the Government was not sincere and had shown no honest intention to deal with the education of the non-Europeans. He thought the three "paltry clauses" referring

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149) Ibid. p.626. See The School Board Act, 1905. Section 74.

150) Ibid. Sauer, p.311.

151) Moller vs Keimoes School Committee and J. M. Blomerus. 1911. C.P.D. Judge President Maasdorp, Judgment. Court Record, p.53, 54.

152) Ibid. 1911 C.P.D. Justice Buchanan, p.p.682, 683.

153) Ibid. 1911 A.D. Justice Lawrence, p.652.

to their education did not treat the matter in accordance with the principle of equal rights which had always been adopted in the country.[154] And Orsmond thought the Natives were not getting benefits in proportion to their contribution to the revenue, and that in this respect the Bill was anything but fair and reasonable towards them.[155]

Supporting the necessity for a change in the system to provide for the very large proportion of European children not at school, T. Schreiner thought the Cape was pre-eminent among the Colonies in the way it had provided education for the non-European children, and presented a pattern for the whole world. He felt it was absolutely impossible to have an Undenominational system for Natives who were still in "a semi-barbarous condition",[156] and that all had to agree on the need for two separate systems: of Undenominational schools for European pupils and Mission schools for Coloured and Native pupils.[157] But he thought that "an open door" should be available for those non-Europeans who had raised themselves in the social scale and were at the same level as the Europeans. He had informed his Native friends that, if they wanted the same educational opportunities as Europeans, they had to bear the same responsibilities.[158] And he was satisfied that there was no absolute barrier in the Bill to prevent non-European parents from securing Undenominational schools for their children, although he regretted the

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154) Debates ..... 1905. T. Searle, p.80 et seq.. Searle represented the Queenstown constituency, in which there were many non-European voters.

155) Ibid. Orsmond, p.135.

156) Ibid. T. Schreiner, p.p.112, 113.

157) Ibid. T. Schreiner, p.515.

158) Ibid. T. Schreiner, p.p.112, 113.

difficulties put in their way.[159]

The Colonial Secretary said that if T. Schreiner, who might be regarded as one who had the interests of the Natives at heart, could accept the clauses relating to the education of the non-European pupils, there could not be a single Member of the House who could decline to accept them.[160] And Jagger assured the House that it was very far from the thoughts and wishes of the Conference of the representatives of the Government and Opposition to exclude the non-Europeans, and he thought their position was very much improved under the amended Bill.[161]

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159) Ibid. T. Schreiner, p.515.

160) Ibid. Crewe, p.139.

161) Ibid. Jagger, p.516.

Conclusion.

The last quarter of the Nineteenth century had seen the inclusion within the boundaries of the Colony's administration of extensive areas in the Eastern Cape, occupied largely by a numerous Native population. This new situation had given rise to a fresh appraisal of the political situation and, arising directly from the fear of the effect of larger numbers of Native voters on the balance of Parliamentary power, alterations were made in the franchise laws. The Parliamentary Registration Act, 1887, made registration as a voter more difficult and excluded tribal tenure of property as a qualification for the vote; while the Franchise and Ballot Act, 1892, raised the requirements for registration and, in particular, added a literacy test. In both cases, the changes were brought about in order to safeguard the position of the European section in the face of the threat presented chiefly by the Native vote.

Parliamentary control was almost entirely in the hands of the European section. And, since no legislative distinction was drawn between the Native and the Coloured people, the latter did not escape the consequences of the reaction of the European section to the potential threat to their dominance. Although they were able to exert a measure of political pressure, events had shown that the Coloured leaders and their followers had not succeeded in altering the policy behind the School Board Bill in any material way, even though they had secured certain concessions.

In their attempts to create the machinery, legislative and administrative, which would ensure the continued hegemony of the European section, the legislators had realised for a long time that, unless all the European children were well-equipped educationally, the European population would not be able to maintain their position in the country. And since the existing educational

legislation and regulations were inadequate and ineffective for the purpose, the School Board Bill became essential. It passed through the House of Assembly on 10th June, 1905, was promulgated on 30th June, 1905, and became the legal framework for the educational pattern for European pupils in the decades to come. For the more advanced sections of the Coloured parents in certain areas, the Act provided the possibility of the better school facilities for which they were beginning to clamour.

CHAPTER V.

DEVELOPMENTS AND PROBLEMS IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOL SYSTEM, 1905 - 1925.

The Emergence of Undenominational Schools for Coloured Pupils.

After the setback they had suffered in their opposition to the policy behind the School Board Act, the Coloured leaders in the A.P.O. continued to place the education of the Coloured children in the forefront of their programme of demands.[1] Abdurahman realised that the Coloured people generally occupied a low position in the social scale and that education was essential for their uplift.[2] He felt that the more they were educated the stronger would be their claims to political and other rights,[3] and he regarded a better system of education, with more facilities for Coloured pupils, as a pre-requisite for any raising of the franchise qualification by Parliament.[4] While he accepted that a more practical education was perhaps suited to the needs of the majority of the Coloured pupils he particularly desired a more advanced education to be provided in order to produce an educated leadership for the Coloured people.[5]

Abdurahman was satisfied that the A.P.O. had done whatever it could when the School Board Bill was before Parliament to obtain

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1) Report, Fifth A.P.O. Conference, Oudtshoorn, 1907. Abdurahman, Presidential Address, p.1. Vide Abdurahman Papers.

2) Ibid. Abdurahman, Presidential Address, p.1.

3) Ibid. Abdurahman, Presidential Address, p.2.

4) Ibid. Proceedings, p.10.

5) Ibid. Abdurahman, Presidential Address, p.1.

some advantages for the Coloured pupils.[6] Although the Coloured leaders in the organisation remained extremely sensitive to the discrimination in the Act,[7] Abdurahman acknowledged that the Act contained some benefits for the Coloured people, and he advised them "to pick up such crumbs as might fall from the table" in the attempt to secure better schools for their children.[8] He and the other leaders particularly exhorted them to take the practical step of securing in their areas the fifty Coloured petitioners required by the Act for the establishment of an Undenominational school, although he forewarned them that they would have to be prepared to pay for such schools on the same basis as the European parents.[9] Soon after the passing of the Act he himself made an unsuccessful attempt to have an Undenominational school established.[10] But seventy Coloured parents in Beaconsfield, for example, successfully petitioned the Kimberley School Board for a school, started in July, 1910 in hired buildings with 53 pupils, and limited to Standard Five.[11]

The provisions of the School Board Act, however, brought little immediate advantage to the Coloured pupils. Only in certain School Districts were there some indications of a new line of development, and this hardly satisfied the hopes of the Coloured leaders. In the Cape Division, for example, where the Coloured people constituted fully half of the population and were not exempted from the tax for school purposes, the Coloured leaders

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6) Ibid. Proceedings, p.8.

7) Ibid. Proceedings, p.7.

8) Ibid. Abdurahman, Presidential Address, p.2.

9) Ibid. Proceedings, p.8.

10) Ibid. Proceedings, p.8.

11) J. P. Botma, Die Geskiedenis van die Onderwys in Griekwaland-Wes, 1800 - 1940. p.341.

in the A.P.O. cherished the hope when the Board was established that it would become the agency also for the promotion of schools for the Coloured pupils. But, although they regarded the Board as perhaps among the more liberal in its concern for the welfare of the Coloured pupils, they discovered to their dismay in the first few years of the Board's existence that, while it adequately fulfilled its duty in regard to the European pupils, it did little for the Coloured pupils.[12]

One year after its establishment the Cape School Board had 39 schools for European pupils under its control, with an enrolment of almost 6,000 pupils, and had provided one school for Coloured pupils, which had an enrolment of 266 pupils. Mainly because of the Depression, which followed the passing of the Act, development during the following three or four years was considerably retarded, especially for the Coloured section. By 1910 the number of Coloured pupils under the Board's control had increased to 365 and the number of European pupils had risen to 9,502. After the lifting of the Depression and the introduction of compulsory attendance for the European pupils in 1910, there was quite "exceptional growth" in the enrolment of European pupils, and in the third Quarter of 1912 there were 11,866 European pupils enrolled in schools under the Board. This advancement was reflected to some extent in the increase to 600 in the enrolment of Coloured pupils in the three schools under the Board.[13] The Coloured leaders complained that the Cape School Board spent the money allotted to it to build schools only for the European pupils. They observed in 1912, for example, that it allocated the whole of a grant of £61,200 to the schools for European pupils and, of an estimated

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12) A.P.O., June 1st, 1912. p.p.4, 5.

13) S.G.A. Report, 1912. Report of Inspectors Noake and Craib, Cape Division, p.p.10, 11.

£126,000 still required, the Board intended to spend only £15,000 on schools for Coloured pupils. Enquiries by the Coloured leaders revealed to their bitter disappointment that they would have to wait for further Undenominational schools until every European child had been accommodated.[14]

The progress made in the establishment of Undenominational schools for Coloured pupils in the Cape Division was paralleled only by the Kimberley and Port Elizabeth School Boards, each of which had by 1911 also established three schools. In addition, the Boards of Beaufort West and Knysna had each established an Undenominational school for Coloured pupils, and thus by 1911 only five of the 119 Boards in existence at the time had taken action to provide schools for Coloured pupils.[15] By 1913, of the 87,838 pupils in schools under Boards, only 2,087 were non-European pupils, and these were enrolled in two Second Class schools and eighteen Third Class schools (including schools formerly under the Railway Department), established chiefly in the three major urban areas.[16] Perhaps the most significant feature of this development was that the School Boards of the Cape Division and Kimberley had each by 1910 provided a Second Class school for non-European pupils.[17]

The schools under the control of these five Boards were not always additional schools established by the Boards: in some cases they were Mission schools that had been transferred to them,[18] although some of the Coloured leaders were in favour of the transfer.[19]

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14) A.P.O., June 1st, 1912, p.4.

15) S.G.E. Report, 1911. p.p.2, 3,

16) S.G.E. Report, 1913. p.p.7, 8,.

17) S.G.E. Report, 1910. p.6.

18) A.P.O., July 29th, 1911. p.8.

19) Ibid. August 26th, 1911, "School Boards and Coloured Education", p.6.

The schools were also not always housed in satisfactory buildings: the only Second Class school in Cape Town, which was the highest grade school available for Coloured pupils, was accommodated in a building which the School Board had regarded a few years previously as unfit for a Third Class school for European pupils.[20] In Port Elizabeth the only building actually owned by the Board was described by the Rev. Weis as "a miserable structure", though passable inside, which he thought he would have condemned had he been the Inspector. The remaining buildings under the Board were hired and, although more satisfactory in appearance, their seating accommodation was scandalous. In fact, by comparison, the Rev. Weis thought some of the Mission schools were in a better state than these Undenominational schools.[21] The Second Class school in Kimberley was housed in totally inadequate hired buildings and had no playground.[22]

By 1911 it was evident to the S.G.E. that a considerable section of the European population, represented on the various School Boards, throughout the country, was altogether averse to a system of Undenominational schools for non-European pupils.[23] Judges of the Appellate Division also observed in that year that the question of providing more advanced schools for deserving members of the community had hardly been touched, and that this clearly involved considerable hardship for them.[24] Justice Innes, despite

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20) Ibid., August 19th, 1913, "School Boards and Coloured Education", p.6.

21) Ibid., August 24th, 1912, "Rev. J.C. Weis on Education", p.8.

22) Ibid., March 7th, 1914, "Europeans First", p.9.

23) S.G.E. Report, 1911, p.3.

24) Moller vs Keimoes School Committee and J. M. Bloemerus. 1911 A.D. Justice Innes, p.649; Justice Lawrence, p.652.

his awareness of the undesirability of his expressing an opinion on the wisdom of the policy of the law, nevertheless felt constrained to record his individual view that the provisions of the School Board Act for the education of non-European children seemed inadequate, and to express the hope that the legislature would reconsider the matter. He submitted that, despite the fact that the ordinary Mission schools might not always afford the opportunities Coloured parents could fairly demand, they were greatly handicapped in securing Undenominational schools for their children, since there were obviously many localities in which it would be impossible to find the fifty parents able and willing to apply for such schools.[25]

In the light of this situation the question of policy which faced those interested in the education of the Coloured pupils was whether advancement should be sought through efforts to improve the Mission school system, or through continued attempts to establish Undenominational schools under the provisions of the Act. Although these were not necessarily mutually exclusive alternatives, they led to sharp differences in outlook and policy. The Churches saw the answer rather in the development of the Mission school system through greater financial assistance from the State. Their attitude reflected an acceptance of the status quo: that, at the time, the School Boards had more than enough to do to provide for European children, and had found it impossible to provide for more than a small number of Coloured pupils. They considered it would be more economical to use the Churches rather than the Boards as the agencies for the education of the Coloured pupils, because the teachers in the Mission schools frequently taught for low salaries from religious motives, and it would be less expensive to assist the Churches to expand their work than to require the School Boards to provide all

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25) Ibid. 1911 A.D. Justice Innes, p.649.

the buildings and to take over the Mission schools.[26]

The inaugural Conference of the organised Coloured teachers in 1913[27] revealed differences of opinion on the question whether the Mission school system satisfied the needs of the Coloured people. On the one side, there was the view that it quite definitely did not, or was outdated, at least in the Cape Peninsula. On the other side, there was the view that the Mission schools did good work and satisfied the needs of the majority of the Coloured people, and that the system should be improved rather than abolished.[28] While fully aware of the advantages of Undenominational schools, the organised Coloured teachers, in fact, subsequently sought improvements in the system under which the Mission schools operated.[29]

The section of the Coloured people organised in the A.P.O., while grateful for the part played by the Churches and Missionary Societies in the past, maintained categorically that the "antiquated system of the mission schools" no longer satisfied their needs. They felt strongly that they had now advanced to the stage where they required better schools. In postulating their demands Abdurahman insisted that it was the duty of the State to provide the schools and a system of compulsory education, free for the indigent as in the case of European children.[30] They therefore continued their objection to the discrimination in the School Board Act, and pursued their claim to an equal, if separate, system of Undenominational schools. At their Conference in 1907 they resolved that more Public schools should

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26) A.P.O., April 5th, 1913. "Education of Coloured children": Petition to Parliament, presented to the House of Assembly by H.E.S. Freemantle of Uitenhage and signed by several Ministers of Mission Churches and others", p.7.

27) Vide supra p. 370 et seq.

28) A.P.O., July 12th, 1913. "S.A. Teachers' League", p.8.

29) Ibid. June 27th, 1914. "S.A. Teachers' League. Report of First Conference", p.p.8, 9. Vide infra p.210.

30) Report, Fifth Conference, A.P.O. Oudtshoorn, 1907. Abdurahman, Presidential Address, p.p.1, 2.

be established for Coloured children, with opportunities to obtain free education.[31]

When they were faced with the hard fact that their desire for Undenominational schools was completely ignored by the majority of School Boards, they construed this as evidence of the opposition of a considerable section of the European population to any change in the educational system which was likely to benefit the Coloured people. They expected that the S.G.E., instead of accepting the inevitability of the opposition or the indifference of the Boards, would have reprimanded the recalcitrant Boards for their failure to discharge what they regarded as "one of their most important duties".[32] For they contended that, since the Act provided for both European and Coloured pupils, there was an obligation upon the Boards to promote their interests as well as those of the European pupils.[33] In their view, therefore, the demands of the Coloured people should take the form of an insistence on public rights. And they deprecated the attempts of the Churches to entrench the Mission school system through appeals to the Government for amelioration and relief, and alleged that the Churches were the greatest opponents of Undenominational schools for Coloured pupils and were more anxious to maintain control over their education than to improve facilities.[34]

Embittered by the fact that, while many of the Boards recognised no obligations or duties to the Coloured pupils, the Boards

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31) Ibid. Proceedings, p.p.7, 8, 9.

32) A.P.O., May 13th, 1913, p.7. For the views of the S.G.E. see p.p.207 et seq..

33) Ibid., August 26th, 1911. "School Boards and Coloured Education", p.6; April 19th, 1913, "School Boards and Coloured Education", p.6.

34) Ibid., April 5th, 1913. "Education of Coloured children", p.7.

were spending as much money as was available on the European pupils, the leaders in the A.P.O. admonished their followers for remaining passive while the Boards pursued their "selfish policy".[35] In an effort to influence the Boards they had from an early stage shown an interest in the elections in those constituencies where they were eligible to vote, and had made an attempt in 1909 to encourage Coloured voters in the Cape School Board area to vote for two European candidates.[36] And, since the Boards continued to do little to alter the situation which they found so disappointing, they soon expressed the hope that Coloured persons would themselves be elected to the School Boards.[37] In addition, they exhorted the Coloured parents to force the Boards into action through their petitions, if the Boards did not of their own accord establish schools for their children. To the larger concentrations of Coloured people in places like Paarl, Stellenbosch, Worcester and Oudtshoorn, they held up for emulation the example of the small Coloured community of Knysna which had successfully persuaded the local School Board to open a school for their children, and of the Coloured people of Wellington, who were expecting a Third Class school to be established. But, although they thought that no School Board would dare to refuse a school in the face of a petition, they nevertheless conceded that some of the rural Boards would not be so easily moved.[38]

The School Boards, however, were no more than the administrative agencies created to carry out the policy and procedure laid

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35) Ibid., April 19th, 1913. "School Boards and Coloured Education", p.6.

36) Ibid., August 28th, 1909. "School Board Elections", p.7.

37) Ibid., April 19th, 1913. "School Boards and Coloured Education". p.6.

38) Ibid., August 26th, 1911. "School Boards and Coloured Education", p.6. In 1914, for example, the Coloured people of Umtata presented a petition for a school. Vide A.P.O. August 22nd, 1914, p.3.

down by the School Board Act. In this regard, their responsibilities and duties to the European section were precise and well-defined. But there was in the law no provision for the equality of treatment for which the leaders in the A.P.O. were so clamant in their demands, nor an obligation to meet their wishes for the increased establishment of Undenominational schools. The attitude of the Boards, therefore, was not entirely determined by local prejudice, but arose also from the policy laid down by the Colonial Government and continued by the Provincial Administration.

Sir Frederic de Waal, the Cape Administrator, acknowledged in 1915 that the State had done little for the education of the Coloured children. He ascribed this to the fact that the needs of the European children were much greater than those of the Coloured children, and indicated that until their needs were met the State could be expected to do little for the Coloured children.[39] He informed a representative deputation of Coloured and European citizens of Cape Town in the previous year that he would never encourage the establishment of Undenominational schools for Coloured children because it would be too costly to build such schools for all the Coloured children: he thought that for many years to come their education should be directed by the Churches.[40] He considered this to be in the interests of the Coloured people because under State control they would lose the beneficial effect of the religious influence, and therefore recommended to the Coloured parents that they co-operate fully with the Churches.[41] However,

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39) Ibid., May 29th, 1915, "Nog een Kleurlingen-Opleiding School. Opening door de Administrateur" (Wynberg), p.11.

40) Ibid., March 7th, 1914. "Europeans First", p.9.

41) Ibid., May 29th, 1915. "Nog een Kleurlingen-Opleiding School. Opening door de Administrateur" (Wynberg), p.11.

he was prepared to consider the improvement of those Undenominational schools already established, after accommodation had been provided for every European child.[42] In spite of the less rapid erection of school buildings during the War period, the completion of an Undenominational school building for Coloured pupils in Cape Town was among the six more notable achievements in this direction in 1916.[43]

By 1921, the first year in which separate statistics became available in respect of schools for Native and for Coloured pupils,[44] only 17 of the 413 primary schools for Coloured pupils were Undenominational - either formerly Railway schools now directly under the Department, or under the control of School Boards.[45] Of the 48,309 Coloured pupils at the end of 1922 only 3,675 were in Undenominational schools.[46] These schools had not been established according to any systematic plan, but had merely come into existence when the occasion offered. Viljoen, the S.G.E., therefore questioned the justification for giving the Coloured children of one town a primary school under a Board, while the children of a similar town remained dependent on a Mission school. He accepted that it would not be possible for many years for the Government to undertake the education of the Coloured children to the same extent that it had the education of the European children, and forecast that the state of the country's finances and the urgent call for economy during the post-war Depression would probably for some time to come preclude the

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42) Ibid. March 7th, 1914. "Europeans First", p.9.

43) S.G.E. Report, 1916. p.9.

44) Vide infra p.325.

45) S.G.E. Report, 1921. p.30.

46) S.G.E. Report, 1922. p.33.

establishment by School Boards of additional schools for Coloured pupils.[47] He was, in fact, finding it necessary to answer criticism for alleged extravagance and to justify additional taxation for school purposes.[48] He realised that the period immediately ahead was to be one of "'short commons'", in which the Department was to be content to "pinch and save"[49] and to make every effort to control the educational till.[50]

In 1923 a petition from 103 Coloured diggers and residents of the Alluvial Diamond Diggings, Griqualand West, requesting the establishment of an Undenominational school at Windsorton to replace the existing Mission school was referred to the Executive Committee of the Provincial Council for consideration.[51] And in reply to the question in the Council whether the Executive Committee had considered any scheme for further facilities for Coloured children, the Administrator stated that the matter had engaged the constant attention of the Executive Committee, but owing to the financial conditions it had not been possible for some time to appoint additional teachers or to establish new schools.[52]

The Mission Schools.

At the session of the Cape Parliament at which the School Board

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47) S.G.E. Report, 1921, p.p.30, 31.

48) Ibid. p.34 Vide infra p.247 et seq.

49) Ibid. p.39.

50) S.G.E. Report, 1922. p.29.

51) Records of the Provincial Council, 1923, p.22.

52) Ibid. p.62.

Act was passed the Colonial Secretary introduced amended and additional School Regulations which increased the Grants-in-aid of the salaries of Principals, vice-Principals and assistant-teachers in the various classes of Undenominational schools. In pursuance of the Government's decision that the Mission schools should also make a local contribution to qualify for State grants, provision was made in these Regulations for Grants-in-aid of the salaries of the Principals and assistant-teachers in the Mission schools on the following scale: a grant not exceeding £75 per annum for the Principal and not exceeding £45 for each assistant, but on condition that all grants were supplemented from local sources by an amount calculated at the rate of 10/- for every £1 of grant. In addition, the Regulations allowed that rent grants could be paid to the local School Managers in the case of new buildings for Mission, Training and Industrial schools, erected in accordance with plans approved by the Education Department, vested to the satisfaction of the Department and used in perpetuity for educational purposes only. Such grants were to be calculated at the rate of £2.10.4. per cent per annum (i.e. one half the usual interest and redemption charges on a loan repayable over a period of forty years) on the value of the buildings, and were to cease after forty annual payments had been made.[53]

In the debate on these draft Regulations T. Schreiner, supported by Ormond, attempted in an amendment to secure an increase to £100 and £60 in the maximum grants payable to Principals and assistant-teachers respectively, in order to reduce the disproportion between European and non-European and to raise the Mission

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53) Debates ..... 1905. p.p.3, 4. These maximum grants were equal to one half of those payable to Third Class Undenominational schools under these amended Regulations.

school grants to the amounts payable to Third Class Undenominational schools under the previous Regulations.[54] The Colonial Secretary, however, was unable to accept the amendment, and it was defeated in the Assembly.[55] In an effort to compensate the Churches for their voluntary efforts in the past, Anderson, supported by Bailey and Searle, tried to amend the draft Regulations in a way which would have had the effect of making Mission school buildings already erected also eligible for similar rent grants.[56] Merriman sympathised with this view but raised the question of costs. The Colonial Secretary, however, found it impossible to allow the concession, because he definitely considered the expenditure involved would be too great.[57]

The Depression which retarded the early application of the School Board Act had its effect also on the growth of the Mission schools under the new financial arrangements. During 1907, for example, the number of Mission schools in the Colony proper decreased by eight, although there was an overall increase of 22 schools, the additional ones being established in the Native Territories.[58] There was a serious drop in the enrolment of non-European pupils in the Colony itself, although this was accompanied by an increase of 1,100 pupils over the previous year in the number in actual attendance, causing a rise from 81.19% to 83.54% in the average attendance.[59] In Cape Town five Mission schools were forced to close during the years 1906 - 1907 because of financial difficulties: the school fees paid by the pupils were not sufficient to provide the local contribution towards the salaries of the teachers.[60] After the Depression, however, there was considerable improvement.

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54) Ibid. T. Schreiner, Ormond. p.p.242, 664.

55) Ibid. Crewe. p.664.

56) Ibid. Anderson, Bailey, Searle. p.p.98, 666, 667.

57) Ibid. Merriman, Crewe, p.667.

58) S.G.E. Report, 1907. p.7.

59) Ibid. p.11.

60) Ibid. p.7.

Despite the differences in the systems for European and non-European pupils, the enrolment of non-European pupils over the ten years between 1905 and 1915 increased from 100,786 to 137,238, or by 36%, while the enrolment of European pupils increased from 68,492 to 105,742, or by 54%.[61]

Muir, the S.G.E., concluded in 1911 from the general reluctance of the School Boards to promote the establishment of Undenominational schools for Coloured pupils in anything like a meaningful way, that the onus for their education would probably remain for a long time to come with the Churches and Missionary bodies.[62] His desire to get the children into schools was quite manifest. He regarded efforts in their behalf as of considerable importance to the general community,[63] and their education and training as "no less national in its character" than that of the European children, even though State assistance for them was limited.[64] He therefore welcomed the "laborious and disinterested" efforts of the Churches in filling the breach, and expressed his appreciation of the debt that was owed to them.[65] He gave them full credit for their work, especially for the increasing enrolment of the pupils and the manner in which the schools were conducted, more particularly because the task was carried on in the face of considerable financial difficulty.[66]

In its administration of education over a vast area with a scattered population, the Education Department had always in greater or lesser measure been dependent on local initiative and self-help.

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61) S.G.E. Report, 30th September, 1915. p.9.

62) S.G.E. Report, 1911. p.3.

63) S.G.E. Report, 1914. p.11.

64) Ibid. p.2.

65) S.G.E. Report, 1911. p.3.

66) S.G.E. Reports, 1913. p.9; 1914, p.11.

Even after the passing of the School Board Act, which for the European section largely replaced voluntary effort by the onus of the law, the assistance and co-operation of many individuals and local bodies was still required. There were many persons serving on the School Boards who were working selflessly for the advancement of the education of the European pupils, sacrificing their time and labour with no thought of reward beyond the satisfaction of seeing the neglected children in the schools. Muir attached great value to such collective, voluntary effort. He drew the parallel between the dedication of members of the School Boards and the Managers of Mission schools and, in fact, saw it at its best among the Managers.[67]

In addition, there was the consideration that through the Mission school system responsibility for the education of the non-European children was being undertaken at comparatively low cost to the State.[68] The introduction of the new system for European pupils was naturally accompanied by a marked increase in expenditure because it was not to be expected that the School Boards could seriously undertake their work without a big increase in the cost to the State, as compared with the cost under the former voluntary-guarantee system.[69] Apart from the financial consequences for the State of the introduction of compulsory attendance and the provisions for free education in cases of indigency, much less local financial support was required from the European section than previously.[70] By 1913 the Provincial Administration was paying more than Three Pounds for every Two Pounds locally contributed, with the disparity tending to increase rapidly.[71] The effect of the School Board system was to throw the cost of

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67) S.C.E. Report, 1914. p.2.

68) Ibid. p.11.

69) S.C.E. Report, 1913, p.28.

70) Ibid. p.25.

71) Ibid. p.26.

education more and more as a charge on the central funds.[72] A decade of experience in its administration had shown that the Act could achieve the objective of providing efficient instruction for all the European children of school age if the State provided a subsidy to the extent of about two-thirds of the cost of expansion and development, the remaining third being derived from school fees and local taxation.[73] By 1915 the total cost of the education of a European pupil was £9.7.11., of which the Provincial Administration paid £6.3.10 and the contributions from the local authorities and school fees were respectively 10s.9d. and £2.3.4. On the other hand, the State expenditure on the schools for non-European pupils was just a little above One Pound per pupil.[74]

In a petition to Parliament in 1913 representatives of the Churches complained that, with the small contribution from the Government, the whole of the remainder of the cost, including the cost of the buildings, fell upon them and the parents. They estimated this cost at an average of 10/- per pupil per annum, excluding the cost of the buildings. While in the large centres they sometimes found it possible to defray the current expenditure, they could maintain the schools in the smaller villages only by grants from Church funds. Because of this heavy tax on their resources, they were not only experiencing a growing difficulty in continuing the existing schools but, concerned at the large number of children still outside the schools, they considered it beyond their ability to increase the supply of schools to meet the constantly expanding need. Whether it was to be through them, or through the agency of the School Boards, that development was to take place, they felt strongly the necessity for greater State assistance for the education

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72) S.G.E. Report, 30th June, 1915, p.23.

73) Ibid., p.4.

74) S.G.E. Report, 30th September, 1915, p.9.

of the Coloured pupils.[75]

A similar request was made by the organised Coloured teachers at their Conference in 1914 after the formation of their own organisation in the previous year. They drew comparisons between the circumstances of the Mission schools and those of the more fortunate Undenominational schools. Realising that the major requirement of the Mission schools was increased financial assistance from the State, they considered a proposal that, since the Government neither contributed to the cost of buildings, upkeep and deficits of the Mission schools nor provided free education for Coloured pupils, it should contribute at the increased rate of Fifteen Shillings for every Five Shillings of the local contribution towards salaries, and also to the upkeep of the buildings.[76]

The S.G.E. recognised that it was the very definite State responsibility for educational expenditure in the case of the European pupils which alone permitted continuous development and removed any cause for concern.[77] The "haphazard system" of the past had been replaced by corporate bodies invested with authority by the State to establish schools,[78] and the "condition of difficulty and uncertainty" had been removed for the European section.[79] For the non-European pupils no similar responsibility had been imposed upon the agencies of the State, and the establishment and maintenance of schools for them remained almost wholly dependent on voluntary endeavour and missionary zeal supported in a small way by the State. The S.G.E. regarded the services of the Churches, no

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75) A.P.O. April 5th, 1913. "Petition to Parliament, presented to the House of Assembly by H.E.S. Fremantle of Uitenhage, and signed by several Ministers of Mission Churches and others". p.7.

76) Ibid., June 27th, 1914. "South African Teachers' League. Report of First Conference", p.p.8, 9.

77) S.G.E. Report, 30th June, 1915. p.25.

78) Ibid., p.1.

79) S.G.E. Report, 1914. p.p.5, 6.

less than those undertaken by the School Boards for the European children, as work for which the State was ultimately responsible and, although the position had undoubtedly been improved by the higher rate of Government aid, he realised that improvements in the system for non-European pupils were still to be awaited.[80]

During the period of the War, however, there was once again the "tightness of the money market".[81] The increased cost of living, which naturally affected more adversely the generally lower living standards of the non-European people, reduced their ability to contribute towards the education of their children, and as a result in 1917 there was a decrease of 4,598 in the enrolment.[82] But withal, the one important feature of the Mission school system was the significant increase in the enrolment of pupils: during the twenty-five years from 1892 to 1918 the enrolment of non-European pupils increased from 50,918 to 149,985.[83]

The Administrator made it quite clear that, although the State contributed to the salaries of the teachers, it was precluded from making any direct contribution towards the cost of the buildings, because the schools were denominational.[84] The S.G.E. considered that, whether by way of additional local contributions or further assistance from the State, some improvement in the system of financing the schools for non-European pupils was required, in order to increase the salaries of the teachers.[85] As the War came to

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80) S.G.E. Report, 30th June, 1915. p.25.

81) S.G.E. Report, 1916. p.9.

82) S.G.E. Report, 1917. p.4.

83) S.G.E. Report, 1918. p.14.

84) A.P.O., May 29th, 1915. "Nog een Kleurlingen-Opleiding School. Opening door de Administrateur," p.11.

85) S.G.E. Report, 1918. p.15.

an end improvements were initiated. In the first place, the Education Department was enabled to make grants towards the salaries of the teachers at a higher maximum rate than previously, and upon the more liberal principle of Three Pounds for every One Pound paid to the teacher by the Church authority.[86] In the second place, an increased rent grant of Three Pounds per cent per annum became payable on all buildings erected after 1st April, 1918, provided the plans were approved by the Department and the buildings were set apart and used for educational purposes.[87] Soon after, in 1920, the Administration accepted the obligation to assist in defraying the cost of water, sanitation and cleaning and caretaking services in the schools.[88]

The Introduction of Free Education, 1920.

The rapid enrolment of the European pupils in the Undenominational schools was considerably facilitated by the remission of fees allowed by the School Board Act in cases of indigency. In 1911, for example, of 11,834 European pupils in schools under the Cape School Board no fewer than 1,396 were receiving free education and 627 were paying reduced fees.[89] The Coloured leaders were aware at the time that the indigency of Coloured parents precluded many able pupils from taking advantage of the school facilities being provided, especially in the higher Standards of the better and more expensive Undenominational schools. They therefore urged the

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86) Coloured Educational Institutions Ordinance No. 12 of 1918. Sections 6, 7.

87) Ibid. Sections 8, 9.

88) Coloured and Native Educational Institutions Ordinance No.26 of 1920. Section 15.

89) A.P.O., June 1st, 1912. p.5.

parents to make sacrifices in order to educate their children, because they wished to create their own professional class, especially highly trained teachers; and they thought more would be achieved in this way for the elevation of the community than by any other means.[90] They felt all the more compelled to encourage the parents to help themselves, because of the need to nullify what they regarded as the fixed determination of the Europeans to provide them with only a limited education and so to prevent their social and political advancement.[91] The members of the A.P.O. therefore decided in 1912 to organise financial assistance for the poorer parents through collections and subscriptions and, even though the result was not immediately very successful, there was a satisfactory response from certain areas.[92]

The plight of the indigent parents was to some extent sympathetically considered by the Department and the School Boards which had established Undenominational schools for Coloured pupils. The Coloured leaders had reason to believe that the Cape School Board, for example, was keen to provide Coloured pupils with free education.[93] At the Second Class school in Cape Town, where the fees

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90) Ibid., January 28th, 1911. "Education", p.5; July 29th, 1911, p.9; August 12th, 1911. "The Necessity of Education", Lecture by Harold Cressy, p.9. The Lecturer was the first Coloured person to obtain a university degree at a South African institution. Vide A.P.O. February 11th, 1911, p.6.

91) Ibid., January 28th, 1911. "Education", p.5.

92) Resolution, Ninth A.P.O. Conference, 1912. Vide Abdurahman Papers; A.P.O., October 11th, 1913. Presidential Address, Tenth A.P.O. Conference, 1913, p.10.

93) A.P.O. June 1st, 1912, p.4.

were higher than in a similar school for European pupils and adversely affected the enrolment, the Board, aware of the injustice to the Coloured parents, reduced the fees in 1913 to the level of those for the European pupils.[94] The Kimberley School Board, in considering a resolution of the Uniondale School Board to seek an amendment of the School Board Act to provide free education to Standard IV for pupils in Undenominational schools, discussed the possibility of including the Coloured pupils, although the matter was not pursued.[95] And the Department, as a result of the efforts of the Principal of the Second Class school for Coloured pupils in Kimberley, granted a remission of fees in the case of large families: only the three youngest in each family were compelled to pay fees, and this concession allowed 79 free pupils at the school in 1913.[96] The Department's action, however, did little to satisfy the unequivocal demand for free education for indigent pupils made by the Coloured leaders. For, as they pointed out, it was merely an act of grace and its legality could be questioned by any ratepayer.[97]

In 1914 the Administrator told a deputation of Coloured and European citizens of Kimberley that the stage had not yet been reached at which the question of free education for either European or Coloured pupils could be considered. He indicated, however, that it would be introduced in the near future, but for European pupils only.[98] During the period of the War an increasing dissatisfaction with certain aspects of the school system developed.[99] One of its more

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94) Ibid., March 22nd, 1913. "Trafalgar A2 Public School. Reduction in Fees", p.11.

95) Ibid., August 26th, 1911. "Free Education", p.11.

96) Ibid., November 22nd, 1913. "The New Main Street A2 School. Kimberley", p.9.

97) Ibid. "Compulsory Education not appreciated at Kimberley", p.9.

98) Ibid., April 4th, 1914, p.6.

99) S.G.E. Report, 1918, p.p.18, 19.

important features was the growth of a very marked consensus of opinion in favour of the abolition of school fees and the institution of a system of free education to the Standard of compulsory attendance required of European pupils, although there was also a strong desire among a minority for a parallel system of fee-paying schools.[100] Both groups, however, were agreed that the system which required the payment of fees by primary pupils should be revised, and the political parties vied with one another in including the demand in their appeals and promises to the electorate.[101] Although his personal view was that each School Board wishing to have free education should have a local tax for the purpose, the Administrator, even against his better financial judgment, felt compelled in 1920 to accede[102] because of the unanimous request of the Provincial Council.[103]

Viljoen, the S.G.E., suggested that in any proposal for free primary schools, consideration should be given to the possibility of extending the application of the principle also to the schools for Coloured and Native pupils.[104] Following a Conference of School Inspectors, addressed by the Administrator, at the end of January, 1920, legal provision was made for the free education to Standard VI of all pupils in Undenominational schools, and for the free supply of books and school requisites, with the right of certain schools to remain fee-paying.[105] Because of their special

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100) S.G.E. Report, 1919, p.17.

101) Provincial Finances Commission. U.G. 19 - 1923. Report, p.p.14, 15.

102) Ibid. p.p.14, 15.

103) Records of the Provincial Council, 1920. Administrator's Opening Speech, p.3.

104) S.G.E. Report, 1919, p.17.

105) Education Ordinance No. 27 of 1920. Section 1.

position, closely analagous to that of the Mission schools for Coloured pupils, the full cost of the teachers' salaries and of books and requisites in the White Mission Schools, commonly known as Church Third Class schools, was also to be defrayed by the Department.[106] The principles underlying these provisions were fully extended to the Mission schools for non-European pupils. The maximum salaries of the teachers in Mission schools for Coloured pupils were fixed by law,[107] and the Department accepted responsibility for the full payment of all salaries[108] and the entire cost of books and requisites up to Standard VI,[109] imposing a concomitant obligation upon the Church authorities to provide free education in all such classes.[110]

The introduction of free education, in the words of the S.G.E., was a "landmark in the history of education" and "a most important step in educational development" in the Cape Province.[111] For those in control of the Mission schools, in particular, so long harassed by the inadequacy of State aid, the acceptance by the Department of full responsibility for payment of teachers' salaries was an epoch-making event. It was a welcome boon, and provided them with grateful relief from the burden of securing a local contribution from impoverished Coloured parents as a necessary condition for State assistance.[112]

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106) Ibid. Section 14.

107) Coloured and Native Educational Institutions Ordinance No. 26 of 1920. Section 5. The salary scales caused some dissatisfaction among the teachers. Vide S.G.E. Report, 1920. p.8.

108) Ibid. Section 9.

109) Ibid. Sections 12, 13.

110) Ibid. Section 18.

111) S.G.E. Report, 1920. p.13.

112) Ibid. p.8.

The fact that there was no legal discrimination or differential treatment gained added significance because provision for free education had a special justification in the system of education for the European pupils which was absent in the Mission school system. The S.C.E. held that in a State system of education a school fee was a tax levied on the parent, and if the State compelled the parents to send their children to school and, in addition, threatened them with prosecution if they failed to do so, it was not an unreasonable corollary that the State should abstain from taxing the parent for obeying the law.[113] If education was compulsory, therefore, it was generally agreed that it had of necessity to be free; but if it was not compulsory, as in the case of the non-European pupils, it need not be free.[114] Even the Provincial Finances Commission, which disagreed in 1923 that it followed that because education was compulsory it should also be free, conceded that at least it was desirable that it should be free in as far as it was compulsory, though it saw the real justification only in the difficulty in administering the system with absolute fairness, and in the convenience of collecting the costs from the general taxpayer rather than from the individual parent.[115] For the European pupils, therefore, free education was a matter of administrative principle, or convenience, which did not obtain in the case of the non-European pupils. It therefore stood all the more to the credit of the Provincial authorities that Native and Coloured pupils shared in the benefit.[116] Moreover, the parents having been relieved of the burden of payment, the financial responsibility had naturally

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113) S.G.E. Report, 1921. p.37.

114) S.G.E. Report 1927 - 28. p.10.

115) Provincial Finances Commission, 1923. Report, p.56.

116) S.G.E. Report 1927 - 28. p.48.

to be imposed on others. And in the taxation proposals to meet the expenditure of approximately £275,000 to provide free education, the equitable principle was accepted by the Administrator that the part of the community best able to bear the additional cost should be taxed on broad and fair lines.[117]

The liberal provisions of the law, introduced at a time of some "buoyancy of the revenue",[118] could, however, not be maintained during the period of economic depression that followed. Within two years, the system, which drew no distinction between rich and poor, was by force of circumstances withdrawn in favour of a system which allowed the free supply of books and equipment only to the indigent;[119] and finally allowed a remission to a maximum of 50% of the cost of books and requisites supplied to Mission schools up to Standard VI, i.e., a system which allowed half the books and requisites to be issued to pupils free of charge.[120] Even within these limitations, the reductions in the cost of education were of great benefit to the Coloured parents and their effects were soon evident.

The Problem of Accommodation.

The introduction of free education paradoxically alleviated one difficulty only to aggravate the shortage of accommodation through

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117) Records of the Provincial Council, 1920. Administrator's Opening Speech. p.3.

118) Ibid. Administrator's Opening Speech. p.3.

119) S.C.T. Report 1922, p.37; Education (Supply of Books and Requisites) Ordinance No. 10 of 1922. Sections 1, 2.

120) Special Retrenchment Ordinance No. 14 of 1923. Section 12, as amended by Ordinance No. 25 of 1928. Section 22.

an increased demand for admission, and cause great overcrowding and overloading of the classes.[121] In the years thereafter the Coloured parents generally displayed such a great and growing interest in the education of their children that, even without compulsion, the demand for admission to the schools far exceeded the limits of the available accommodation, and many schools had long waiting lists of children who desired enrolment.[122] In one circuit in the Cape Peninsula in 1925 the classroom space was more or less adequate in only 11 of 55 schools for Coloured pupils.[123] The very heavy strain on the available accommodation was worsened by the fact that many of the buildings were generally unsatisfactory, since nearly all had still been designed not for school but primarily for Church purposes.[124] Often in Cape Town, for example, the buildings were of a very poor description, deficient in ventilation and light, and neither educative nor uplifting in their effects on the pupils.[125]

The pressing need for additional accommodation, and the serious overcrowding and understaffing in the Standards below Standard 4, were reported to the Department by School Inspectors in many

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121) S.G.E. Report, 1920. p.8.

122) S.G.E. Report, 1925. p.24.

123) Ibid. Report of Inspector C.E.Z. Watermeyer, Cape Division No. 3, p.105.

124) S.G.E. Report, 1922. p.33.

125) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of Inspector A. Sinton, Cape Division No. 2, p.114.

areas.[126] It was clear that the extent to which provision was being made for the primary education of Coloured pupils was altogether unsatisfactory. In the Fourth Quarter of 1925 the number of children actually at school represented 40.3% of the Coloured children between 6 and 15 years of age, calculated according to the 1921 Census.[127] Although more than 50,000 pupils had been enrolled, the S.G.E. Regarded the fact that there was probably considerably more than that number still outside the schools as "a disquieting feature of our civic life".[128]

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126) See, for example, S.G.E. Report, 1920. Report of Relieving Inspector, Dr. B. J. Haarhof, who visited two important circuits, p.16; S.G.E. Report, 1922. Reports of Inspector A. L. Charles, Cape Division, No. 1; Inspector J. Craib, Bedford, Cradock, Somerset East; Inspectress L. C. Elton, Port Elizabeth; Inspector C. Hofmeyr, , Malmesbury, Paarl; Inspector P.D. Rousseau, Robertson, Tulbagh, Wellington, Worcester; Inspector A. Sinton, Cape Division No. 2; Inspector G. P. Theron, Caledon, Stellenbosch; Inspector C.E.Z. Watermeyer, Cape Division No. 3, p.p.84, 85, 87, 91, 100, 105, 108, 112; S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Reports of Inspector J. Anders, Calitzdorp, Oudtshoorn; Inspector A. L. Charles, Cape Division No. 1; Inspector J. Craib, Caledon, Stellenbosch; Inspector C. Hofmeyr, , Malmesbury, Paarl; Inspector G. Siddle, Steytlerville Uitenhage; Inspector G. M. Slabbert, Namaqualand, Van Rhynsdorp; Inspector C.E.Z. Watermeyer, Cape Division No. 3, p.p.88, 94, 97, 102, 113, 115, 125.

127) Coloured Education Commission C.P.1 - 1927. Report, p.8.

128) S.G.E. Report, 1925, p.24.

Basically, it was a problem which arose from the difficulty of providing adequate school accommodation according to a system which took small account of the general poverty of the community it was to serve. The Coloured people, and the voluntary agencies which acted in their behalf, were expected to provide the capital amounts to erect or purchase the buildings, without initial assistance from the State, although with some help in the form of rent grants. In many parts of an area such as that around Robertson, Tulbagh, Wellington and Worcester, for example, the Coloured people were too poor to provide the accommodation required without such capital assistance. In the whole area, except for two Mission schools, there was no hope of extension to the others without help from outside, and the difficulties were increased by the high cost of building around 1920. The plain and simple fact was that the Coloured community in the area was too poor to provide suitable and additional accommodation, and the State made no provision for such accommodation. Their needs were great in every direction and deserved immediate and sympathetic consideration.[129] In some parts, nonetheless, the Managers were sometimes exhorted to take steps to improve the conditions under which the pupils were taught.[130]

In the Cape Peninsula the number of available places for new pupils was restricted not only by the limited opportunities for expansion, but also because the pupils already in the schools were tending to remain longer at school.[131] The problem of providing

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129) S.G.E. Reports, 1920, p.26; 1922, p.100; 1923 - 24, p.110; 1924, p.91. Reports of Inspector P.D. Pourreau, Robertson, Tulbagh, Wellington, Worcester.

130) S.G.E. Report, 1922. Report of Inspector H.Z. van der Merwe, Ladismith, Riversdale, p.111.

131) Ibid. Report of Inspector A. L. Charles. Cape Division No. 1, p.84.

additional accommodation in the area had grown to such magnitude that an Inspector of Schools saw small prospect of any improvement under the prevailing regulations and accepted that, while the Churches had done their best to provide accommodation, the problem would not be solved until an extensive building programme was carried out by the State itself. Year after year he reported on the deplorable, unsuitable and inadequate accommodation, not with the object of harassing the Missionary Managers, whom he acknowledged to be nobly and disinterestedly doing their best in the circumstances, but to record what preceded a new system of providing school buildings so urgently needed, and so hopefully anticipated.[132] Another Inspector wished that the machinery existed for the Mission schools to deal as effectively with shortages of accommodation as in the schools established by the School Boards.[133] The task of the Churches and the Coloured people, in the words of the Chief Inspector for Native Education, in another context, was much like the proverbial task of the Israelites of making bricks without straw.[134] And the S.G.E. was convinced in 1925 that, even with the best will in the world, the Churches were unable to cope with the demand for schools in the thickly populated areas.[135]

Within the limits imposed by their circumstances the Coloured people certainly did everything to operate the system as successfully as possible, since in many areas it offered virtually the

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132) S.G.E. Reports, 1922, p.105; 1923 - 24, p.114; 1926, p.79. Reports of Inspector A. Sinton, Cape Division, No.2.

133) S.G.E. Report, 1920. Report of Inspector C.E.Z. van der Merwe, Cape Division, No.3, p.31.

134) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of W.G. Bennie, Chief Inspector for Native Education, p.71.

135) S.G.E. Report, 1925, p.24.

only means of giving their children something of an education. Around 1921 there was evidence of an awakening among them in this regard: it manifested itself in the tone and spirit of the Annual Conference of the Coloured teachers in Paarl in June, 1920, and in the manner in which several Coloured communities responded to appeals from Managers of Mission schools for practical assistance towards the completion of buildings.[136] No matter the often poor results of their efforts, the greatest respect was due to the groups of Coloured people who, even in their poverty, shouldered their responsibilities with great sacrifice.[137] In the small village of Stanford, for example, they collected the necessary funds among themselves and their friends over several years to erect a "quite fine stone building" to house the school previously accommodated in the Church.[138] And at Riversdale, a new Mission school building in a commanding position, opened by the S.G.E. in 1926, was a great credit to the Coloured community.[139]

Although the need for much increased accommodation and additional teachers was a very serious problem, economic conditions during the Depression did not permit the desired expansion of facilities.[140] In fact, the special financial measures adopted resulted in heavy reductions in the staff allowed to all schools.[141] Requests for additional schools and teachers for European pupils

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136) S.G.E. Report, 1921. Report of Inspector C. Hofmeyr, Paarl, Malmesbury, p.60.

137) S.G.E. Report, 1925. Report of Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Robertson, Tulbagh, Wellington, Worcester, p.91.

138) S.G.E. Report, 1922. Report of Inspector G. P. Theron, Caledon, Stellenbosch, p.108.

139) S.G.E. Report, 1926. Report of Inspector S. Boersma, Ladismith, Riversdale, p.55.

140) S.G.E. Report, 1922. p.38.

141) Ibid. p.p.14, 15, 16.

were refused,[142] and they also experienced a serious shortage of accommodation.[143] During the years 1923 - 24 there was a drop of 1,802 in the enrolment of European pupils, instead of the normal increase of between nine and ten thousand pupils.[144] By comparison, however, the understaffing and overcrowding in the Mission schools placed a far heavier load of pupils on each teacher. The average number of European pupils per teacher was half the corresponding figure in the schools for Coloured pupils : 48,309 Coloured pupils were being taught in 1922 by 1,129 teachers - an average of 43 pupils per teacher.[145] And while in extreme cases the average number of pupils per teacher in some schools for European pupils was over fifty, the loads were far greater in some of the schools for Coloured pupils.[146] In one school a teacher was for some months in charge of both Standards II and III with a total of 90 pupils, while two single-teacher schools had enrolments of 89 and 117 pupils respectively.[147] The S.G.E. realised that in this regard the Mission schools were certainly "in a sorry plight".[148] This serious overcrowding and understaffing was one of the more important and most widely prevalent factors in the retardation of the scholastic progress of the pupils. Although, despite the difficulties, the really good work produced in some schools was quite surprising and earned well-deserved praise from the School Inspectors,[149] the standard in the

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142) Ibid. p.53.

143) Ibid. p.p.14, 15, 16.

144) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24, p.55.

145) S.G.E. Report, 1922, p.p.33, 34.

146) Ibid. p.53.

147) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of Inspector J. Anders, Calitzdorp, Oudtshoorn, p.88.

148) S.G.E. Report, 1922, p.p.33, 34.

149) See, for example, S.G.E. Report, 1922. Reports of Inspector J. Anders, Calitzdorp, Oudtshoorn; Inspector C. Hofmeyr, Malmesbury, Paarl, p.p.80, 91; S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of Inspector H.Z. van der Merwe, Ladismith, Riversdale, p.123.

majority of the schools was often not very high and frequently occasioned adverse Inspectorial comment and complaint.[150]

In the absence of adequate accommodation for all the pupils applying for admission, the dilemma of the Managers of the schools was that any refusal of admission meant the denial of education to such children; but any sympathetic approach to their plight led inevitably to further overcrowding and a reduction in the efficiency of the schools. Generally, the majority of those in control of the schools opened their doors quite freely and gave full play to the principle that a less effective education for the many was preferable to a better education for the few. However, after the introduction of free education the Inspectors of schools actively resisted overcrowding.[151] Sometimes they attempted, though not always successfully, to persuade the Managers to limit the enrolments to the numbers which the staff could teach: pupils under the age of eight years were sometimes refused admission in order to provide relief, and those who did not attend regularly were excluded from school.[152] Archdeacon Lavis observed that, whereas twenty years before the schools had sometimes admitted pupils at the age of four years, they were in 1925 refusing children of seven and eight years because of the lack of accommodation. The ages in sub-Standard A in a large Mission school in Cape Town ranged between six and twelve

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150) See, for example, S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Reports of Inspector S. Boersma, Albert, Aliwal North, Herschel; Inspector G. M. Slabbert, Namaqualand, Van Rhynsdorp; Inspector H.Z. van der Merwe, Ladismith, Riversdale. p.p.92, 115, 123.

151) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.8. Vide Abdurahman Papers.

152) S.G.E. Report, 1920. Report of Inspector S.B. Hobson, Britstown, Carnarvon, De Aar, Philipstown, Prieska, Victoria West, p.21.

years, with an average of eight years.[153]

The inadequacy of accommodation had the favourable effect that those who were able to gain admission came to value the privilege highly, because they were fully aware that if they did not take advantage of their opportunities there were others who would gladly take their places;[154] and that, in areas such as Cape Town and Kimberley, irregularity of attendance would almost certainly result in their exclusion from school.[155] In a number of centres there was thus a considerable improvement in attendance.[156] In Circuit No. 1 in Cape Town, for example, as a result of the definite restriction imposed on the admission of pupils, the average enrolment dropped from 6123 in 1919 to 5567 in 1921, and schools which had been so seriously overcrowded that efficient work was in many cases impossible were reduced in size to enrolments which approximated to the available accommodation. The very distinct improvement in the regularity of attendance raised the percentage attendance from 76.6%, in 1919 to 90.5% in 1921.[157] Sometimes, as in the Cape Peninsula, the religious and denominational factor obtruded itself in the selection of pupils for admission, and at various schools the Managers considered it their duty to provide in the first instance for all the children of their own denomination and, in fact, pupils

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153) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.p.9, 10.

154) S.C.E. Report, 1921. p.30.

155) Ibid. Report of Inspector A. L. Charles. Cape Division No. 1, p.56; S.C.E. Report, 1922. Report of Inspector E.J. Spurway, Barkly West, Kimberley. p.106.

156) S.C.E. Report, 1921. p.30.

157) Ibid. Report of Inspector A. L. Charles. Cape Division No. 1. p.56.

of other denominations were ejected to make room for them.[158] In Simonstown, the overcrowding of the local English Church Mission School led to the exclusion of the Moslem children and the community, at great disadvantage to itself, was compelled to start its own school.[159]

These limitations of admission, however, much as they facilitated more effective teaching, had the obvious defect that they tended to aggravate what was the outstanding feature of many of the schools in Cape Town, for example: the ever-widening gap between the available accommodation and the demand for admission.[160] One makeshift arrangement to provide relief was the introduction in Cape Town during 1922 of the "dual-shift" system for the greater part of the school day: the pupils in the youngest group were required to come to school in two sections for a shortened session of three hours each, mornings and afternoons, and for an hour between these sessions all the pupils were combined for singing and drill. In this way additional pupils were provided with places in school, and in one large Mission school situated in a crowded area 100 extra pupils were thus accommodated.[161] But so great was the demand for admission that Archdeacon Lavis thought that even the widespread adoption of the dual session would not relieve the extreme pressure on accommodation.[162] In desperation, some of the unfortunate

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158) S.G.E. Report, 1922. Report of Inspector A. Sinton. Cape Division No. 2. p.105.

159) Records of the Provincial Council, 1923. p.56.

160) S.G.E. Report, 1921. Report of Relieving Inspectress Miss L.C. Elton, Cape Town Circuits I and II. p.58.

161) S.G.E. Report, 1922. p.33; Report of Inspector A.L. Charles. Cape Division No. 1. p.84.

162) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire p.8.

children were forced to attend private schools, two of which in Cape Town accommodated nearly 500 pupils between them under "wretched conditions".[163]

Congestion in the Lower Standards.

It remained one of the more prominent features of the schools for non-European pupils that the overwhelming majority of the pupils were found in the Infant classes and the lower Standards. In 1912, for example, 60% of the pupils were still below Standard I.[164] The S.G.E. considered the position to be most unsatisfactory, since the restricted school life of the pupils limited their education to training in the habits of obedience, cleanliness and general behaviour,[165] and probably the main advantage gained by the pupils was disciplinary.[166] At the end of the First World War nearly 80% of the pupils in the schools were below Standard II and, in fact, many of the schools did not provide for pupils beyond Standard II. The great progress made in the enrolment of pupils was therefore not accompanied by a corresponding increase in the scholastic level reached by the pupils, and the S.G.E. realised that much remained to be done to bring about an improvement in this respect.[167]

The separation of the Coloured and Native pupils after 1920 and the classification of the schools for non-European pupils into the two categories[168] revealed that this feature, common to the schools for non-European pupils as a whole, was equally typical of the two

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163) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of Inspector A.L. Charles. Cape Division No. 1. p.94.

164) S.G.E. Report, 1912. p.32.

165) Ibid. p.32.

166) S.G.E. Report, 1913. p.27.

167) S.G.E. Report, 1918. p.14.

168) Vide Infra p. 325.

separately. In the schools for Native pupils 58.1% of the pupils presented for examination in 1921 were in the sub-Standards.[169] In the schools for Coloured pupils more than half the pupils were usually in the sub-Standard classes: in 1921 58% were in these classes;[170] in 1924, of the 46,153 primary pupils, 24,325, or over 50%, had not reached Standard I,[171] and of the pupils presented for examination in that year no fewer than 89% were in Standard III or below.[172] In 1928 the percentage in the Infant classes was 54%.[173] The situation naturally varied from one area to another. In the Great Karoo circuit no fewer than 70% of the 770 pupils examined in 1920 were classified in the sub-Standards, only eight had reached Standard V, not a single one had reached Standard VI, and not one in five was expected ever to pass Standard II.[174] In an urban area such as Port Elizabeth, on the other hand, a survey in 1923 - 24 of the 2,000 Coloured pupils attending 10 schools, of whom 760 were in schools under the control of the School Board, revealed that 990, or 49.5%, were in the sub-Standards, and 100, or 5% were in Standards V and VI.[175]

Generally speaking, because large numbers of pupils were being brought into the schools for the first time and the majority were leaving at an early stage, the schools were naturally overloaded at the base.[176] But the more specific reasons inside the schools

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169) S.G.E. Report, 1921. Report of W.G. Bennie, Chief Inspector of Native Education. p.47.

170) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. p.43.

171) S.G.E. Report, 1925. p.p.24, 25.

172) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire. p.9.

173) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. p.44.

174) S.G.E. Report, 1920. Report of Inspector S.B. Hobson, Britstown, Carnarvon, De Aar, Philipstown, Prieska, Victoria West, p.21.

175) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of Inspectress L.C. Elton, Port Elizabeth, p.97.

176) S.G.E. Report, 30th June, 1915. p.11.

themselves were interlocked in a complex of factors, which caused serious retardation of the pupils in the Infant classes and adversely affected the rate at which they passed to the Standards. Among the chief of these was the fact that usually the classes in the sub-Standards were grossly overcrowded and far exceeded the number which could be effectively taught,[177] and that the medium of instruction employed often retarded the progress of the pupils.[178] This situation was aggravated by the poor qualifications of the teachers, and by the practice in many of the schools of assigning the least experienced member of the staff to the class known as "the beginners", while the Principal occupied himself with the instruction of a mere handful of pupils in Standards III and IV.[179] The effects of this "dissipation of energy" were well illustrated in Port Elizabeth, where at an inspection only 13 pupils passed Standard VI, although 8 out of 10 schools had attempted work above Standard IV.[180] There was also a tendency in some of the schools to have too many separately graded classes for the sub-Standard pupils, in each of which a pupil was compelled to spend a year. There was an instance of a school in a large town with no fewer than five such classes, and the effect on the rate of progress was obvious: after, say, seven years at the school a pupil would only have reached Standard II, whereas by proper school organisation he might have reached a very much higher Standard.[181]

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177) S.G.E. Report, 1921, p.29.

178) Vide infra p.335 et seq.

179) S.G.E. Report, 1921, p.29.

180) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of Inspectress L.C. Elton, Port Elizabeth, p.97.

181) S.G.E. Report, 1921, p.30.

Because of the extreme inefficiency of the schools and the slow progress of the pupils, it was quite usual in certain areas for the pupils to be kept three or four years in the sub-Standards.[182] The S.G.E. was fully aware that the majority of the already large number of pupils in these classes made little or no progress, and left "after a dreary and disappointing sojourn in the infant school". He hoped the "immense congestion" would be relieved by the necessary improvement, and made some definite arrangements to rectify the fault. He felt strongly that the system, or want of system, as he observed, in the schools where the Principals neglected the interests of the Infant classes should not be tolerated. He instructed that in such schools the upper classes should be temporarily discontinued, and that the Principal should thereafter concentrate his attention on the sub-Standard pupils to speed up their progress into the Standards. It was his injunction that no effort should be spared to maintain a proper proportion of the pupils in the Standards, and that only when this had been achieved, and there was no danger of a relapse, should the Principal be allowed to restore the upper classes.[183]

The School Inspectors took action in their areas. In the North-West Cape, for example, instructions were given to the schools to provide for a more rapid promotion of the older pupils.[184] And in Cape Town there was a drop in the average age of pupils in the different Standards because they had progressed more rapidly through the Sub-Standards.[185]

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182) S.G.E. Report, 1920. Report of Inspector S.B. Hobson, Britstown, Carnarvon, De Aar, Philipstown, Prieska, Victoria West, p.21.

183) S.G.E. Report, 1921. p.p.29, 30.

184) S.G.E. Report, 1922. Report of Inspector S. Boersma, Namaqualand, Van Rhynsdorp, p.82.

185) S.G.E. Report, 1920. Report of Inspector A. L. Charles. Division No. 1. p.19.

The teachers began to realise the serious consequences of retardation in the sub-Standards, and the percentage of pupils in the Standards present at an inspection increased from 43.5% in 1919 to 62.4% in 1921.[186] But although the special efforts of the Inspectors, particularly in the urban areas, were not without some success, the weakness remained as an almost chronic fault of the Mission schools particularly. Thus at the end of 1928, the S.G.E. once again appealed to the Managers and teachers to do what they could to assist, because those unduly retarded inside the schools denied places to the large numbers clamouring for admission and, in addition, there was the great need in itself to give the pupils a more advanced education in the upper Standards.[187]

The Upper Primary Standards.

While the generally superior social and economic circumstances of the European parents tended, even before the effect of the School Board Act was felt, to raise the level of the Standards reached by the European pupils, the circumstances of the majority of the non-European parents was inclined rather to limit the provision of better facilities for their children. There had not been a widespread demand for schools providing instruction beyond or even up to Standard V; and, although there was no Departmental regulation, as in the case of the Aborigines' schools, which restricted the level of education provided in the Mission schools to Standard V, they were in practice limited to that Standard and below.[188] However, at the beginning

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186) S.G.E. Report, 1921. Report of Inspector A. L. Charles. Cape Division. No. 1. p.56.

187) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. p.43.

188) S.G.E. Report, 1906. p.p.8, 9. 40% of the European pupils attended schools which were more than elementary in character. Vide S.G.E. Report, 1906. p.8.

of the twentieth century an increase in the number of non-European pupils who were reaching the upper Standards of the Primary schools was being revealed: whereas in 1896, the first year for which such statistics were available, only 223 pupils in an enrolment of 64,159 were in Standard V and only 4 in Standard VI, the numbers in these Standards had grown ten years later to 1,687 and 640 respectively.[189] By 1911 there was "a considerable sprinkling" of Mission schools which had classes up to the Sixth Standard, and their importance was naturally enhanced by the fact that Standard VI was the admission standard to the pupil-teacher course.[190]

The S.G.E. welcomed these indications of a new development. But while, after the introduction of compulsion in the various School Board Districts, the most important feature generally in regard to the attainment of the European pupils around 1912 was the growth in the numbers continuing at school beyond Standard IV, the S.G.E. realised that the increase in the number of non-European pupils in the upper Standards was "not nearly so pleasing".[191] Between the years 1895 and 1914 the percentage of pupils in Standard V and above in the Mission schools increased from 0.30 to 2.40, but naturally the fact that the advance in enrolment occurred mainly at the lower rungs of the school ladder served to depress rather than raise the proportion which these upper-Standard pupils formed of the whole.[192] In 1915, although approximately 73% of the European pupils remained at school

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189) Ibid. p.17. The figures are for pupils in both the Mission and Aborigines' schools. No separate statistics for Coloured pupils were kept at the time.

190) S.G.E. Report, 1911. p.8. Vide infra p.362 et seq.

191) S.G.E. Report, 1912. p.32.

192) S.G.E. Report, 30th June, 1915. p.p.10,11.

after Standard IV, not quite 20% of the non-European pupils remained after that Standard.[193] With the periodical raising of the upper limit of compulsion for European pupils, there followed a more or less even distribution of pupils from the sub-Standards to Standard VI, and the problem of consolidating the holding power of the Primary schools was thus virtually solved.[194] But the problem of lifting more non-European pupils into the upper primary standards still required a solution.

One possible remedy, supported by the S.G.E. and subsequently to become an important matter of policy inside the Mission school system, was an alteration in the form of organisation and control of certain schools to allow of the joint establishment by different Churches of separate schools limited to the upper Standards. Four Missionary Superintendents in Grahamstown, after consultation with the Inspector of Schools, had agreed around 1906 to the establishment of such a new higher-grade school, under their joint control, to which would be admitted the pupils from the lower Standards of the other Mission schools. The experiment had worked successfully, and the S.G.E. considered it could be tried in the more densely populated centres as a means of raising the standard of education provided by the Mission schools.[195] The Coloured leaders also saw the advantages of such "Higher Mission" schools established by interdenominational co-operation and, in the light of their experience of the indifference of many of the School Boards, they recommended that the Coloured people give their active support to the organisation of schools of this type in those places where the establishment of Third Class

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193) S.G.E. Report, 30th September, 1915. p.p.4, 5.

194) Vide infra pp.282, 283.

195) S.G.E. Report, 1906. p.9.

schools by the Boards proved difficult.[196]

The efforts in this direction, however, had little immediate practical effect, and by 1914 the Churches had combined in only one or two instances to secure the centralisation of upper Standard facilities. For, although the S.G.E. thought that in the larger towns agreement among the Churches to establish these schools for children of all denominations should not be impossible, and would have the advantage of greater efficiency at lower cost to the Churches concerned, the application of the policy did not prove easy because of the difficulty of obtaining agreement among the School Managers. The S.G.E. regretted this all the more because a small number of pupils above Standard IV in a school was calculated to engage too much of the Principal's time, to the prejudice of the larger number of children in the lower Standards.[197] Inspectors of Schools, however, emphasised the need to make the education of the pupils in the higher Standards more efficient through some form of centralisation,[198] and possible schemes of amalgamation through interdenominational co-operation continued to receive their attention.[199] Where, as a result of the centralising of the pupils in Standards V and VI, the increase in the numbers in the same school allowed a teacher to be provided for each Standard, the work in these classes became much more effective.[200]

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196) A.P.O. August 26th, 1911. "School Boards and Coloured Education". p.6.

197) S.G.E. Report, 1914. p.12.

198) S.G.E. Report, 1920. Report of Inspector A.L. Charles, Cape Division No. 1. p.19.

199) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of Inspector C. Hofmeyr, Malmesbury, Paarl. p.102.

200) S.G.E. Report, 1921. Report of Relieving Inspectress Miss L. C. Elton, Cape Town Circuits Nos. I and II. p.58.

By 1921 it had been found possible to secure the co-operation among the Churches controlling schools for Coloured pupils in several areas,[201] although by 1924 only 16 of the 423 Mission schools were under Interdenominational Management.[202] In Paarl, for example, it was found possible through the healthy spirit of co-operation between the heads of the local Churches and the Principals of the various Mission schools to attempt to bring about an improvement in the organisation and quality of the work in Standards V and VI by establishing a centralised Mission school for all the pupils above Standard IV.[203]

Besides individual Managers who considered the joint control of the Mission schools to be highly desirable,[204] the policy of amalgamation and the grading of schools received qualified official support from the English Church, the most representative Religious body in the field. Its Provincial Missionary Conference, held in Grahamstown in 1923, and representing the Church throughout South Africa, called upon its local Churches to give earnest and generous consideration to proposals for amalgamation in the country districts, recommending that "the spirit of reasonable compromise" should be shown when it was clear that co-operation in a system of graded schools would benefit the pupils. The Conference considered it a sacrifice which the Churches might fairly be expected to make in order to secure the continuation of the Mission school system with the full co-operation of the State and the confidence of the parents.[205]

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201) Ibid., [illegible] p.31.

202) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Classification of Coloured Schools according to Denomination, 1924. Vide Abdurahman Papers.

203) S.G.E. Report, 1925. Report of Inspector C. Hofmeyr, Malmesbury, Paarl, p.81.

204) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. W. H. Lloyd, Manager, Congregational B. Schools, Paarl. Vide Abdurahman Papers.

205) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.3.

The main stumbling block in the way of the success of the policy, however, was denominational rivalry and discord. The provision of buildings was also not an easy matter for the Churches concerned. And at a time when special emphasis was being placed on the practical side of the education of Coloured pupils,[206] the Churches could not, for example, provide facilities for handwork for both boys and girls. In 1921, therefore, the S.G.E. indicated a new direction of policy which, although not replacing efforts to secure co-operation among the Churches, could provide an alternative in certain areas. He suggested a special function for the Undenominational schools similar to that envisaged for them by the Colonial Secretary sixteen years previously: that since co-operation among the Churches proved difficult and the extent to which Undenominational schools would be provided was being limited, the best purpose which they could serve would be as "higher Standard" schools. He considered the intervention of School Boards towards this end would be useful.[207]

An Inspector of Schools in Cape Town considered that such a definite delimitation of the different functions of the Undenominational and the Mission schools would offer a workable arrangement in the area, and would have the further advantage of restricting the immediate responsibilities of the State "within reasonable limits". He had reason to believe that many of the Managers would be in favour of the scheme.[208] Archdeacon Lavis, for example, agreed that certain schools in urban areas, unable to manage the higher Standard work, should send pupils above, say, Standard IV to central Undenominational schools or schools of the same denomination.[209] In those

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206) Vide Infra p. 352 et seq.

207) S.G.E. Report, 1921. p.31.

208) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of Inspector A. L. Charles. Cape Division, No. 1. p.94.

209) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.3.

areas where the School Boards had always shown an interest, they took the opportunity to co-operate in the policy. The Cape School Board in 1925 purchased a property in Claremont to establish a new school to house the pupils in the higher Standards of the surrounding primary schools.[210] And, as the result of the completion of a new school for European pupils, in the same year all the upper Standards of the neighbouring Undenominational schools for Coloured pupils in the central area of Cape Town, totalling almost 400 in Standards IV to VI, were concentrated in a school vacated by the European pupils, and the pupils could be provided with facilities for instruction in Woodwork and Domestic Science.[211] In Port Elizabeth, as a result of the co-operation between the School Board and the various Mission schools, all the pupils above Standard IV were centralised in certain schools, to the advantage of both the pupils and the teachers of the smaller schools.[212]

The co-operation of the Churches was not, however, always easily secured by the School Boards. In Cape Town, where Undenominational and Mission schools were found close to one another, the termination of the "divided authority" for the upper Standards was hampered by the absence of a definite Departmental delimitation of function between the two types of schools. While the highest Standards offered by many of the Mission schools were curtailed without mandatory authority, some of the older Mission schools were found to be unwilling to surrender their upper classes.[213] The success of

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210) S.G.E. Report, 1925. Report of Inspector A. Sinton. Cape Division. No. 2. p.96.

211) Ibid. Report of Inspector A.L. Charles. Cape Division. No. 1. p.74.

212) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of Inspectress L. C. Elton, Port Elizabeth. p.97.

213) Ibid. Report of Inspector A. L. Charles. Cape Division. No. 1. p.94.

of the policy, therefore, remained dependent on negotiation and co-operation between School Boards and Churches. But it continued as a matter of Departmental policy that in a thickly populated area with a number of Mission schools they could be restricted to Standards III or IV, and the higher primary classes be provided by an Undenominational school where the establishment of such a school was sanctioned by the Department.[214]

The problem of lengthening the school life of the pupils was considerably aggravated by the general poverty of their parents, which was certainly the most widespread reason around 1925 for the pupils leaving before passing Standard IV.[215] In addition to the cost of keeping the children at school, there was the often compelling need to use the children in large families as early as possible to augment the small family income, and therefore to submit all the easier to pressure from employers, who sometimes made service by both parents and children a condition of tenancy on the farms.[216] This tendency among the parents to remove the children from the schools into employment was encouraged by the fact that the pupils were often of an employable age before they reached Standard IV, since they started school at a late age.[217]

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214) S.G.R. Report, 1929 p.24.

215) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.p.9, 10; Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, P.C. Goodman, Cradock; Rev. W. E. Morgan, Congregational Union, Maritzburg; S.G. Maurice, Secretary, Juvenile Affairs Board (Coloured); Inspector G. Anders; Inspector P. D. Rosseau, Tulbagh; Eerwaaarde S. J. Malan; H. W. Heaman, Secretary, Joint Meeting A.P.O., Kimberley Branch of Teachers' League, Africander National Bond; Rev. C. Earp Jones, E.C.B. School, Paarl; J.N.L. Vink, Chairman, Mafeking School Board.

216) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Tulbagh.

217) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.9.

Beyond the fact that their progress through the Standards was retarded by other factors which adversely affected the efficiency of the schools, the pupils themselves sometimes lacked the incentive and desire to learn.[218] They were sometimes very dull and often left school because they made no progress.[219] In addition, parental ignorance, neglect and indifference, and a failure to appreciate the value of education, were often apparent.[220] Even where the facilities in the upper Standards were available, the parents did not always take full advantage of them, and even promising pupils were withdrawn;[221] and it seemed sometimes from the small numbers in the upper Standards that the schools were not always really appreciated by the parents.[222] The effect of this apathy was increased because no special care was taken at certain schools which stopped at Standard III or IV to urge the parents to seek admission elsewhere.[223]

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218) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Eerwaarde S.J. Malan.

219) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire. Inspector P.D. Rousseau, Tulbagh.

220) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.9; Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, P.C. Goodman, Cradock; Rev. W. E. Morgan, Congregational Union, Maritzburg; S. G. Maurice, Secretary, Juvenile Affairs Board (Coloured); Inspector G. Anders; Eerwaarde S. J. Malan; H. W. Meaman, Secretary, Joint Meeting A.P.O., Kimberley Branch of Teachers' League, Africander National Bond.

221) S.G.E. Report, 1922. Report of Inspector J. Anders, Calitzdorp, Oudtshoorn, p.80.

222) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of Inspector W. Freeman, East London, Komgha, Stutterheim, p.99.

223) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.9.

In certain areas, such as Port Elizabeth, the Coloured parents, in spite of unemployment and poverty, showed a creditable eagerness to keep their children at school, and the numbers in the upper Standards were increasing from year to year.[224] But, as a whole, the percentage which the pupils in Standards V and VI formed of the total enrolment remained exceedingly small. Of the 46,153 primary pupils in 1924, 31,127 or 67% were in the sub-Standards and Standard I, and only 1,223 were in Standard V and 671 in Standard VI. Although in some parts the period spent at school was somewhat longer, the school life around 1925 of the average Coloured child who gained admission to a school extended with good fortune to three or four years. This was a "disquieting" picture, and the S.G.E. fully realised that the Coloured pupils were being given a very inadequate equipment for life.[225]

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224) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of Inspectress L. C. Elton, Port Elizabeth, p.113.

225) S.G.E. Report, 1925. p.24.

CHAPTER VI.

ATTEMPTS AT IMPROVEMENT OF THE PRIMARY SCHOOL SYSTEM, 1925 - 1940.

Special Assistance after the Depression.

In an investigation in 1920 into the requirements of the system of education for Coloured pupils, as distinct from that for European and Native pupils,[1] C.E.Z. Watermeyer, Inspector of Schools, reported to the S.G.E. that the view of those best qualified to judge was quite definitely that, however much they welcomed the proposals for Free Education, the State was still not shouldering its fair share of the financial burden. The Churches, for example, were insistent that, besides paying the full salaries of the teachers and providing the books and requisites for the pupils, the State should also provide for the accommodation. They did not envisage that this should immediately be done in the form of a vast building programme undertaken by the State itself, but rather by way of the system of payment of rent grants for Church buildings used as schools. Watermeyer did not, however, completely exclude the possibility of the State assuming full responsibility for the schools, although he thought in any such undertaking the number of Second and Third Class Undenominational schools would be comparatively small at the beginning since they were immediately required only in the more populous and advanced areas. But he considered that, if the State decided to accept the responsibility, the Churches could not continue to lay a claim to the same powers of control over the schools.[2]

The S.G.E. accepted that, rightly or wrongly, the lead in

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1) Vide infra p.p 325, 326.

2) C.E.Z. Watermeyer, Inspector of Schools, Report "Coloured Education", 15th March, 1920. Vide S.G.E. Report, 1919. p.107.

educational matters rested with the Department.[3] He was fully alive to the "early and serious attention" which the education of the Coloured children required and, especially since he considered it wiser for the State to invest its money in schools than in prisons and reformatories, he emphasised that the urgency of the claims of the Coloured parents deserved "the most careful and sympathetic consideration".[4] While he appreciated that further action by the School Boards was precluded by the post-War Depression, he thought careful consideration should be given in the interim to the next step on the road towards improvement.[5] The chief requirement was additional money. He estimated in 1922 that £4,500 was immediately needed to establish new schools; that, even without adequately staffing the schools, at least £8,000 would be required to provide additional teachers; and that a total of approximately £40,000 was necessary to bring about the much-needed relief in the system of schools for Coloured pupils.[6]

The S.G.E. anticipated, however, that the fulfilment of these minimum requirements would be hampered by two important considerations. Firstly, in view of the policy of appointing Coloured teachers in schools for Coloured pupils,[7] the provision of further teachers would be made practically impossible by the shortage of qualified Coloured teachers. Secondly, during a period when available money for the education of all pupils was strictly limited, he realised that the

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3) S.G.E. Report, 1922. p.2.

4) Ibid. p.p.33, 34.

5) S.G.E. Report, 1921. p.31.

6) S.G.E. Report, 1922. p.34. A further £800 was immediately required for the new Sick Leave regulations for Coloured teachers. Vide S.G.E. Report, 1922. p.34.

7) Vide infra p.37 et seq..

prospects of improving conditions for the Coloured pupils could only be regarded as remote when thousands of European children could not be given even a primary education.[8]

As the clouds of the Depression lifted, the Education Department was given full authority to approve the establishment of new schools for European pupils wherever they were required.[9] And the Government made an advance to the Administration of £12,000 for the improvement of facilities for Coloured pupils - less than one-third of the amount estimated by the S.G.E. as required to provide "a reasonable measure of relief". A small Committee of three Members of the Provincial Council, including Abdurahman, was appointed to advise the Administration on the allocation of these funds. It recommended that part was to be used for assisting immediately twenty of the more urgent applications for new schools, and to assist in the appointment of forty-five additional teachers where the demands were most clamant. But, although the extra money enabled the Department to take "an important step forward", immediate progress, as anticipated by the S.G.E., was hampered by the shortage of teachers and accommodation.[10] Where the Department was prepared to increase the staffs of schools this was precluded by the lack of the necessary classroom space.[11] Nevertheless, the number of schools increased by 31 during 1925 and the enrolment by more than 3,000.[12]

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8) S.G.E. Report, 1922. p.34.

9) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. p.7.

10) Ibid. p.p.45, 46; Records of the Provincial Council, 1923. p.156.

11) S.G.E. Report, 1925. Report of Inspector C. E. Z. Watermeyer, Cape Division. No. 3. p.105.

12) Ibid. p.23.

The Provincial Committee also recommended the adoption of an important new principle in the financing of Mission schools in order to assist them in the provision of additional accommodation. Its recommendation was implemented in a regulation which empowered the Provincial Administration, in any Municipal or Village Management Board area, to pay rent grants on the Pound for Pound basis on any additional school buildings hired by the Manager wherever the existing accommodation was certified by the S.C.E. to be insufficient to meet the needs of the school, provided funds were made available by the Provincial Council.[13] The S.G.E. considered assistance along these lines to be long overdue and thought it would do much to help the schools.[14] These interim steps towards improvement, welcome in themselves, could not, however, provide an effective solution. The inadequacies and weaknesses of the system were obvious enough and, in the final analysis, all further improvements were consequent upon a fixed and more generous financial arrangement.

Provincial Allocation of Funds.

The marked difference in the progress made in the provision of primary education for European and Coloured pupils, respectively, arose directly from the implementation of the principle inherent in the School Board Act, which became part of State policy after Union: that every European child had to receive a certain minimum of education.[15] There was no corresponding obligation in the case of the Coloured children. The South Africa Act of 1909 provided that the Province would continue the responsibility of the former Colonial Government

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13) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Government Proclamation No. 227. of 1923. p.45.

14) Ibid. p.46.

15) Provincial Finances Commission, 1923. U.G. 19 - 1923. Report, p.56.

for education, excluding higher education.[16] Although provision was made for the possibility of an alteration in this arrangement after a period of five years,[17] the Province in fact continued to control primary and secondary education. In the exercise of this authority the Provincial Council was to all intents and purposes an original legislative body, and within the scope of its stated authority it had plenary powers, provided it did not exercise them in a manner repugnant to Parliament.[18] The fact that its legislation might be unwise or unjust or unreasonable, or discriminate between classes of the community, gave no right of judicial interference. Within its sphere of jurisdiction the Council therefore possessed "very great power of inflicting injustice and of discriminating unfairly against different sections of the community", without fear of the propriety or expediency of its acts being challenged.[19]

Its connection with, and dependence on, the Central Government was secured in various ways. The Administrator, as the chief executive officer of the Province, was appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council.[20] He was therefore an officer of the Government who was to some extent responsible to it, though this did not necessarily ensure complete continuity of policy. He had to recommend or introduce all money or Appropriation Ordinances, and in the field of finance the Central Government was quite definitely interested.[21] To a very great extent the Government prescribed the ambit of Provincial resources, and the Provincial Administration therefore remained greatly dependent on it

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16) The South Africa Act, 1909. Section 85 (III).

17) Ibid. Section 85 (III).

18) Kennedy and Schlosberg, The Law and Custom of the South African Constitution, 1935. Oxford University Press, p.p.259, 260.

19) Ibid. p.p.266, 267.

20) The South Africa Act, 1909. Section 68(1).

21) Kennedy and Schlosberg, op.cit., p.p.316, 317.

for financial assistance. Their relations in this respect were regulated by a series of Financial Relations Acts, and under these laws the Central Government from 1st April, 1913 until 31st March, 1925 contributed an annual Subsidy amounting, broadly speaking, to one half of the ordinary expenditure of the Administration for the year, though the grant was curtailed in 1921.[22]

Within the limits imposed by this constitutional and financial framework, the allocation of available funds by the Provincial authorities revealed a duality of approach to the needs of the European and Coloured sections, which resulted in a great disparity in the measure of financial assistance towards their education. The differences in the two systems allowed buildings, equipment and more highly paid teachers for both primary and secondary education for the European pupils, and limited financial aid for a restricted primary education and a small measure of secondary education for the Coloured pupils. The comparative costs of educating European and Coloured pupils in 1922 were respectively £15.16 and £3.34.[23]

The investigation conducted by the Provincial Finances Commission in 1923, inter alia, into the ways in which the Provincial Administration could effect economies[24] led to the warning that, without in any way minimising the value of education, it was necessary for those responsible for educational expenditure to maintain constant vigilance and not to justify expenditure merely because it was for educational services.[25] The enquiry revealed that, during the period 1913 - 1923, the increases in the expenditure on European pupils was out of

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22) Ibid. p.284.

23) S.G.E. Report, 1922, p.40. The figure for the European pupils included the general administration expenditure of the Education Department.

24) Provincial Finances Commission, 1923. Terms of Reference.

25) Ibid. Report, p.13.

proportion to the increases in population and school enrolment and that the expenditure per pupil was alarming.[26] The Commission felt that expenditure could be reduced in several aspects of the system for European pupils: for example, in the secondary schools,[27] in the emoluments of the teachers,[28] and in the administration of the School Boards.[29] In contrast, the Commission found that in the system for Coloured pupils no economy was possible, except in minor matters. Rather, the evidence showed convincingly that the expenditure upon the education of the Coloured children was "entirely inadequate": the salaries of the teachers were much too low and the general provision of educational facilities for them left much to be desired. The Commission therefore regarded it as imperative that immediate steps should be taken to introduce the necessary improvements.[30]

The Report of the Commission received a great deal of attention. The S.G.E. held that the belief that the Cape system had been condemned by the Commission for its extravagance was at variance with the facts,[31] and he defended the Administration against the "wild allegations of waste".[32] He submitted that the suggested saving of approximately £75,000 per annum on the expenditure for European pupils might be regarded as cancelling in a sense the shortfall in the expenditure on Native pupils and the suggested increase of

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26) Ibid. Report, p.18.

27) Ibid. Report, p.27.

28) Ibid. Report, p.36.

29) Ibid. Report, p.p.51, 52, 59.

30) Ibid. Report, p.41. The Commission regarded the amount that had been spent on Native pupils as also inadequate. Ibid, Report, p.41.

31) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. p.51.

32) Ibid. p.53.

£63,147 on the Coloured pupils. In fact, he concluded, after calculations based on the investigation, that the Administration had actually spent £7,000 per annum too little. But he admitted that the proposal was for a "rearrangement" of the Provincial finances: For a "trifling decrease" in the expenditure on European pupils and an increase of greater size in the expenditure on Native and Coloured pupils.[33]

The Subsidy, 1925.

The Commission found that the payment of a Subsidy to the Provinces on the Pound for Pound basis was thoroughly unsound and generally indefensible.[34] It recommended to the Central Government that it should be replaced by a more valid principle of State assistance to the Provinces: that services of purely local advantage should be paid for by the local people, and that services both of local and of national interest should be paid for partly by the local people and partly by the Central Government. The Commission accepted that education was a matter of national and not provincial importance, and it therefore proposed that the Subsidy from the Central Government should take the form of a grant-in-aid of education, to be determined by the number of pupils in average attendance. Such a system would provide a satisfactory basis for expansion, because the Subsidy would increase as the number of pupils increased.[35]

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33) Ibid. p.p.52, 53, 54.

34) Provincial Finances Commission, 1923. Report, p.p.3, 4,.

35) Ibid. Report, p.p.58, 59.

In the practical application of this new principle the policy of differentiation was to be firmly entrenched. For the rates of the grants per pupil were to vary according to the different categories, European, Coloured and Native,[36] into which the pupils were separated in the schools. Although the Commission conceded that it would have been more satisfactory to determine first the precise limits of the State's responsibility in respect of education, and then to fix the Subsidy in the light of accepted principles, it found it necessary to determine the differing grants per pupil in accordance with the actual facts of educational expenditure available. It considered Fourteen Pounds was a reasonably accurate figure of the cost per European pupil, based on the normal expenditure for 1921 - 22 and allowing for economies.[37] In the case of the Coloured pupils, the Commission recommended an increase from the net cost of £3.5.2., excluding the cost of inspection, to an amount of Five Guineas per pupil, in order to allow a 50% increase in the salaries of the Coloured teachers.[38] This differential Subsidy, given the effect of law by Parliament in 1925,[39] clearly precluded any prospect of equality of treatment for European and Coloured pupils, except in so far as the Provincial Administration was prepared to make the adjustment from its own revenue to narrow or eliminate the gap. But it assured an annual amount of money according to the average attendance of Coloured pupils and secured for the Administration the progressive increase

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36) Ibid. Report p.58.

37) Ibid. Report p.p.60, 62. The figures were somewhat higher for the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

38) Ibid. Report p.64.

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

in the amount, in proportion as it was willing and able to establish schools and thus increase the attendance.

To what extent these Subsidy provisions would facilitate the solution of the manifold problems was a question for the future. But it seemed quite evident that the restricting effect of the Subsidy would limit development in certain spheres. The Cape Times declared that the Five Guineas was hardly adequate for all that was to be achieved.[40] And the Administrator informed a deputation from a Conference of the A.P.O. that it would go a long way towards providing the necessary schools.[41] One immediate consequence was that the Administration was able to increase, to a maximum of Five per cent, the rent grants payable on the cost of all buildings erected or purchased by the Churches after 1st April, 1918, and on additions or alterations made after 1925.[42] But in reply to the question whether this increase, and the arrangement for the payment of grants towards the rent of hired buildings, was adequate to enable sufficient accommodation to be provided for all the Coloured children of school-going age,[43] the consensus of opinion among the Managers of schools and other interested persons was very early overwhelmingly in the negative.[44]

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40) Cape Times, 5th October, 1925 "Coloured Education".

41) Cape Argus, 13th April, 1926.

42) Education Amendment Ordinance No. 23 of 1925. Section 10. Promulgated 3rd July, 1925.

43) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Department of Public Education, Cape Town. Circular, 21st September, 1925. Question 12. Vide Abdurahman Papers.

44) Ibid. Replies to Questionnaire: 47 of 55 replies were in the negative. Vide Abdurahman Papers.

The Entrenchment of the Mission School System, 1925.

The S.G.E. felt that the time had undoubtedly arrived to formulate a definite policy in regard to the development of a system which would give education to the new generation of Coloured pupils.[45] Hopes for a change were anticipated by many: indeed, when it seemed that an alteration in the agency ultimately responsible for the provision of buildings might be expected, the shortage of accommodation was aggravated because some of the Church authorities became hesitant to embark on much-needed schemes of expansion.[46] However, in a very real sense, the answer to the question whether the new Subsidy arrangements would give birth to an effective agency for the establishment of schools wherever required was directly related to what remained a pertinent, if controversial, issue: whether the means to achieve the end was to be found in the modification and improvement of the Mission school system, or whether it was to be replaced or supplemented by another system.

By 1925 the system had been officially recognised for more than eighty years and had become firmly entrenched and rooted in the country. Its ramifications were spread throughout the religious, educational, social and political life of the Coloured people. There were scores of Ministers who combined clerical and managerial vocations, and found the joint occupations mutually beneficial to their influence and prestige in the community. There were hundreds of Coloured teachers, specially trained for the operation of the system, who owed their advancement in life and the positions they occupied to the opportunities and openings offered by the system. The Churches, at great sacrifice

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45) S.G.E. Report, 1925. p.25.

46) Ibid. Report of Inspector C.E.Z. Watermeyer, Cape Division No. 3. p.105.

to themselves and their impoverished congregations, had invested their limited money in buildings and improvements, and had often at some risk pledged themselves for the repayment of capital sums advanced by outside bodies. Under their leadership, the local communities of Coloured people had loyally co-operated and contributed to erect what the State did not provide, and had naturally in the process developed a personal attachment to their schools and a pride in ownership and achievement, arising from the close and intimate bond of identification. Apart from their normal use, the school buildings had come to play a vital and meaningful role in the lives of the Coloured people: they were the venues for the parochial concerts and bazaars to raise the much needed money; for the tea-parties and prayer meetings; and served as a pivot, associated as they were with the Church, in the whole round of communal activities. Whatever its shortcomings, the system which created the schools, if not already, was certainly well on its way to being institutionalised in the life of the Coloured people.

The question whether the Mission school system should continue, directed to all Managers of schools for Coloured pupils and other interested persons by the Coloured Education Commission appointed by the Provincial Administration in 1925,[47] evoked a considerable divergence of opinion.[48] But the majority, constituting more than two-thirds of those whose opinions were recorded, were opposed, explicitly or implicitly, to the termination of the denominational agency.[49] The attitude of the Churches was quite evident. To

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47) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Circular, Department of Public Education, Cape Town, 21st September, 1925. Question 1.

48) Ibid. Report, p.5.

49) Ibid. Report, p.5.; Replies to Questionnaire: 44 were in favour and 21 against.

a limited extent there was the feeling, in the Wesleyan Church, for example, that, in the absence of any clearly expressed intention on the part of the Government to provide an alternative system, an obligation devolved upon them to continue.[50] But Archdeacon Lavis made it abundantly clear that, generally speaking, none of the eighteen Religious bodies concerned had any intention of surrender.[51] He defended and advanced their rights to continue on several grounds.

Firstly, on principle, they claimed a place in the education of the young as an inherent duty. Secondly, they felt they derived their locus standi in this particular case from their historical legacy, since they had from the outset been the guardians of the Coloured people in the matter of education. And even though, as a result of their representations, the State had in fact come to assume a larger share of financial responsibility than formerly, they did not regard that as conceding the right of the State to lessen the extent of religious supervision. Thirdly, they considered their withdrawal to be unthinkable at a stage when they thought their assistance was so obviously needed to satisfy the growing demand for compulsory education, with "the huge problem" involved. Fourthly, they contended that, as taxpayers, their members had a right to a say in the choice of system, and they saw no general indication of a desire to take control away from them. Fifthly, they held that control by the Churches satisfied the deep strain of religious feeling in the Coloured people, whether Christian or Mohammedan, and that, provided the secular side of

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50) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Committee of the Wesleyan Church.

51) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.1. Archdeacon Lavis was a leading representative of the English Church, which had about one-third of the Mission schools for Coloured pupils under its control. He was closely in touch with the Coloured people. He was a member of the Commission, and was clearly speaking with authority on behalf of the Religious bodies generally.

education was not sacrificed, the Coloured people themselves welcomed the religious influence in their school system. Sixthly, while they admitted the defects of the system, they contended that these were not essentially due to religious control and were remediable without any weakening of the principle of such control, and that the protests from the Coloured people arose not from any deep-seated opposition to denominational control as such, but against a "starved system of education".[52]

Lastly, they felt that any objection to the arbitrary control by European Managers, inherent in the system, was being removed through the gradual transference of management of the schools to the Coloured people themselves through Coloured Church Councils and Coloured Managers.[53] But this in no way implied a preparedness by the Churches to transfer management to the Coloured people themselves as a matter of legal right. While agreeing that public opinion had quickened in favour of the constitution of local management committees on which parents would have direct representation, the Churches were sometimes loath to agree to any arrangement which might have involved the loss of their particular denominational prerogative, for example in the Manager's sole responsibility in all questions relating to religious instruction and devotional exercises.[54] The prevailing feeling was very strongly that any parental say in the control of the schools should remain in the discretion of the individual Churches,[55] and that whenever such committees were appointed the Managers should ex

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52) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.p.1,2.

53) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.2.

54) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.p.3, 4.

55) Ibid. Replies to Questionnaire. 80% of the replies were in favour of such discretion.

officio be members.[56]

In accordance with this view, the Coloured Education Commission recommended the permissive appointment, at the request of the recognised Church authority, of Mission School Committees having, mutatis mutandis, the same powers as those for Undenominational schools and consisting of the Manager, two persons nominated by the Church and two persons elected by the parents.[57] Subsequent changes in the law made possible greater control by the Coloured parents themselves through School Committees,[58] of which they took some advantage.[59] But the Managers continued to emphasise that the constitution of such Committees had to remain dependent on the choice of the individual Church and was not to become a matter of parental right.[60]

In particular instances the proselytising motive of the Church was stated quite unequivocally: that if the Mission schools were abolished it would be impossible, for example, to keep the Catholic children together and to instruct them in their religious obligations.[61] Even among those who felt that they should be willing

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56) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.4; Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. Walter E. Morgan, Congregational Union, Maritzburg; Rev. W. H. Lloyd, Congregational E. Schools, Paarl; Committee of the Wesleyan Church; Replies to Questionnaire: at least two-thirds of the replies were in favour of a system which gave the Manager a say in the control of the schools.

57) Ibid., Report, p.7.

58) Ordinance 25 of 1928, Section 14; Ordinance 17 of 1930, Section 28.

59) S.G.E. Report, 1929, p.24; Cape Coloured Commission, 1937, U.G. 54 - 1937. Report, p.168.

60) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.p.168, 169. The Commission supported the view of the Churches. Ibid, p.169.

61) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. Father Jansen, Kimberley.

to surrender control if it would result in better education for the Coloured pupils, the absence of "definite" religious teaching in a State system was considered a real loss.[62] This view, however, was controverted by the Chairman of the Mafeking School Board, for example. He felt that better results might be obtained if the education of the Coloured pupils was treated more as a business undertaking than as a parochial or religious institution: that if it was controlled directly by the Education Department the denominational influences would be superseded by unencumbered methods of teaching.[63]

Much as he insisted on their rights in the matter, Archdeacon Lavis acknowledged that the full burden of responsibility for providing facilities everywhere was beyond the resources of the Churches, and that it was therefore necessary for the supplementary agency of the School Boards to be used. The Cape Diocese of the English Church, for example, requested the Provincial Administration itself to provide primary schools in all areas where facilities were inadequate or had not been made available. The Religious bodies were also sensitive to the obligation to maintain an improved standard of buildings, equipment and efficiency in secular education. The Cape Diocese considered that the standard of the Mission schools had long ceased to be adequate. And it was the defined policy of the English Church that, although intent on keeping its place in the education of the Coloured pupils, it was nevertheless prepared seriously to consider the surrender of its right where it could not provide facilities comparable to those of the Undenominational schools, because it was a betrayal of the interests of the Coloured people to acquiesce in "a starved system and unsatisfactory presentation of secular education".[64]

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62) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. C. Earp Jones, Manager, E.C. School, Paarl.

63) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire. J.N.L. Vink, Chairman, Mafeking School Board.

64) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.2. See also Resolutions of the Diocesan Synod on Coloured Education, 1919, 1921. Vide Abdurahman Papers.

In addition to the religious and denominational motivations, but closely allied to them, there was a very definite feeling, expressed or implied, that at least in certain of the rural areas the Coloured people had not yet developed to the stage where they could confidently be left without the organising direction and the patriarchal supervision and discipline of the Missionary Manager, whose personal influence would be absent in any system of State schools. In some places they were not educated up to the requirements of democratic control, and had very little idea of responsibility and obligation beyond that imposed on them by the Religious bodies to which they belonged.[65] They did not always fully understand the importance and responsibility of their position in regard to the control and management of schools, and could perhaps not make good use of rights granted to them.[66] The difficulty in such places was to find suitable Coloured persons with the necessary insight into educational matters,[67] although their inclusion in a system of control was also advanced as the means of stimulating their interest and training them in regard to school matters.[68] Beyond the fact that in some places they also did not as a rule make good administrators and accountants and for that reason required European supervision,[69] the local Coloured communities were sometimes subject to petty jealousies, and their members did not like to see one another getting on in the world.[70] Their personal

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65) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire. Rev. A. Pieuepnes, Barkly West.

66) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire. Rev. Francis Henneman, Oudtshoorn.

67) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire. Rev. Francis Henneman, Oudtshoorn.

68) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire. Rev. Paul Trumpelmann, Riversdale.

69) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire. R. C. Tredgold, Heatherly Congregational Mission School.

70) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire. Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Tulbagh.

and family feuds made it sometimes difficult for them to co-operate for public work.[71] And they were not always able to keep political differences out of school matters, caused splits in the congregations, and interfered with the work of the teachers, all of which harmed the schooling of the children.[72]

Although community efforts and examples of leadership were not absent from the general life of the Coloured people, the Cape Coloured Commission in 1937 found that one of the factors militating against the uplift of the less advanced sections was certainly the comparative lack of organised effort among them. The Coloured people themselves complained of the difficulty of co-operation among the members of their own group, which arose in part from the class and group distinctions in many ways peculiar to the Coloured people. Though not applicable to all, there was among the upper class a discernible tendency to keep aloof from the lower classes. This class distinction militated against the growth of a common leadership for the promotion of wide community interests, and tended to leave unchecked the selfish and sectional tendencies. In addition to the dearth of persons of sufficient leisure, means and education to devote themselves to the welfare of the community, there was, notwithstanding other tendencies, an inclination also to take advantage of the prestige of the European and to look to him for leadership, or at least to consider that the social and economic structure of the country gave European leadership an added influence and power.[73]

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71) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire. Rev. A. Pieuepnes, Barkly West.

72) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire. Rev. Paul Heese and teachers of Amalienstein.

73) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.p.15, 16, 17.

This attitude was particularly prevalent amongst a section of the lower classes who accepted the Europeans as the superiors, in the traditional attitude of those in an inferior position to those who have for generations occupied a superior social and economic position, and on whom their lot was dependent.[74]

From the side of the Europeans, the view that the Coloured people were not generally equipped to participate in a public system of education which entailed their divorce from Missionary control and supervision, was doubtless strengthened by the fact that the relatively well-to-do and educated section of the Coloured people had less contact with Europeans in daily life than other sections. Apart from the social derelicts who constituted a sub-stratum and sometimes unduly influenced European opinion of the Coloured people, the main connecting link between Europeans and the Coloured people was the class of farm and unskilled labourers, factory workers and household servants in rural and urban areas, many of whom came into close daily contact with Europeans and thus provided the stereotype of the group as a whole.[75] For many of the Europeans made no distinction at all in their estimate of the Coloured people, and based their view of them as a community on the lowest type they had encountered.[76] And, paradoxically, the very denominational control, so strongly urged as a necessary remedy in the circumstances, was also a cause of the restricted development among the Coloured people of a wide and unified interest in secular affairs.[77]

In spite of the widely-supported arguments advanced in favour of its retention, there were many who were quite definitely against the continuation of Church control. They held the view categorically

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74) Ibid. Report, p.13.

75) Ibid. Report, p.p.13, 16.

76) Ibid. Report, p.17.

77) Ibid. Report, p.16.

that the schools should be administered, directed and maintained by the State, either directly or through School Boards, although some of them, including, for example, the Chairman of the Cape School Board, were not necessarily averse to granting the Churches a voice on the local committees of management.[78] In particular, the majority of the Coloured leaders were united in their view that, while they were grateful to the Churches for their efforts in the past, they did not accept that the system provided adequately for their needs.[79] The section organised in the A.P.O., for example, remained unanimously in favour of its abolition; and they suggested the amalgamation and grading of the existing schools to the Administrator as an ameliorative measure preliminary to the termination of the Mission school system.[80]

This demand naturally came from the more advanced group among the Coloured people, concentrated largely in the urban areas in which the pressing demand for better education was making itself felt. It was this upper layer which tended to be sensitive to attitudes of patronage on the part of Europeans and to insist on the principle of equality of opportunity for all.[81] Archdeacon Lavis, for example, appreciated that the Coloured people in this group had by 1925 become economically more secure because of the increase in the number engaged in the skilled

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78) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire. See, for example, P. C. Goodman, Cradock; Rev. M. Richardson, Graaff Reinet; A. Koen, Secretary, A.P.O. Port Elizabeth; R. M. Nolutshunga, Miekerkshope; A.J. Ludick, Carnarvon; Rev. E. S. Dietrich, Port Elizabeth; Rev. Henry C. Newell, Port Elizabeth; Inspector S. B. Hobson, Cape Town; J. Marra, Langebaan, on behalf of the Coloured community; W. Runciman, Chairman, Cape School Board.

79) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.1.

80) Cape Argus, 13th April, 1926.

81) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.14.

occupations, and they therefore had no need to place every child in employment at the earliest possible moment. They were ambitious for the future of their children and bitterly resented the denial of fuller and better opportunities. Regarding colour discrimination as a "positive injustice" and education as an inherent right of a citizen, they revolted more and more from the element of "condescending charity" that had always characterised the system of education.[82] In deference to their views, Archdeacon Lavis suggested the designation "Church Primary School" to replace the term "Mission School", which, he said, was much misunderstood and in some measure discredited.[83]

They saw the emergence in their areas of Undenominational schools established by the School Boards in close proximity to the Mission schools. Comparisons were inevitable; and they were generally to the detriment of the latter, with their poor buildings, general poverty, overcrowding and understaffing. When fees were paid by the parents, attendance at the better equipped Undenominational schools entailed higher payment, and the difference between the facilities at the two types of schools was not so keenly felt. But after the advent of Free Education in 1920 the distinction was aggravated and greatly resented by those parents compelled to send their children to the Mission schools. Not surprisingly, the Coloured people became suspicious of some Religious bodies which appeared to think that the Mission schools should be preserved, no matter what their defects.[84]

The reality of the social progress that had been made by this section and the inability of the Mission schools to satisfy their educational aspirations convinced some of the need to make a concession

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82) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.1.

83) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.3.

84) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis. Reply to Questionnaire, p.1.

in their case and to favour a change, even though they did not necessarily desire the complete termination of the system. Inspector Rousseau, Tulbagh, and the organised Coloured people in Kimberley, suggested, for example, that the Mission school system should not be continued in those places in the country districts where the Coloured people in many cases showed an advanced state of development, and in the urban areas.[85] And the Chairman of the Cape School Board urged some alteration as obviously necessary because the circumstances and status of the Coloured people had changed so much since the original establishment of the Mission schools; and there were, especially in the large towns, considerable numbers of Coloured people who by wealth, education and social position could not be expected to accept the Mission school as a medium of education for their children.[86]

With the complexity of the situation arising from deeply entrenched denominational interests, the social handicaps of the less advanced sections of the Coloured people, and the fact that it was bound by its Terms of Reference to view the question against the background of the provisions of the Financial Relations Act,[87] the Coloured Education Commission, representative of the leading Churches concerned, the Education Department and the Coloured teachers,[88] concluded that to open the matter of the continuation of the Mission schools was, indeed, to raise a "thorny question."[89] And it was quite clear that, while anxious to improve the opportunities for Coloured pupils, the Commission was very hesitant to give way to those who wanted to take a firm grasp of the nettle.

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85) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector P.D. Rousseau, Tulbagh; H.W. Heaman, Secretary for the Joint Meeting, A.P.O., Kimberley Branch of the Teachers' League, Africander National Bond.

86) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, W. Runciman, Chairman, Cape School Board.

87) Ibid. Circular. Department of Public Education, Cape Town. 21st September, 1925.

88) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28, p.43.

89) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Report, p.7.

Flowing from this acceptance of the Mission school system, any consideration of the requirements of the Coloured pupils had of necessity to take account of this fact. Radical change, as had been possible in the case of the European pupils after forty years of the voluntary-guarantee system, was out of the question. The only alternative was recourse to palliatives which, while they might improve the system, could hardly serve to remove the fundamental fault. For the European pupils it had become settled policy that their schools should be Undenominational in character. The 34 Church schools which remained had become anachronisms. After 1921 they could be extended, but without State support and, by 1927 - 28 further recognition for such schools had not been granted for many years.[90] But for the education of the Coloured pupils denominationalism was to continue as a major determinant of policy.

Proposals for Financial Improvements.

In its consideration of those aspects of the Mission school system which hampered its success, the Coloured Education Commission found a fairly strong body of opinion in favour of the State assuming full responsibility for the provision of buildings, or at least for such buildings as were required in addition to those already provided by the Churches.[91] But generally, and fully reflecting the support for the

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90) Consolidated Education Ordinance No. 5 of 1921, Section 115; S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28, p.14.

91) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, P. C. Goodman, Cradock; Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Tulbagh; W. H. Heaman, Secretary for Joint Meeting, A.P.O., Kimberley Branch of the Teachers' League, Africander National Bond; Rev. C. Earp Jones, Manager, E.C.B. School, Paarl; the Teachers' League; Rev. Thomas Gamble, Manager, Rose Lane Coloured School, Uitenhage; Lutheran Churches, Kimberley; Rev. P. van den Roanvel, Hopefield; A. Koen, A.P.O., Port Elizabeth; A.P.O., Worcester; J. Marra, Langebaan, on behalf of the Coloured community; Inspector S.B. Hobson, Cape Town; W. Runciman, Chairman, Cape School Board; Rev. E.S. Dietrich, Port Elizabeth; Rev. P.J. van der Walt, Upington.

continuation of Missionary control, there was widely expressed approval of the system which imposed responsibility for buildings on the Churches. But this was coupled with a strong request for greater State aid through an increased rent grant and, in particular, the removal of the restrictions which precluded buildings erected or purchased before 1918 from eligibility for such aid and limited to one-half the amount payable by the Administration on the rent for hired buildings.[92]

It was a common cause that the Churches, owing to lack of funds, were unable to cope with a situation constantly growing in complexity and difficulty, and they had therefore to obtain further relief from the State. After review of the divergent approaches to a solution, the Coloured Education Commission recommended to the Administration that whatever additional funds could be found should be made available for the necessary development.[93] In regard to the rent grants it proposed that some annual grant should be paid in respect of buildings erected or acquired prior to 1st April, 1918.[94] But the Commission realised that

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92) Ibid. Report, p.6; Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.p. 6, 7; Resolutions of the Diocesan Synod on Coloured Education; Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. W. E. Morgan, Congregational Union, Martizburg; Inspector G. Anders; Eerwaarde S. J. Malan; John B. Anderson, Pacaltsdorp; Very Rev. Thos. C. Robson, Hon. Cor. Perseverance Training School, Kimberley; Rev. W. H. Lloyd, Congregational B. Schools, Paarl; Rev. Jas Ramage, French Hoek; Rev. E. Biesenbach; Rev. Father J. J. O'Reilly, St. Dominics, Wynberg; Rev. M. Richardson, Graaff Reinet; Rev. L. Saintsbury, Namaqualand; C. Jobis, Pearston; R. M. Nolutshunga; Niekerkshope; Rev. A. Manzke, Missionary, Cape Town; Rev. A. E. Padday, M.A., St. Peter's Church School, Port Elizabeth; H. B. Manuel, Moslem School, Simonstown; Rev. J. Jietzen, Moravian School, Elim; Rev. Paul Heese and teachers of Amalienstein; Rev. H. P. van der Merwe, Middelburg, C.P.; Rev. W. Holzapfel, Tulbagh; Rev. Paul Trumpelmann, Riversdale; Rev. J. Gericke, Port Elizabeth; Rev. C. Schreve, Goedverwacht; Rev. J. L. September, Willowmore; Rev. A. Sohnge, Worcester; Rev. Alban Heath, Uitenhage; Rev. W. S. Gouws, 104, Harrington Street, Cape Town; Rev. Henry C. Newell, Port Elizabeth; Rev. Canon P. Price, on behalf of the Diocese of George.

93) Ibid. Report, p.p.11, 12.

94) Ibid. Report, p.9.

amendments to the existing laws, providing only for assistance in the form of rent grants, would not serve adequately to remove a major obstacle: the great difficulty experienced by the Churches and a poor community in finding the capital sums required for new buildings, especially in the urban areas where the demand was heavy. Hence it recommended that, with the assistance of the State, a special Loan Fund be created by the Administration, from which the Churches and other voluntary organisations could borrow on terms fixed by regulation. The Commission submitted in support of the proposal that, since the Five per cent rent grants on the cost of buildings were paid in perpetuity, the suggested system would in the long run be more economical. Capital for school buildings would therefore be derived from three sources: money made available to the School Boards for Undenominational schools: money provided privately by the Churches and earning interest grants; and money borrowed by the Churches from the Loan Fund.[95]

Pressure from the Coloured Leaders, and Improvements.

The Commission considered that these, and other, proposals gained their intrinsic merit from their essential practicability: they could be introduced as circumstances permitted and without an undue burden on the taxpayer. It accepted that, because of the inherent difficulties, many of which were the natural result of years of financial stringency, it might be impossible for the Administration, at least for some time to come, to promote the education of the Coloured pupils on as extensive and liberal a scale as had been done in the case of the European pupils.

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95) Ibid. Report, p.p.8, 9.

But it confidently hoped that the necessary improvements would not be postponed indefinitely, because it considered the time was opportune for a "forward march" towards the solution of what it regarded as "an important national problem".[96]

The Coloured leaders, however, were disappointed by the delay in their implementation, and felt compelled to draw public attention to the fact that, fifteen months after their publication, the proposals had not received official attention. The cardinal question to them was the provision of accommodation for the 60% of the Coloured children outside the schools and a system of compulsory education.[97] After a further public meeting in the City Hall, Cape Town, on 17th September, 1927, they formed a widely representative Provincial Committee aimed at giving the education of the Coloured children "a big push forward". It was to institute an intensive propaganda campaign to arouse public opinion, to seek the co-operation of all interested organisations, and to employ every means in its power to bring about compulsory education.[98] The Committee succeeded in securing the support of a large number of Coloured organisations, and arranged to hold a series of meetings in Cape Town and the surrounding districts and a mass demonstration on the Grand Parade.[99] In their determined effort to evoke some response from the authorities the leaders of the Coloured people were supported by the Cape School Board, which had in

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96) Ibid. Report, p.p.11, 12. For other proposals of the Commission see p.p. 270, 271, 300, 343, 344, 354, 355, 382, 391, 418, 432.

97) Cape Times, 2nd September, 1927. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Juvenile Affairs Board (Coloured). The Commission reported in July, 1926. Vide S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28, p.43.

98) The Coloured Education Committee. Circular I. 30th September, 1927. Vide Abdurahman Papers.

99) Cape Times, 3rd February, 1928.

the past made representations to the authorities in their behalf and now, much impressed with the importance and urgency of the matter, pressed upon the Administrator the need for immediate action to be taken to meet the insistent and reasonable demands of the Coloured people to be provided with ordinary facilities for the education of their children.[100]

In 1928 the Education Department was enabled by law to increase to 6% the rent grant on all school buildings erected or purchased after 1st January, 1929, under the same conditions as before.[101] It was also allowed to pay a 2% annual grant on the Provincial valuation of any school buildings erected or acquired prior to 1st April, 1918, for their repair or enlargement.[102] The Churches were not slow to take advantage of these further facilities, and they had the immediate effect of encouraging the extension of the schools,[103] although this was minimised by the Depression which soon followed. No system to provide Capital Funds from a central source was provided, however, and thus the fundamental problem of finding the initial outlay for school buildings remained unresolved.

The S.G.E. was fully aware of the need to provide for the unduly high proportion of children still outside the schools. But he realised that it was not to be expected that the proposals of the Commission could be carried out immediately: they covered a wide range and it was known that some years would elapse before they bore fruit. He thought

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100) Cape Times, 2nd February, 1928. Cape School Board Resolution, 11th January, 1928.

101) Ordinance 25 of 1928. Section 18. The Ordinance was promulgated on 28th July, 1928.

102) Ibid. Section 20.

103) S.G.E. Report, 1929, p.24.

the Coloured leaders and educationists were generally apt at times to be somewhat impatient at the rate of progress, and he counselled them to take heart at what had been achieved, in the knowledge that progress would continue.[104] His successor, M. C. Botha, also felt that, although much was still to be achieved, the pace of development had necessarily to be gradual, because it was just as much dependent on the active interest of the Coloured people themselves as upon the facilities which the Administration was in a position to place at the disposal of the Education Department.[105]

Co-ordinating Agencies.

While these financial provisions would naturally enhance the opportunities for the establishment of schools, the initiative and co-ordination would, however, still remain a voluntary undertaking, dependent on the interest and co-operation of the Churches and without the stimulus of planned administration. On the one side, the agency of the School Boards was not to be altogether excluded and, on the other, the Churches were certainly to continue as the major partners of the State. The need was, therefore, to create an authority to co-ordinate the activities of the dual agencies, in order to promote the erection of schools, and prevent their haphazard and unplanned establishment, especially in the large urban areas.

In the consideration of this problem, Watermeyer had proposed in 1920 that, if the State accepted full responsibility for the schools, the existing School Boards should not have these delegated powers, but that the management should be placed in the hands of some public or semi-public body or bodies. He suggested that special boards,

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104) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28, p.p.42, 43, 44.

105) S.G.E. Report, 1929, p.22.

composed of persons more particularly interested in the education of Coloured pupils, should be constituted.[106] Apart from those quite definitely in favour of the transference of the control and organisation of the schools to Public Undenominational Boards, some of those who wished to retain the influence of the Churches proposed to the Coloured Education Commission that boards should be established on the basis of Church control, or that the individual Churches should co-operate in the establishment and management of interdenominational schools, without such ad hoc boards necessarily being established.[107] However, the Commission wished to employ the School Boards in an administrative alliance with the Churches, and to use their joint agency to promote and co-ordinate the establishment of schools. It therefore recommended that the Provincial Administration be empowered to make any School Board the "co-ordinating body" for the education of the Coloured pupils within the whole or part of its School District, and that members be nominated to such Boards for the special purpose of representing the interests of the Coloured people.[108]

The School Board would thus become the body to advise the Department on the needs of the Coloured pupils in its area in respect of school buildings and equipment. When it had determined the definite need of an additional school, it would first ascertain whether any Religious body would be willing to undertake its establishment and, if so, would make its recommendation to the Department. Only if no Church body was available would the School Board

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106) Watermeyer, Report, "Coloured Education", 15th March, 1920.

107) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Report, p.5.

108) Ibid. Report, p.7.

be competent, with the approval of the Administrator, to establish an Undenominational school to fill the need. The proposed arrangement was intended to be permissive and the powers of the selected School Boards merely advisory: it was not intended that they should either replace or infringe the right of the Churches to continue as the pre-eminent agency in the provision and control of the schools for Coloured pupils, and it was to be understood that the Mission schools and those subsequently established were to retain their existing religious liberty.[109] The Coloured leaders supported the proposal because, although they recognised the good work done by the Churches, they saw the need to create other agencies. In particular, they welcomed the proposed appointment of representatives of the Coloured people to the Co-ordinating Boards as a means of overcoming the unsympathetic attitude of the rural School Boards.[110]

The recommendation, however, was not implemented in the form suggested by the Commission. Instead, provision was made in the law in 1928 to empower the Administrator to constitute ad hoc "Co-ordinating Boards for Coloured Education" for the Cape, Kimberley and Port Elizabeth districts, having advisory powers in regard to the provision of schools, the promotion and co-ordination of education, the range of instruction, and the furtherance of the educational interests of Coloured children.[111] Although provision was also made for the establishment of Co-ordinating Boards in such other districts as might be considered necessary and desirable,[112] the power to do so was never invoked.[113] The opportunity to create alternative

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109) Ibid. Report, p.7.

110) Cape Times, 2nd September, 1927.

111) Ordinance 25 of 1928. Section 13.

112) Ibid. Section 13.

113) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.169.

agencies in the areas where the School Boards had proved reluctant to establish schools for Coloured pupils was thus not taken.

The Administrator tried to make these Co-ordinating Boards, which had by law to include Coloured members,[114] as representative as possible of the opinions of those interested in the education of the Coloured pupils.[115] The three urban districts in which they were established in 1929 presented some of the more complex problems, and were the areas in which the relationship between the Undenominational and the Mission schools had developed into an important question, and where a clash of interests was not unusual. With the increasing enrolment of Coloured pupils, the Department insisted upon the fullest use being made of the existing schools and new schools were sanctioned only when absolutely necessary.[116] The members of the Co-ordinating Boards gave much time and trouble to their tasks.[117] They did much useful work in the investigation of all applications for new schools in their areas, assisted in obviating the uneconomic establishment of schools and harmful competition between the various Churches, and provided the Churches with the opportunity of exercising their influence fully.[118] They rendered good service as intermediaries between the Department and the Churches, on the one side, and the Department and the three School Boards on the other. For their assistance in these respects the S.G.E. considered both the Department and the Coloured people owed them a debt of gratitude.[119]

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114) Ordinance 25 of 1928. Section 13.

115) S.G.E. Report, 1931, p.43.

116) S.G.E. Report, 1930, p.30.

117) Cape Coloured Commission Report, 1937, p.169.

118) S.G.E. Report, 1931, p.43.

119) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.48.

But from their inception the three Co-ordinating Boards contained the seeds of redundancy and controversy. They were formed in the very areas where the School Boards had shown themselves over the years not only very willing to serve the interests of the Coloured people, but where their efforts in this direction had sometimes proved more enthusiastic than the Provincial Administration was itself prepared or able to allow.[120] The Co-ordinating Boards tended to serve the interests of the Churches and, while they helped to reconcile conflicting denominational claims, they failed to adjust satisfactorily the relations between the Churches and the School Boards concerned. The very serious overlapping in the scope and functions of the two bodies very soon became a bone of contention. The institution of the Co-ordinating Boards was not regarded by the Department as depriving the School Boards of their power to establish schools in approved areas. But even though their duties were limited in the main to advice to the Department on applications for new schools, the Co-ordinating Boards trespassed upon the field of the School Boards in considering applications for Undenominational schools for Coloured pupils. If a School Board wished to establish a school for European pupils, it dealt directly with the Education Department. But where it desired to establish a school for Coloured pupils, the application had first to be considered by the Co-ordinating Board before the Department could decide the matter, and the real danger of a clash soon became apparent.[121] Even where there was agreement between the two bodies, the procedure was unnecessary and time-wasting: but any disagreement placed the Department in an exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, situation. After a few years it was apparent that the position of the Co-ordinating Boards vis-a-vis the three School Boards and the Department tended to become absurd, and that the system did not work well.[122]

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120) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.169.

121) S.G.E. Reports, 1929, p.24; 1931, p.43; 1932 - 33, p.48.

122) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.p.51, 52.; Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.169.

The dilemma was how to clothe the Co-ordinating Boards with greater authority for the establishment of schools,[123] and yet preclude friction between them and the School Boards in the exercise of their respective functions. The solution to this problem, however, was not easy; for the system proved troublesome or superfluous as too little or too much power was granted to the Co-ordinating Boards.[124] One possibility that presented itself to M. C. Botha was the provision of machinery which would separate completely the control of all the schools for Coloured pupils in the three areas concerned, and the development of the Co-ordinating Boards into separate School Boards. Such "School Boards for Coloured Education", controlling both the Mission and Undenominational schools, could at first be nominated by the Administrator, after consultation with the various Churches and the organisations of the Coloured people to make them fully representative of all opinions.[125] The arrangement would carry over into the local control of the schools the principle of the separate administration of the education of Coloured pupils which had evolved since around 1920,[126] and had led by 1930 to the creation at the Education Department of a section specifically organised for its administration.[127]

The S.G.E. saw several advantages in the constitution of such separate Boards. It would not only preclude the possibility of overlapping in the functions of the existing School Boards and the Co-ordinating Boards, but would considerably strengthen the power of the Co-ordinating Boards by transferring the Undenominational schools to their

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123) S.G.E. Report, 1931, p.43.

124) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.48.

125) S.G.E. Report, 1931, p.p.43, 44.

126) Vide infra p.324 et seq.

127) S.G.E. Report, 1930, p.4.

control. The Churches would gain a direct say in the control and management of both the Mission and the Undenominational schools, and the new Boards might thus help to replace the "unhealthy rivalry" between the two types of schools by a spirit of co-operation. Moreover, the control of the schools would be transferred to those specially interested in the advancement of the education of the Coloured pupils. But the S.G.E. appreciated that the change in policy entailed in the new arrangement was of great importance to the Coloured people, that it was not necessarily practicable, and could not be settled without consultation with the bodies concerned.[128] Subsequent events showed quite conclusively that neither the School Boards nor the Coloured people favoured a development in this direction.[129]

The determinant in the continuation of the Co-ordinating Boards, whatever the difficulties, was the role they could play in increasing the effectiveness of the Mission school system. However, in the reassessment of policy which followed after the Depression[130] their continuation became redundant, and the S.G.E. and the Cape Coloured Commission suggested their abolition.[131] But even in the new proposals, which entailed the establishment of schools under Boards wherever possible, but the co-existence of Undenominational and Mission schools, the twin problems still remained: judiciously to adjust the relationship between the Churches and the School Boards in areas where both controlled schools, and to forge an agency to promote the establishment of Undenominational schools in areas where the School Boards were unwilling to undertake the task. For the solution of the former, the Cape Coloured

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128) S.G.E. Report, 1931, p.44.

129) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.48.

130) Vide infra p. 276 et seq.

131) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.48; Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.169.

Commission proposed that responsibility for co-ordination be vested in the School Boards and that the Department consult them in regard to all applications for new Mission schools. To circumvent the reluctance of the remaining School Boards, it recommended the appointment of Coloured Education Committees to co-ordinate the facilities in their districts, with powers to establish and maintain Undenominational schools and with the same authority as was vested in European School Committees in areas where there were no School Boards.[132] De Vos Malan, who succeeded M. C. Botha as S.G.E. in 1934, thought this arrangement feasible and recommended its adoption.[133] In 1945, as part of the administrative machinery to implement an important financial decision by the Provincial Council,[134] provision was made for the appointment by the Administrator of Coloured Education Committees in areas where the School Boards were unwilling to accept responsibility for Undenominational schools for Coloured pupils. They were to share with the remaining Boards the power of establishing such schools as were approved by the Department, and of enquiring into all proposed Mission schools.[135]

Moves towards a State System.

It was immanent in all the official attempts at improvement before the Depression of the early thirties that the influence of the Churches

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132) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.169.

133) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.52.

134) Vide Infra p.288.

135) Coloured Education Ordinance No. 11 of 1945, Section I.

and the retention of the Mission school system was of paramount concern. At the beginning of the Depression the Education Department imposed a strict limitation on the establishment of Undenominational schools for Coloured pupils. They could be established if the necessary funds were made available, and only in special cases: when, for example, it was impossible for a Church to provide a school, and in other exceptional circumstances.[136] But despite this restriction to advancement chiefly within the Mission school system, the possibility of a change in policy at some time in the future, was not altogether excluded by M. C. Botha.[137]

Protests against the Mission school system were continually raised from all sides.[138] The view was repeatedly expressed by many that the agency and control should be transferred from the Churches to the School Boards or analogous bodies because, among other reasons, it would lead to greater efficiency and eliminate the duplication of small schools.[139] At the first signs that the Depression was ending,[140] M. C. Botha again gave special attention to the basic question whether the development of the school system should be dependent on funds provided by the Churches.

In his re-appraisal of a firmly-entrenched policy, the S.G.E. was quite definitely opposed to any transference of the existing Mission schools to Provincial control. He considered that any attempt to exclude the Churches from their share in the education of the Coloured pupils would immediately lead to "insuperable difficulties". He

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136) Vide supra p. 239.

137) S.G.E. Report, 1929, p.24.

138) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.47.

139) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.167.

140) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.62.

endorsed the view that the stage of development reached by the Coloured people made it highly doubtful whether a dimunition of the influence of the Churches would be beneficial to them, and saw the need for the Churches to continue to exercise their spiritual and moral leadership in a community he considered not sufficiently advanced to manage its own affairs. To those who thought differently his reply was that the true friends of the Coloured people did not agree with them. Moreover, from a practical, financial point of view, he regarded it as quite impossible for the Administration to repay the Churches for the Capital amounts they had invested in school buildings.[141]

The Cape Coloured Commission, apart from the deference it thought should be paid to the wishes of the Churches because of the part they had played over a very long period, also considered the transfer of the Mission schools as altogether unwise and inexpedient, in view of the proven inability of the combined agency of the Church and the State to cope with the annual increase in enrolment. During the period 1926 - 1936 the total enrolment of Coloured pupils had increased from 56,822 to 104,488 i.e. by an average of 5,000 additional pupils per year. If that rate of increase was maintained, a further increase of 50,000 pupils could be expected in the ensuing ten years. Of the total enrolment of 104,488, only 9,256 were in Undenominational schools and, with an eye to the future, the Commission thought that in any new direction of policy it would be a sufficiently enormous task for the State to provide for the increase in enrolment, without the added burden of trying to provide also for the 95,000 pupils already in the Mission schools.[142]

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141) S.G.E. Reports, 1931, p.43; 1932 - 33, p.p.47, 48.

142) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.167.

In respect of additional schools, however, M. C. Botha saw an important inducement to a change in official policy. The Churches had received ample financial support from the Administration in terms of the 6% rent grant allowed on all money spent on buildings and, although during the period of the Depression the grants were stopped, the system was subsequently revived in a modified form with regard to the basis of calculation and the actual amount given. Viewed from a purely economic angle, the principle of paying permanent interest on buildings that would never become Provincial property seemed to the S.G.E. to have "doubtful wisdom". And therefore he thought the question at least deserved serious consideration whether it would not be more profitable in every respect if the Administration itself in future provided the buildings, and the School Boards became the agencies for the establishment and control of all new schools for Coloured pupils. To peg the existing Mission schools, and to develop a State system of schools which allowed the establishment of schools under Boards wherever possible, would therefore have the three decided advantages of allowing the more economic investment of State funds, ensuring the sound development of education and, by relieving the Churches of the financial burdens of further schools, enabling them to devote all their energies to the spiritual and social uplift of the Coloured people.[143]

De Vos Malan, in his consideration of the question, realised that such a change in policy was pregnant with meaning, for to the Coloured people the question of the provision of buildings and the control of the schools was a matter of vital concern. However, his policy for the immediate future was that the Department would not compete with the Churches, but would supplement their efforts through the provision of Undenominational schools for the upper Standards, although it still

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143) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.p.47, 48.

experienced difficulty in securing the agreement of the Churches to this form of centralisation.[144]

The Cape Coloured Commission endorsed the economic argument in favour of buildings erected by the Administration from loan funds provided by the Central Government. It considered that the Churches had reached the limit of their powers, and strongly urged that all future extensions of school facilities be provided by means of Undenominational schools wherever schools were required within a radius of five miles of an existing school. Such a policy would have the three-fold effect of ensuring the continued existence of the Mission schools which provided suitable accommodation, of enabling effective State action to supplement the efforts of the Churches either through full-range or upper-grade schools in the more densely populated areas, and of leaving the Churches free to establish schools beyond the five-mile limit and in the outlying areas. But its chief virtue would be that in practice it would replace absence of responsibility by a very definite onus on a public body to provide for the continually increasing demand for schools, and would step by step effect a revolution in the system of education for Coloured pupils.[145]

This proposal met with the approval of De Vos Malan, himself a member of the Commission. He considered it the only practical course to follow. Though he fully endorsed the favourable consequences which his predecessor in office had seen in a State system of schools, he considered a system of complete State control to be impracticable for the present and the immediate future.[146] In the absence of a policy of centralised schools, for example, facilities would have to be provided for the comparatively small groups of Coloured children in the remote parts of the country. And for this task of "going out into the highways and hedges" he regarded the Churches as eminently suited, and thought their services should therefore be utilised.[147]

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144) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.55.

145) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.p.167, 168.

146) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.51.

147) S.G.E. Report, 1940, p.12.

Needs of Coloured Pupils and Inadequacy of Subsidy.

Any future policy which would no longer utilise the Mission school system to the same extent as before, and would make expansion dependent on Undenominational schools, would naturally entail greatly increased Capital expenditure. During the short period from 1922 - 23 to 1929 - 30 expenditure on the education of Coloured pupils had increased by 95%.[148] Experience of the new Subsidy system over the ten years after its introduction in 1925 had shown quite definitely that, although it had proved adequate for the first two years, and the doubling of the enrolment had earned a proportionate increase in the total Subsidy, expenditure thereafter had rapidly exceeded the revenue from this source. The improvements that had been brought about, particularly in the qualifications and conditions of service of the teachers,[149] the expansion of secondary facilities,[150] and the increased assistance given to the Churches for the erection of buildings, had caused the Subsidy to become progressively more inadequate and development to be more and more dependent on Provincial resources. Thus in 1935 - 36 the Administration was supplementing a total revenue of £433,491 for Coloured pupils by £89,766 from Provincial taxation and assigned revenues.[151] In 1936 - 37 the expenditure totalled £565,004 and the Administration had to add £109,068 to the £455,936 of revenue. For 1937 - 38 the S.G.E. estimated the shortage would increase to £143,300.[152]

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148) S.G.E. Report, 1929, p.22.

149) Vide infra p. 377 et seq.

150) Vide infra p. 416 et seq.

151) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.p.195, 196.

152) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.68.

Although the S.G.E. considered that the State Subsidy and the increasing Provincial assistance had made possible a satisfactory increase in the number of schools and the enrolment of pupils, he realised that it was essential to provide further facilities to accommodate the very many children still not at school.[153] During the fifteen years between 1923 and 1938 the enrolment of the Coloured pupils had increased from 48,145 to 115,196, i.e. by 139%, or by an average annual rate of over 4000 pupils.[154] But the rate of expansion was certainly not rapid enough to ensure that all the children received some education. An accurate estimate of the number of Coloured and Asiatic children between the ages of 7 and 14 years, based on the 1936 Census, disclosed the very serious fact that more than 40,000 children, or nearly one-third of the total number of school-going children in that age group, were unprovided in that year with primary school facilities. And, although the increased enrolment after that had materially improved the position, there was no doubt, as the Second World War broke out, that at least 30,000 children were not provided with primary schools. The S.G.E. fully appreciated that much remained to be done.[155]

Apart from this basic problem, there were several improvements that were urgently required inside the existing schools. There was still, for example, the great "wastage of pupils", which caused many of those who gained admission to have a very brief school life.[156] Whereas in the schools for European pupils, because of the system of compulsory education from Sub-Standard A to Standard VI, the distribution of

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153) Ibid. [illegible] p.69.

154) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.48.

155) S.G.E. Report, 1938, p.p.21, 22, 23.

156) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.p.171, 172.

pupils through the eight Standards was a more or less even 12½ in each, in the schools for Coloured pupils the enrolment in Sub-Standard A in 1937 constituted 32.1% and that in Standard VI only 2.9% of the total enrolment. In addition, there was the general "over-ageness" of the Coloured pupils: their median ages in Standard IV and below exceeded by more than one year those for European pupils, although the approximation became closer in Standards V and VI as the younger pupils naturally tended to remain longer than the older ones.[157] But even in Standard VI, while one half of the European pupils were approximately 13 years or under, only one-eighth of the Coloured pupils were in that age group.[158]

Because the increase in the enrolment of pupils had outrun the financial resources, the overcrowding and serious shortage of staff, which had for long handicapped the effective education of the Coloured pupils, remained a feature of the schools.[159] The Department had, it is true, been enabled to improve the quota of pupils per teacher from 45 in 1921 - 22 to approximately 40 in 1935 - 36.[160] But, although its staffing rules allowed an assistant when the enrolment reached 40 and an additional teacher for every increase of 45 thereafter, it was not possible to apply these rules to every school, owing to limitation of funds. In practice, therefore, the majority of teachers, especially in the lower classes, had many more than the theoretical average of 40.5 pupils per teacher, and in September, 1937 there was a shortfall of 269 teachers.[161] The great demand for admission had, in fact, forced upon the schools the procedure of

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157) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.p.56, 57, 58.

158) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.47.

159) S.G.E. Report, 1936, p.35.

160) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.196.

161) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.63.

apparently first overcrowding the buildings, and then attempting to seek financial assistance to provide the additional accommodation. The result was that the available accommodation was strained to the utmost, and classrooms built for about 50 were occupied by 75 or more pupils.[162]

This handicap of "unwieldly classes" had become so great that the S.G.E. was constrained to threaten that, unless there was a reasonable improvement, he would have to consider the enforcement of definite quotas per teacher, and the corresponding limitation of enrolments.[163] A satisfactory and effective staffing basis was essential, and the Cape Coloured Commission recommended that in the initial Standards, at any rate, teachers should not be held responsible for classes larger than 45 pupils.[164] It regarded a reduction to, say, 33 pupils per teacher as necessary if reasonable efficiency was to be secured.[165] In the final analysis, however, more funds were required for the provision of the additional teachers.[166]

Scholastic tests revealed that the European pupils in Standard III surpassed Coloured pupils in the same Standard, viewed as a group, in the kind of work that was daily being done in the schools.[167] Lack of books was undoubtedly one of the major causes of the slower progress of the pupils,[168] and there was therefore the need for more generous provision of free books and requisites.[169] And, whatever the other causal factors and explanations for the poorer

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162) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.168.

163) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.55.

164) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.172.

165) Ibid. p.196.

166) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.63.

167) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.191. For a discussion on the Intelligence of Coloured and European pupils, and the generally poorer performance of Coloured pupils in Scholastic Tests, see Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.173 et seq. and p.177 et seq..

168) Ibid., p.173.

169) Ibid., p.p.173, 196.

scholastic attainments of the Coloured pupils,[170] there was certainly "the slightly unpleasant possibility" that the standard of teaching and the methods adopted by the Coloured teachers might not have been what they ought to be.[171] They were generally not qualified to the same extent as the average European teacher,[172] and any increase in the efficiency of the teaching would therefore be dependent, in part at least, on an increase in the qualifications of the teachers, particularly in Infant School methods.[173] But any general raising of the standard of admission to the Training Schools, or any more effective supply and selection of candidates for the profession, was clearly dependent in the first place on the provision of more and improved secondary schools. And expansion in that sphere was quite definitely being held back because of lack of money.[174] In regard to the requirements of their curriculum, facilities for manual training and cookery were practically non-existent in the primary schools, although it was generally agreed that Coloured pupils were greatly in need of such practical instruction.[175] They were far worse off than the European pupils in this respect, because it was costly to provide such facilities, and their provision had necessarily to await an increased supply of money.[176]

It was evident that the need for improvement lay not in one particular direction but in several different, though related, spheres,

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170) For a discussion of some of these factors, see Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.191 et seq..

171) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.192.

172) Vide infra p.407et seq..

173) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.173.

174) Vide infra p. 427 et seq.

175) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.196. Vide infra p.356etseq.

176) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.50.

which would facilitate the increasing enrolment of the pupils and would promote their progress and advancement inside the schools. But, while the S.G.E. acknowledged that this could no longer be left in abeyance, he recognised equally that the cost of the reforms would be heavy.[177] The choice was clear: either an increase in the State Subsidy or a greater contribution from Provincial revenue.[178] In answer to these alternatives, De Vos Malan held firmly that it was unreasonable to expect that the taxpayer in the Cape Province should be held solely responsible for the cost.[179] In relation to the other Provinces, he thought the Cape was particularly disadvantaged because it contained the majority of the Coloured population, and was responsible for approximately 73% of the enrolment of Coloured pupils in the four Provinces.[180] And, since it was clearly impossible for the Provincial Administration to meet the cost of expansion under the existing financial arrangements,[181] the only conclusion to which both the S.G.E. and the Cape Coloured Commission came was that a material increase in the Union Subsidy was of paramount importance and, indeed, a sine qua non of future development.[182] Improvements were only possible if there was a revision of the altogether inadequate basis of Subsidy calculation.[183]

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177) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.4.

178) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.p.54, 55.

179) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.4.

180) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.p.84, 85.

181) S.G.E. Report, 1938, p.5.

182) S.G.E. Reports, 1937, p.67; 1939, p.6; Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.p.195, 196.

183) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.67.

A comparison of the cost of educating Coloured and European pupils showed that, while it was less for the Coloured pupils in such matters as the salaries of the teachers and secondary education, it was equal in other matters, such as accommodation, furniture and equipment and, in fact, greater for Coloured pupils in provisions such as those for boarding and conveyance facilities for necessitous pupils.[184] The S.G.E. estimated that the Subsidy required to give the Coloured pupils a "square deal" in comparison with the European pupils should be at least two-thirds of that for the European pupils;[185] or something like four-fifths, even after allowance was made for the lower salaries paid to the Coloured teachers.[186]

The S.G.E. submitted a memorandum to the Administrator on the extent of the financial and other implications involved in the improvements.[187] But the expansion confidently expected by everyone in 1938 did not eventuate because the basis of the Subsidy was not revised,[188] and almost all the money made available was, as usual, used in providing for the increase in enrolment.[189] And even though it seemed, as the country became involved in the War in 1939, that, even if not for the European pupils, there was the hope of some addition to the Subsidy for Coloured pupils, where the need was more pressing,[190] it soon became apparent that an answer to "the vexed question of the Subsidy for Coloured education" was to

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184) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.6.

185) Ibid., p.6.

186) Ibid., p.50.

187) S.G.E. Report, 1938, p.23.

188) Ibid., p.5.

189) Ibid., p.24.

190) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.5.

be delayed for some while, and all necessary reforms would have to wait until peace returned.[191] In his administration of education the S.G.E. was already acting on the assumption that any schemes of development which involved additional expenditure of an appreciable amount would have to be held in abeyance.[192]

The first signs of a change came as the War drew to a close. After investigation into the financial resources of the Provinces[193] there was an alteration in the law regulating the financial relations of the Central Government and the Provinces which provided, broadly, that the Provinces should be paid a general Subsidy equal to 50% of their net expenditure, with certain limitations of the amount on which the Subsidy was payable.[194] As a measure to ensure normal expenditure in a fully established educational system, the S.G.E. considered the new arrangement as perhaps satisfactory. But, if leeway was to be made up and reforms instituted, the Province had to be prepared "to put its hands sufficiently deeply into its pockets".[195]

The Provincial Council bound itself to appropriate from loan funds a sum of not less than £100,000 in each of the ten succeeding years after 1945 for the establishment of Undenominational schools for Coloured pupils.[196] It was evident that the full effect of this decision would of necessity not be felt for several years. And there was the further aggravating circumstance that, although the S.G.E. promised to make every effort to expedite the building of new

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191) S.G.E. Report, 1940, p.15.

192) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.5.

193) See Report of the Committee in regard to the Financial Resources of the Provinces. U.G.9/1944.

194) Financial Relations Consolidation and Amendment Act, No. 38 of 1945.

195) S.G.E. Report, 1941 - 45, p.p.57. 58.

196) Coloured Education Ordinance No. 11 of 1945. Section 3.

schools, the scarcity of building material and labour after the War would make delays inevitable.[197]

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197) S.G.E. Report, 1941 - 45, p.38.

CHAPTER VII.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS AND ASPECTS OF POLICY, 1905 - 1940.

Compulsory Education.

After the passing of the School Board Act, with its special provisions for the compulsory attendance of non-European pupils in particular areas, subject to the fulfilment of specified conditions,[1] the Coloured leaders expressed themselves strongly in favour of a system of compulsion for Coloured children, with free education for the indigent, as provided for the European section.[2] In pursuance of this ideal of equality of treatment, the A.P.O., for example, decided to petition the Provincial Council in 1912 to enforce attendance up to Standard Four for all Coloured children within a three-mile radius of a school, and to introduce free education for the indigent.[3] Having met with no satisfactory response, they unanimously resolved at their Conference in 1914 to arouse public opinion and to solicit the support of the local authorities in order to realise their aim, at least in the three principal urban areas of Cape Town, Kimberley and Port Elizabeth.[4]

The Kimberley School Board, in reply to a request in 1913 from the local leaders for its assistance, regretted that, though sympathetically

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1) Vide supra, p.p.165, 186.

2) Report, Fifth A.P.O. Conference, Oudtshoorn, 1907. Abdurahman, Presidential Address, p.p.1, 2; A.P.O., July 3rd, 1909, p.3.

3) A.P.O., January 27th, 1912. Conference Resolution, p.9.

4) Ibid. January 24th, 1914. Conference Resolution. "Compulsory Education in Cape Town", p.3.

disposed, it could not take any action until suitable accommodation had been provided for Coloured and Native children.[5] In Cape Town, after deciding on an extended course of action at several meetings, the leaders, realising that the obstacle was mainly lack of accommodation, interviewed the Mayor in support of their appeal to the Municipal Council for a grant of money for school buildings. They decided to also to hold a public meeting to give publicity to the "unhappy and alarming state of affairs", and to interview the Administrator.[6] To these efforts was added the request of the newly organised Coloured teachers. At their Conference in 1914 they appealed to the Government, the School Boards, the Churches and the Coloured people themselves to give serious consideration to the fact that the majority of the Coloured children were not attending schools; and they discussed the possibility of attendance being enforced in the large centres, such as Cape Town, Kimberley and Port Elizabeth.[7] But, as the Administrator told a deputation of Coloured and European persons in Kimberley, in reply to their request for compulsion to be applied in the city, there was no possibility of its introduction because of the large outlay of money that would be required.[8]

In their attempts to secure some action by the authorities the leaders of the Coloured people were activated to some extent by their awareness of what was being done for the European section. However, even for the European pupils progress in the introduction of compulsion was initially somewhat slow. The mandatory obligation imposed upon the School Boards and the central administration was clear enough, but

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5) Ibid. December 6th, 1913, p.6.

6) Ibid. January 24th, 1914. "Compulsory Education in Cape Town", p.3.

7) Ibid. June 27th, 1914, p.p.8, 9.

8) Ibid. April 4th, 1914, p.6.

the procedure laid down in the Act envisaged a cautious and gradual approach, and it was hardly to be expected that the effect of the law would be immediately felt. Moreover, the Depression during the first few years after the application of the Act naturally retarded the rate of progress, for compulsion entailed additional expenditure. And there also still remained the "vague antipathy" to compulsion among sections of the European parents. Thus, after the first resolution for its introduction by a School Board, three years elapsed before the Colonial Government was able to give it practical effect in 1909.[9]

However, after tentative experiments in six areas and the passing of the Depression, rapid progress was made in the implementation of the law, and by the beginning of 1910 attendance was being enforced in 91 out of 119 School Board Districts.[10] Although compulsion had necessarily to be gradual for fear of antagonising the local communities,[11] it succeeded to such an extent that, by 1913, the Administration was able to remove some of the limitations imposed by the original provisions. It enforced attendance for all European children between the ages of 7 and 14 years, or up to Standard IV, throughout the Province, and empowered individual School Boards, subject to certain conditions, to raise both these upper limits.[12] Aggrieved at this further differentiation, the organised Coloured teachers complained that, while on the one side the upper compulsory limit for European children was being raised, the claims of the Coloured children were not even being considered.[13]

By 1920 the upper limit for the European pupils had been progressively raised by two further Provincial enactments. In 1917 attendance

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9) E.G. Malherbe, Education in South Africa, 1652 - 1922, p.128.

10) Ibid. p.p.128, 129. See S.G.E. Report, 1909, p.p.5, 6.

11) Ibid. p.167.

12) Ordinance No. 16 of 1913.

13) A.P.O., June 27th, 1914, p.p.8, 9.

was enforced in all School Districts to the age of 15 or Standard V,[14] and two years later these limits were further raised to 16 years or Standard VI.[15] But, despite the many requests, no action had been taken to introduce compulsion for Coloured pupils in any area in terms of the provisions of the School Board Act. Apart from other considerations, the sine qua non for the implementation of the law was the establishment of Undenominational schools, and these had not been established in the numbers required.[16] However, in one important respect there was a significant new factor after 1920. For one consequence of the policy of the separation of Native and Coloured pupils into different schools in separate systems of education[17] was that the former objection to compulsion for non-European pupils, on the grounds of the large numbers involved, no longer had the same degree of validity, since the separation facilitated the possibility of a system of compulsion for the Coloured pupils as a separate group.

However, although the gradual introduction of a system of compulsory attendance continued as an objective of the Administration, the provisions of the Consolidated Education Ordinance No. 5 of 1921 drew no specific distinction between Coloured and Native pupils. The Ordinance enabled a School Board, in any area in which an Undenominational school or schools had been established and in which there was sufficient and suitable accommodation, to resolve, after obtaining the approval of the Administrator, to compel the attendance of non-European children; and if the School Committees were in favour of the procedure, the provisions in respect of European pupils would become applicable.[18]

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14) Ordinance No. 7 of 1917.

15) Ordinance No. 8 of 1919.

16) Vide supra p.p.193, et seq..

17) Vide infra p. 325 et seq.

18) Consolidated Education Ordinance No. 5 of 1921. Section 330. There was no legal obligation to separate Coloured and Native pupils in the Undenominational schools. Vide infra p. 325.

In any case, the investigation conducted by Watermeyer had shown that those best qualified to judge felt that the time was not ripe for the compulsion of Coloured pupils as a separate group, and that, in fact, for years to come the available accommodation was likely to be taxed to its utmost capacity, especially after the introduction of free education.[19] And, although its desirability was generally acknowledged, the S.G.E. accepted that the "weight of opinion" was that its introduction for Coloured pupils was not practicable at the time.[20]

In the years that followed the end of the First World War any further consideration of the question was precluded by the prevailing Depression. But by 1925 attention was once again focussed on compulsory education for Coloured pupils. The Cape Times acknowledged the sympathetic attitude of the Education Department. It contended that, since the "civilised labour" policy of the Pact Government, which came into power in 1924, had been explained by the Government to mean at least that the Coloured people were to form one group with the Europeans in regard to their status and rights as workers, it was an obvious necessity to accept compulsory education as a corollary of the policy. It conceded that much "cautious and careful preparation" was required before a compulsory system could be made effective, and agreed with those who maintained that it was not practicable, in the sense of an obligation to be imposed on all Coloured children. But it felt the time had come for the State to decide whether it would accept the onus of providing education and of making it compulsory as soon as possible. As the country was on the threshold of industrial development, it considered the need for action to be determined by the economic interests of both the European and the Coloured sections: that if

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19) Watermeyer, Report, "Coloured Education", 15th March, 1920.

20) S.G.E. Report, 1920, p.8.

Coloured youths entered the skilled trades at a lower educational standard they could undercut the wages of the European artisans; and, if a high educational standard was insisted upon, the vast mass of the Coloured pupils would be excluded from skilled occupations, and would be forced into competition with Natives for semi-skilled and unskilled employment.[21]

In its investigation at the time the Coloured Education Commission discovered that among those closely connected with the education of Coloured pupils there was a generally expressed desire in favour of the principle of compulsion,[22] with a minority which thought the time had not yet arrived or that its introduction was not practicable.[23] Several considerations motivated the strong and widespread appeal for compulsion in some form or other. The Coloured leaders, with some support from others, took the view that compulsory education was a right to which the community was in principle entitled, and this led sometimes to the unequivocal demand for its introduction on exactly the same basis as for European pupils.[24] Archdeacon Lavis regarded

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21) Cape Times, 5th October, 1925. "Coloured Education". For a discussion of the "Civilised Labour Policy" see Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report p. 36, et seq..

22) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Report, p.6; Replies to Questionnaire: 53 of the written replies were in favour and 18 against.

23) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. J. C. Truter, Riversdale; Rev. J. J. Gericke, Port Elizabeth; Rev. C. Schreve, Goedverwacht; Rev. A. Vogt, St. Mary's R.C. Mission School, Grahamstown; Committee of the Wesleyan Church; Rev. Walter E. Morgan, Seymour, C.P.

24) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.9; Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, W. H. Heaman, Secretary, Joint Meeting A.P.O., Kimberley Branch of Teachers' League, Afrikander National Bond; C. Jubis, Pearston; Rev. A. E. Padday, M.A., St. Peter's Church School, Port Elizabeth; A. Koen, A.P.O., Port Elizabeth; A.P.O., Worcester; W. Runciman, Chairman, Cape School Board; Rev. Chas. E. M. Malgas, East Griqualand.

compulsion as a necessary instrument not only to bring within the schools the 60% of the Coloured children who were still outside, but also to ensure that the parents were forced always to take full advantage of the existing facilities in the upper Standards. He and others thought it was necessary to protect the children from the "unwisdom of the parent" who allowed or even encouraged his children to leave school for quite trivial reasons.[25] He conceded that, since poverty was the major factor hampering the parents in keeping their children at school, compulsion would entail further hardship for them, and therefore some parents might resent its introduction. But he felt that the future of the Coloured children was at stake, and that the solution lay not in penalising the children but in readjustment of social conditions.[26] Inspector Rousseau and others advanced compulsion as a remedy for the irregular attendance which hampered the efficiency of the teaching and sometimes made the education of the Coloured pupils a farce.[27] Professor G. F. Dingemans considered that in the progressive social and political advancement of the Coloured people, which would bring them into closer relationship with the Europeans, compulsory education was not only desirable but essential.[28]

Generally, many of the protagonists of compulsion took cognisance of the particular social circumstances of the

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25) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.9: Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, H. B. Manuel, Moslem School, Simonstown; Rev. C. O'Rourke, 32, Somerset Road, Cape Town. See also Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.19.

26) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.9.

27) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Tulbagh; Sister Florence, St. Peter's Home, Grahamstown; Rev. C. O'Rourke, 32, Somerset Road, Cape Town.

28) Ibid. Professor G. F. Dingemans, Grahamstown.

Coloured people, and were influenced by the difficulties that arose from their general poverty and the need to provide much additional accommodation. In some of the rural areas there was the further consideration that the farmers were not too well-disposed to the education of Coloured pupils,[29] although the tendency among some farmers to encourage parents to hire out their young children, and the willingness of some parents to do so, was also advanced as a reason for making compulsion absolute.[30] Those in favour of compulsion showed themselves fully prepared to make concessions in one form or another to the full-scale implementation of the principle. Some suggested, for example, that, although attendance should be enforced for all Coloured pupils, it should be done in two stages: an initial period of five years of compulsion to Standard III, and thereafter to Standard VI or 16 years;[31] or as a beginning in a modified form from that applicable to Europeans.[32] Many were willing to accept a reduced age and Standard, generally 14 years or Standard IV,[33] and sometimes even 12 years;[34] or that a lower age be fixed in the country districts.[35]

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29) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector G. Andere.

30) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. Jas. Ramage, French Hoek.

31) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, P. C. Goodman, Cradock.

32) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, J. Marra, Langebaan, on behalf of the Coloured community; Report, p.6.

33) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire. Rev. W. E. Morgan, Congregational Union, Maritzburg; S.G. Maurice, Secretary, Juvenile Affairs Board (Coloured); Rev. J. J. van der Merwe, Wynberg; Rev. W. H. Lloyd, Congregational B. Schools, Paarl; Rev. Jas. Ramage, French Hoek; Lutheran Churches, Kimberley; H.B. Manuel, Moslem School, Simonstown; Secretary, A.P.O. Bredasdorp; Sister Florence, St. Peter's Home, Grahamstown; Principal, Girls' School, Roeland Street, Cape Town; Canon B. Price, on behalf of the Diocese of George; Professor G. F. Dingemans, Grahamstown.

34) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Eerwaarde S. J. Malan; Rev. Paul Trumpelmann, Riversdale; Very Rev. Dean Thos. C. Robson, Hon. Con. Perseverance Training School, Kimberley.

35) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, P.9.

In the main, however, they considered that Standard 4 or 13 to 16 years of age should be the lowest upper limit of compulsion.[36] Some thought that compulsion should be introduced where possible,[37] for example, in the urban areas,[38] or that arrangements should be made to allow areas to contract out of the obligation.[39] Chiefly, they were agreed that in the urban areas some form of compulsion was immediately practicable, but that in the rural areas it was out of the question at the time.[40]

Other suggestions were that the pupils should be subject to compulsion once they had been admitted to school, although some saw no advantage in such a measure;[41] or that the pupils should be compelled to attend if they lived within a three mile, or other stated radius of a school.[42] Some felt compulsion should be introduced in a sympathetic way,[43] with consideration in the law for the poor[44] and discretionary powers

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36) Ibid. Report, p.6.

37) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. W. E. Morgan, Congregational Union, Pietermaritzburg.

38) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, J.N.L. Vink, Chairman, Mafeking School Board; Rev. W.P.G. Schierhout, Malmesbury; Rev. J. L. September, Willowmore; Rev. Father Francis Henneman, Oudtshoorn.

39) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. W. H. Lloyd, Congregational B. Schools, Paarl.

40) Ibid. Report, p.6.

41) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, S.G. Maurice, Secretary, Juvenile Affairs Board (Coloured); Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Tulbagh; Report, p.6.

42) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector G. Anders; Lutheran Churches, Kimberley,; Rev. Canon B. Price, on behalf of Diocese of George; Miss J. Armstrong, East Griqualand.

43) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, H.B. Manuel, Moslem School, Simonstown.

44) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. E. S. Dietrich, Port Elizabeth.

to the local management to deal with individual cases,[45] although there were some not averse to prosecuting errant parents.[46] On the whole, a major point of agreement was that the application of compulsion to Coloured children should proceed on lines similar to those followed in the gradual application of the principle to European pupils.[47]

The advances that had been made in the compulsory system for European pupils had proceeded from the prior postulation of the ideal, and the subsequent creation of legislative and administrative machinery for its realisation. Archdeacon Lavis pleaded for the adoption of a similar approach to place the emphasis more upon the realisation of the ideal than on the obstacles which made it difficult of achievement. He considered that, in the light of the experience over twenty years of the "extraordinary stimulus" given to the efforts to meet the needs of the European children after the adoption of the principle in 1905, its immediate acceptance in the case of the Coloured pupils was essential. He felt that while the responsibility remained undefined, limited and partial, the provision of school facilities would continue to be spasmodic and unregulated, and that those interested in providing the schools needed "a goal and an ideal" for which to strive. And, therefore, if the aim to provide for every Coloured child was definitely prescribed it would lead to the awakening of a new interest both on the part of the Coloured people and the Churches, and to fuller co-operation between the State and the Churches in a co-ordinated system of mutual responsibility for the attainment of the objective.[48]

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45) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. W.P.G. Schierhout, Malmesbury.

46) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. Henry C. Nowell, Port Elizabeth; R. M. Nolutshunga, Niekerkshope.

47) Ibid. Report, p.6.

48) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.7.

The possibility of some form of compulsion was enhanced after 1925 by the introduction of the Subsidy for Coloured pupils.[49] The Cape Times, however, realising that finance was the crux of the matter, warned that the Subsidy was hardly adequate for what was needed to introduce compulsion, and requested either an increase or some special grant for building purposes.[50] But the Coloured Education Commission, because it thought additional pupils enrolled in the schools would no longer represent a further financial burden on the Provincial taxpayer, considered that the question of the compulsion of Coloured pupils had therefore entered a new phase. It recommended that the Administration should be empowered to declare education compulsory, within the boundaries of a Municipality or Divisional Council area, and at the request of the appropriate local authority, for children between 7 and 13 years of age, or up to Standard Four, whichever came first. Further, in any area where, in terms of its proposal, a School Board became the Co-ordinating body for the education of Coloured children, it should become the body to request and enforce compulsion. In other areas where compulsion appeared desirable to the Administrator, the initiative should rest with the Education Department.[51] These proposals envisaged the gradual introduction of permissive compulsion making due allowance for varying conditions in different areas.

The prospect of some action in this direction was of great interest and concern to the Coloured leaders, and they urged the authorities not to delay the implementation of the recommendation.[52] Viljoen, the S.G.E., declared that he conceived it to be his paramount duty not to approach the question of public education from the standpoint of race, creed or colour.[53] He was aware that the question of compulsion had loomed very large in the investigation conducted by the

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49) Vide supra p. 249 et seq.

50) Cape Times, 5th October, 1925. "Coloured Education".

51) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Report, p.9.

52) Vide supra p. 267 et seq.

53) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28, p.55.

Commission, and that it had made an important recommendation on the matter. But he was definite that the difficulties involved were so great that they necessitated the postponement of its introduction for "a few years at least". In the meanwhile, he urged Managers and teachers alike to ensure that the pupils already enrolled were not unduly retarded in the lower Standards, and that they attended regularly.[54]

After 1928 repeated requests for compulsion were submitted to the Department by certain School Boards.[55] The Department, however, would not consider the gradual local introduction of compulsion, as contemplated by the Coloured Education Commission. In reply, for example, to a request by the local Co-ordinating Board for Coloured Education, supported by the School Board, that Coloured children in Kimberley be compelled to attend to Standard Four or 14 years of age, the S.G.E. held that, as the Provincial Administration did not make available sufficient funds for the compulsory attendance of all Coloured children, he was not prepared to make an exception of Kimberley. Even though the School Board continued to pursue the matter, indicating in 1930 that there were only 107 children not at school and that no extra cost was involved, the Department would not consider the request in 1934 before it was in a position to enforce the attendance of Coloured children in all areas.[56]

Both M. C. Botha and De Vos Malan, in their capacities as S.G.E., saw no reason in theory to refuse the requests for compulsion, because the Department accepted the principle that not only was every child, irrespective of race or colour, entitled to a minimum of education but that it was the duty of the State to bring education within their reach, and to apply the necessary compulsion to ensure that full

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54) Ibid. p.43.

55) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.49; S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.52.

56) J. P. Botma, Die Geskiedenis van die Onderwys in Griekwaland-Wes, 1800 - 1940, p.347.

advantage was taken of it.[57] But they thought that, in so far as compulsion was required to force unwilling parents to send their children to school, the enthusiasm of the Coloured parents and the heavy demand for admission to the schools obviated the need for compulsion, or made it really not so necessary. The Department's real task, therefore, was to provide schools for all the children that were clamouring for them, even without compulsion.[58] And as an instrument to ensure regularity of attendance, the Cape Coloured Commission found no evidence that the Coloured children in school were attending with serious irregularity: their attendance, without compulsion, formed 86% of the enrolment, compared with 93% for European pupils.[59]

In 1934 the Provincial Council accepted the principle of compulsory education for Coloured children in Municipal areas but decided to postpone implementation until investigation by the Cape Coloured Commission. The enquiry revealed that there was a widespread feeling that, especially in the urban areas where schools had been established, Coloured children should not be allowed to grow up in ignorance, and that compulsion should be applied as a means of doing justice not so much to the Coloured child as to the community as a whole. But the Commission discovered that compulsory education, even amidst the many other grave social and economic problems of the Coloured people, presented one of the most difficult problems for solution.[60] Several circumstances, related in one way or another, contributed to the difficulty. The great "stumbling block", as indicated by M. C. Botha, was the

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57) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.49; S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.52.

58) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.49; S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.48.

59) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.170.

60) Ibid. Report, p.170.

fact that the education of the Coloured pupils was built almost completely on the framework of the Mission school system.[61] The Commission realised that any system of compulsion embracing the Mission schools was bound to fail, unless the religious susceptibilities of the Coloured parents were given due consideration: it would be an exceedingly difficult matter to enforce any rule that would attempt to compel children of one denomination to attend the school of another denomination.[62]

It was clear that, even assuming this difficulty could be circumvented, compulsory education, even of the permissive kind, was an impossibility without the necessary accommodation, which the Churches were unable and not obliged to provide. Any attempt to apply compulsion in a school system, already overcrowded and understaffed, would only have served to make impossible what was already a difficult situation.[63] An effective agency charged with the onus of establishing the additional schools was an essential pre-requisite. And therefore, concomitant with its recommendations for the increased establishment of Undenominational schools,[64] the Cape Coloured Commission recommended that as soon as possible a beginning should be made with the introduction of a system of permissive compulsion for children between 7 and 14 years of age, or up to Standard Four, living within three miles of an Undenominational school in those areas where a School Board or a Coloured Education Committee passed a resolution in its favour at a meeting specially called for the purpose. All pupils attending Mission schools were to be exempted. The Commission conceded that under such a system the areas affected would at first be small, but it hoped that as more Undenominational schools were established the system would become reasonably widespread and would

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61) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.49.

62) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.170.

63) Ibid. Report, p.170.

64) Vide supra p. 280.

bring about an orderly and progressive solution of the problem.[65]

In his consideration of this proposal, De Vos Malan appreciated that the almost completely denominational character of the schools militated against the introduction of full-scale compulsion. He agreed, nevertheless, that it should be kept in view as an ultimate goal which could not be lost sight of. But, though for the present its complete application was impracticable, he considered the time ripe for a beginning to be made. He realised that the implementation of the system suggested by the Commission was wholly dependent on the increased provision of Undenominational schools, especially in areas where no such schools had yet been established, in order to absorb the children affected by the proposed law. The policy could, therefore, only succeed if the necessary money was found for the purpose. But he thought that, since the Provincial Council was already committed in principle to the acceptance of what was now proposed, it was a hopeful sign that an attempt would be made to remove the financial obstacle.[66]

The question of compulsion became focussed more and more in the public attention.[67] At the end of the Second World War the Provincial Council, concurrent with its allocation of money for the establishment of additional Undenominational schools over a period of ten years,[68] made provision for the introduction of a system of compulsion which followed closely the recommendation of the Cape Coloured Commission.[69] But at the time of the enactment of the law it was already apparent that the difficulties in the provision of the necessary accommodation would for some time delay its implementation in any really effective way.[70]

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65) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.p. 170, 171.

66) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.52.

67) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.48.

68) Vide supra p. 288.

69) Coloured Education Ordinance No.11 of 1945. Section 2; S.G.E. Report, 1941 - 45, p.p. 35, 36.

70) S.G.E. Report, 1941 - 45, p.38. Vide supra p.p 288, 289.

It was Abdurahman who said in 1905 that under the conditions prescribed in the School Board Bill the compulsory education of Coloured pupils was "as far off as the Greek Kalends".[71] The forty years that had elapsed since the statement had shown that there was some truth in the prediction. It had been made at a time when the old voluntary-guarantee system had left out of the schools a percentage and number of European children more or less equal to the percentage and number of Coloured children estimated in 1940 to be without school accommodation. As a result of the provisions made for the European pupils in the course of the years the S.G.E. could safely say, after consideration of the 1936 Census figures, that, all things considered, the compulsory education of European pupils had become a reality and was no longer a legislative ideal.[72] But in respect of the Coloured pupils the attainment of the ideal was still a matter for the future.

Separation of European and Coloured Pupils.

Flowing from the very realistic and functional framework of reference afforded by the School Board Act, which, as confirmed by the courts, not only contemplated separate schools for different sections of the population[73] but also laid down a policy for the promotion of separate schools,[74] there was a progressively increasing establishment of Third Class Undenominational and Poor schools for European pupils. In the period from 1904 to 1911 the number of such schools

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71) Vide supra p.174.

72) S.G.E. Report, 1938, p.18.

73) Moller vs. Keimoes School Committee and J. M. Blomerus. 1911 A.D. Justice Innes, p.645.

74) Ibid. 1911 A.D. Lord de Villiers, p.639.

increased from 764 to 1409.[75] The provision of these schools wherever they were required obviated the necessity for European pupils to use, or rather, to abuse, as Muir, the S.G.E., preferred to say, the Mission schools in which Coloured pupils were enrolled.[76] In the Cape Division, for example, it was the general policy of the School Board in the case of poor children of purely European extraction to encourage their admission to the Third Class schools, and to compensate their parents for the disadvantage of the higher fees by admitting the pupils either as free scholars or at a reduced rate. The Board also transferred White Mission schools to its control: during the years 1906 to 1910 eight were thus transferred. In this way the number of European pupils in Mission schools was reduced from 1062 in 1906 to 348 at the beginning of 1910, and to 175 at the end of 1912.[77] These methods and arrangements, although devised in the light of a deliberate policy, achieved their success in an indirect and incidental way.[78] They were based on the legal exclusion of Coloured pupils from schools restricted to European pupils; and rather on progressively weaning the European pupils from the Mission schools attended by Coloured pupils than in ejecting them by force of law.

Any inclination on the part of European parents to keep their children at Mission schools was discouraged by the provision in the School Board Act which as a general rule disallowed the attendance of European children at Mission schools. From the commencement of the Act it had "a noticeable influence" in the Cape Division in accelerating the tendency towards the withdrawal of the European pupils from the Mission schools.[79] Moreover, in terms of the Act, attendance by European pupils

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75) S.G.E. Report, 1911, p.5.

76) S.G.E. Report, 1909, p.6.

77) S.G.E. Report, 1912. Reports of Inspectors Noake and Craib, Cape Division, p.10.

78) S.G.E. Report, 30th June, 1915, p.24.

79) S.G.E. Report, 1912. Reports of Inspectors Noake and Craib, Cape Division, p.9.

at Mission schools, other than White Mission Schools, was not deemed "a reasonable excuse" in any regulations for the exemption of such pupils from their compulsory attendance at Undenominational schools, Private Farm Schools or Poor Schools, unless with the consent of the Department in cases where special exemption appeared necessary.[80] As the attendance of European pupils was enforced in School Board districts it therefore virtually became an infringement of the regulations to send Europeans to the Mission schools, except with the express approval of the Department.

The more rapid transfer of the European pupils from the Mission schools was hindered by certain factors. The scale of fees being lower in the Mission schools, the European parents in some cases in the Cape Division preferred keeping their children at these schools to taking advantage of the policy of the School Board: they hesitated to plead poverty in order to secure the admission of their children to the more expensive Undenominational schools, and perhaps run the risk of their children not being entirely welcome, or not being so easily able to hold their own. Some parents preferred to keep their children as long as possible at a particular Mission school for religious reasons, or because they preferred the teacher. In some instances the School Committees were disinclined to admit European children from the Mission schools, presumably because their admission might have proved detrimental to the interests of the Undenominational schools.[81]

In the measures adopted to exclude Coloured pupils, the provision of the School Board Act from the beginning served to emphasise, in the Cape Division for example, the tendency already evident before its passing to exclude from the schools for European pupils those children who might

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80) The School Board Act, 1905. Section 61.

81) S.G.E. Report, 1912. Reports of Inspectors Noaks and Craib, Cape Division, p.10.

be regarded by the local School Committees as "not purely, or passably, European".[82] The A.P.O. observed in 1911 that schools which formerly accepted Coloured pupils were closing their "narrow doors" and that "the ocular test" had become so strict that even tinges and shades of colour were distinguished by the authorities, and silently but effectively the children with a trace of colour were being weeded out of the schools for European pupils.[83]

The legal necessity to distinguish between European and Coloured children naturally encountered the biggest problems with the large marginal group in the Cape Peninsula. The School Board had daily to deal with difficulties which arose. In the words of Jagger, the Chairman, they "required infinite tact and care and experience" to overcome, although he thought the Board managed to get along fairly well.[84] After representations from a group of Coloured people in District VI in regard to the distinctions that were being drawn, a resolution was tabled in the Board and discussed in committee, which aimed at circumventing the difficulty of classification in such cases: that, beyond making provision for the needs of the Coloured pupils according to the public funds available for the purpose, the Board should lay down no rule of colour in regard to admission to such schools.[85] In a further attempt to meet the situation, the Board resolved to establish in District VI a school characterised by the A.P.O. as a "slightly Coloured school" for children "whose complexions are not white enough to permit of their enrolment in schools for Europeans and who nevertheless are not black". This led the A.P.O. to predict that before long

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82) Ibid. Reports of Inspectors Noaks and Craib, Cape Division, p.9.

83) A.P.O., July 1st, 1911. "A Coloured Training School", p.10.

84) Ibid., July 3rd, 1909, p.3.

85) Ibid., August 12th, 1911, p.6.

the Government would find it necessary to appoint an official to undertake the "ticklish job" of classification.[86]

The Education Department from its side exerted a "judicious pressure" in the direction of compliance with the terms of the law.[87] But it sought to do so in a manner which would reduce dissension and discord, and yet would ensure that the social traditions and conventions of the local European communities were always observed and safeguarded from infringement. It considered the School Committees, duly authorised and empowered as the representatives of the parents, to be in the first instance in the best position to exercise a guardianship over the interests of the local community. The principle formulated by the S.G.E. for their guidance was "dat het in de belange van de School is eenig kind te weigeren op te nemen, tegen wien zij eenig objectie hebben mogen",[88] although legally the School Committees were prima facie precluded from the exercise of this discretion against children subject to compulsion.[89]

As a result of the concerted and purposeful policy, implemented, however, in what the S.G.E. regarded as an unobtrusive and incidental manner, what amounted to "a small revolution" was brought about in the complexion of the schools by 1909, without, in his view, "entailing any real inconvenience and with an entire absence of friction". Of such significance was the success of the policy that in the very important double decade which saw the most far-reaching changes in the educational

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86) Ibid., July 1st, 1911. "Grading of Colour", p.9.

87) S.G.E. Report, 1909, p.6.

88) Moller vs. Keimoes School Committee and J. H. Blomerus. 1911 C.P.D. Letter from H. L. Minnaar, Secretary Keimoes A3 School Committee, Moller, Affidavit. Court Record, p.12.

89) Ibid. 1911 A.D. Justice Lawrence, p.650; Justice Kotze, p.654.

system, such as the end of the voluntary-guarantee system , the inception of School Boards and the acceptance of the principle of compulsion, the S.G.E. nevertheless looked upon the separation of the European and Coloured pupils as the most noteworthy difference between the school systems of 1891 and 1909. Although the complete separation had not yet been effected, only 211 of the 13,187 European pupils at school in the Cape Peninsula, for example, were still being taught on the eve of Union alongside Coloured pupils in the Mission schools, and the S.G.E. expressed the hope that very shortly the process would be brought even nearer completion.[90]

The separation was "gladly welcomed" by the European community.[91] But in the case of the Coloured people the rigid application of the policy coincided with a period when the advanced section among them was beginning to assert, through the A.P.O., a strong cohesiveness in the struggle for the realisation of their political and educational demands. Their leaders in no uncertain way expressed their resentment at the advantage given to the Europeans under this policy. They, for example, successfully protested through Abdurahman, their representative on the Cape Town City Council, against the grant of public land to the Cape School Board for a school site for European pupils, maintaining that the grant was illegal because the school was intended for only one section of the ratepayers. Hopefully they maintained before Union that, if the law were tested in the Supreme Court, it was more than likely to be held that colour could not bar a child's admission to any Public school.[92] And, when the occasion arose two years later, they welcomed the opportunity of testing fully the validity of the principle that a person could be excluded from a public institution which he was by law compelled to support financially. For in areas like Cape Town,

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90) S.G.E. Report, 1909, p.p.3, 4, 6; Footnote, p.4.

91) Ibid., p.6.

92) A.P.O., June 5th, 1909. "Public Lands and School Sites", p.5.

Kimberley and Port Elizabeth Coloured persons were being rated for the upkeep of all the Undenominational schools, and being excluded from some.[93] They therefore exhorted the Coloured people to contribute towards defraying the legal costs involved in securing the vital decisions.[94] So much importance did Coloured people generally attach to the matter that they tendered their support from far and wide.[95]

The right of exclusion by the local school authorities was supported by the Courts. The Judges conceded that there was nowhere in the law any section which distinctly provided in unqualified terms for separate schools from which one class of pupils could be legally excluded on the ground that the schools were established for the one class alone;[96] or any provision in express terms for the establishment of schools exclusively for European children.[97] But the upshot of an examination of the several provisions of the Act showed quite clearly that the Cape Legislature intended the separation of Europeans and non-Europeans in the schools,[98] and the whole tenor of the Act seemed to be in the direction of drawing a clear distinction between the two sets of children and the two types of schools.[99] While the School Committees were not necessarily legally precluded from admitting Coloured children in certain circumstances into schools for European pupils,[100] or vice versa,[101] the Coloured parents certainly had no absolute right to such

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93) Ibid., October 7th, 1911. "The Keimoes Case", p.10.

94) Ibid., August 26th, 1911, p.11.

95) Ibid., September 9th, 1911, p.11; September 23rd, 1911, p.p.2, 10; October 7th, 1911, p.11; November 4th, 1911, p.10.

96) Moller vs. Keimoes School Committee and J. M. Blomerus. 1911 C.P.D. Justice Searle, p.685.

97) Ibid. 1911 C.P.D. Judge President Maasdorp, Judgment, 16th May, 1911, Court Record, p.52.

98) Ibid. 1911 C.P.D. Judge President Maasdorp, Judgment, Court Record, p.53.

99) Ibid. 1911 C.P.D. Justice Searle, p.686.

100) Ibid. 1911 C.P.D. Justice Buchanan, p.682; Justice Hopley, p.p.684, 685; Justice Searle, p.686.

101) Ibid. 1911 C.P.D. Justice Searle, p.686.

admission.[102] The right of exclusion of a School Committee was a logical conclusion of the nine sections of the Act in which the distinction between Europeans and non-Europeans was drawn,[103] quite apart from their inherent power to bona fide exclusion by virtue of their general management of the school.[104]

In the Parliamentary debate on the School Board Bill a Member, in drawing attention to the difficulties that would arise in drawing the line of colour envisaged in the Bill, had wondered "how they were going to say who were going to say who were persons of European extraction".[105] Justice Buchanan observed in the Supreme Court that the Act itself seemed to have been rather negligently drafted. It contained no definition of the term "European", but used the phrases "European parentage or extraction", "European parentage" and "European parentage or descent" in what could be taken as a synonymous sense.[106] Justice Searle submitted that, while the Act clearly attempted to draw the line of colour, it was not clear precisely where it intended the line to be drawn. And, faced with the difficulty, which he acknowledged, of laying down any hard and fast rule, he begged the question and held that, if either of the parents could be described as Coloured, the children could not be of European parentage.[107]

The right of a local option in the admission of pupils to the Undenominational schools and, in particular, the omission by the Judges of the Supreme Court in Moller vs. Keimoes School Committee and J. M. Blomerus to provide a precise definition of the term "European" evoked a reaction among sections of the Coloured people whose views were

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102) Ibid. 1911 C.P.D. Justice Buchanan, p.682.

103) Ibid. 1911 C.P.D. Justice Searle, p.685.

104) Ibid. 1911 C.P.D. Justice Buchanan, p.p.681, 682; Justice Searle, p.687.

105) Debates ..... 1905. Slater, p.47.

106) Moller vs. Keimoes School Committee and J. M. Blomerus. 1911 C.P.D. Justice Buchanan, p.681

107) Ibid. 1911 C.P.D. Justice Searle, p.p.686, 687.

expressed in the A.P.O.. They were able to cite instances in which children of Coloured parents were admitted to schools for European children in densely populated areas, who would in all likelihood be debarred if they moved to areas under rural School Boards, because of differences in approach. They pointed out that in South Africa the term "European" had "a very elastic denotation" and a "vague signification". And, because there were cases in which members of the same family were of so many shades of colour that "it would puzzle the most sensitively-endowed judges" to decide where the line should be drawn, they wanted an exact definition of who was European and who was not, rather than leave their rights to decision by local customs and prejudices.[108]

The Coloured leaders appreciated fully the difficulty of the Supreme Court Judges in answering a question which they suspected the Cape Parliament had itself shirked.[109] Their associates in Bulawayo expressed the view that, if a White man married a Coloured woman, he should accept the consequences of the law and, in any case, if near-White children were accepted in the schools for European pupils that did not alter the position of the Coloured people as a whole.[110] But the leaders nevertheless insisted on a positive declaration because, whatever the decision, they would all be affected.[111] This determination to bring the whole matter to a head was to a very great extent a reflection and continuation of the struggle the A.P.O. had been waging at the time against the restriction of certain political rights in the Act of Union to those "of European descent".[112] After its unsuccessful conclusion, the objections to the

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108) A.P.O., August 26th 1911. "Education and Colour", p.5.

109) Ibid., September 9th, 1911. "Keimoes and Colour", p.5.

110) Ibid., October 7th, 1911, p.3.

111) Ibid., August 26th, 1911, p.11.

112) See, for example, A.P.O. 1909, 1910 passim.

discriminatory principle were pursued, in part, in the form of a threat contained in its unanimous Conference resolution in 1911: that, unless Parliament altered the restrictive qualifications for Members, or defined the term "European descent", they would, as a test case, challenge the eligibility of a particular Cabinet Minister.[113] And they now used the issue involved in a definition of the terms used in the School Board Act in further pursuit of their demand for equality: not so much to project their feelings of injury against those who successfully crossed the colour barrier as to protect and further the rights of those excluded because of their colour. And in this demarche the question provided in their eyes a convenient tactical instrument to embarrass the authorities because of the acknowledged difficulty of drawing the line.

It was not an attempt, at least among the majority of them, to pass themselves off, under false colours, as Europeans. In referring to themselves as Coloured persons, or persons of colour, they acknowledged the distinction drawn between British subjects who were generally regarded as Coloured and those who were of European descent. In fact, they implicitly recognised the superior standards which the European section generally had attained: their objection was to the "obnoxious colour line" that was being drawn to create "a racial aristocracy" and to prevent them from reaching the higher level. And they admitted their dependence on the European section to whom they looked for assistance in the realisation of their aspirations.[114] As a community, they had no desire to force their presence where they were not welcome: it was necessity that compelled them to do so at times. And when efficient schools were provided they accepted that they would cease to apply for the admission of their children to

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113) A.P.O., October 7th, 1911. "The Koimoes Case", p.10

114) Ibid., May 24th, 1909. Report, Seventh A.P.O. Conference, Abdurahman, Presidential Address, p.2 et seq..

schools for European pupils.[115]

Judges of the Appellate Court recognised that the terms of any definition had a special significance because the "very grave and far-reaching question" had an important bearing on the status and rights of a large section of the population, since the Act brought the question of education face to face with the question of colour.[116] Justice Innes concluded that the differing phrases used in the Act were intended to emphasise the description. And, in accordance with the intention of the Legislature and the customary canons of construction, he placed the judicial interpretation of the words beyond all doubt: that they included only those of unmixed European parentage or extraction, and excluded all others. He held that it was natural and obvious to interpret the expressions as meaning wholly and not partly European, for if children with "the smallest appreciable quantity of European blood" were entitled to demand admission to the schools for European pupils it would render nugatory the purpose of the law.[117]

Lord de Villiers, Chief Justice, took cognisance of the fact that the universal meaning attached to the term "European" throughout South Africa was a "White person" and, therefore, if one of the nearer ancestors was not White, a person was regarded as being of other than European descent. But he realised that it was in the gradations of colour between White and non-White that the difficulties might occur.[118] Justice Lawrence accepted that in the nature of things any definition could not be watertight in its exclusiveness since it was admittedly a matter in which there was an insuperable difficulty besetting any attempt

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115) Ibid., July 1st, 1911, p.10.

116) Moller vs. Keimoes School Committee and J. M. Blomerus. 1911 A.D. Justice Lawrence, p.650; Justice Innes, p.p.645, 647.

117) Ibid. 1911 A.D. Justice Innes, p.p.646, 647, 649.

118) Ibid. 1911 A.D. Lord de Villiers, p.p.642, 643.

to prescribe a hard and fast rule, although any difficulty in drawing the line did not affect the meaning and purpose of the law.[119] School Committees, directly concerned in the local complexities of these delicate problems, were therefore specially enjoined by the Appellate Court as a matter of duty in no case to enquire into the descent of a child, or to take up sua sponte a narrow or inquisitorial attitude, or to reject pupils unless it was obvious from their appearance that they were of other than European descent.[120] And if there was any objection by parents to the admission of a child who was "not obviously Coloured" the onus was placed on such parents to provide clear proof of the non-European element in the child's pedigree. In the discharge of this obligation the Chief Justice contemplated that in the great majority of cases it would be impossible to provide such proof in regard to an ancestor of a remoter degree than that of the grandparents.[121] Quite definitely, where one of the grandparents was not White the child was not of European parentage, extraction or descent.[122] For the removal of all ambiguity in the practical application of the law, the S.G.E. regarded the clarity and directness of the sharp and unmistakable division into those of mixed and unmixed parentage as of the greatest consequence to those directly concerned with the admission of pupils, since it would provide an infallible measuring rod for complete success.[123] But yet there appeared quite certainly still to remain nothing to prevent the admission of Coloured children to any Undenominational school if the School Committee thought fit.[124]

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119) Ibid. 1911 A.D. Justice Lawrence, p.p.651, 655.

120) Ibid. 1911 A.D. Lord de Villiers, p.644; Justice Lawrence, p.651.

121) Ibid. 1911 A.D. Lord de Villiers, p644;

122) Ibid. 1911 A.D. Justice Kotze, p.654.

123) S.G.E. Report, 1911, p.3.

124) Moller vs Keimoes School Committee and J. M. Blomerus. 1911 A.D. Justice Lawrence, p.p.650, 651; Justice Innes, p.645.

In the application of "this far-reaching principle" there was no doubt that the separation of the pupils was to be based on the visibility of colour, and that considerations of equity, cultural heritage or social position were of no account. Those of colour had no right of admission to schools established for European pupils, even if it was submitted in their behalf that they were "clean and well-behaved", and that their conduct, appearance and dress had never given any cause for complaint; or that their families were respectable law-abiding citizens of a status and background superior to that of the "very low class poor Whites"; and that in any case, it was not necessary for children at the same school to become associates. Admission could be refused even if other Coloured children had previously been admitted; or if the European father of an excluded child, who was a property owner paying School Rates, contended that it was a "dangerous and far-reaching doctrine" to tax the inhabitants and yet withhold the rights conferred by such taxation.[125]

Muir, during whose period of office the policy became legally effective, considered that the separation had been implemented in the interests of both groups of pupils.[126] He realised that it had far-reaching effects and, in regard to the European section, it gave the indigent child the "opportunity for development which was his natural right". With respect to the Coloured pupils, he thought that by 1915 it had been accompanied by "a marked development of school facilities" for them: in addition to the Mission schools there had emerged in the chief towns a number of important Undenominational schools which were meeting a demand which had hardly existed before the commencement of separation in 1893.[127]

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125) Ibid. 1911 C.P.D. Moller, Affidavit; Replying Affidavit. Court Record, p.p.4 et seq.; 42 et seq..

126) S.G.E. Report, 1909, p.6.

127) S.G.E. Report, 30th June, 1915, p.24. Vide supra p.p.193, et seq. This was Muir's last Report as S.G.E.

Whether the separation of the pupils afforded the Coloured pupils advantages similar and comparable to those which accrued to the European pupils was a question adequately answered in the developments after the passing of the School Board Act. Certainly the purpose of the separation was clear enough, for it served to remove the European pupils incidentally from a close association with Coloured pupils in the same schools, but mainly from the effects of the admittedly inferior Mission school system intended for the Coloured pupils. The advantageous results for the European pupils lay in the evolution of the new system of Undenominational schools established for them. But for the Coloured pupils any beneficial consequences of separation could arise only from the extent to which the inherent inequalities in the two systems were removed and similar Undenominational schools were established for them, and/or Mission schools were given the opportunity of gaining a parity of esteem with the Undenominational schools.[128]

Professor H. P. Cruse, in recording the developments, acknowledged that, while the separation was typical of education in South Africa, the practice had often hurt the feelings of the Coloured people, and that for that reason it was fortunate that the separation was effected gradually. However, he considered that, not only did the policy bring an end to "friction and minor squabbling" at schools, but especially that its application coincided with unprecedented progress in the education of Coloured pupils.[129] It was the view of J. S. Marais, Professor of History at the University of the Witwatersrand, that, to the student of South African society, the most interesting aspect of the history of the education of the Coloured people since the 1840's was the gradual segregation of the Coloured from the European children into an entirely distinct series of schools, and that the events showed that the segregation was not in the interests of the Coloured

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128) See Chapters V and VI.

129) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. H. P. Cruse, Historical Survey of Coloured Education. Appendix 48. Report, p.342.

people. He thought it quite impossible to assess the damage suffered by the Coloured people through their children being consigned to the inferior Mission schools.[130]

No matter what advantages might or might not have been gained by the Coloured people under the policy, some Coloured parents continued to be attracted by the possibility of the admission of their children to the schools for European pupils, encouraged further by the desire to gain for their children the social and economic advantages accorded more and more to the European section through the increasing enforcement of the colour bar in all spheres after Union. The question of Coloured pupils in schools for European pupils continued, therefore, to cause much concern to the Department. The rigid distinction of schools restricted by law to pupils of unmixed European parentage was simple in theoretical conception. And the procedure laid down in the legal cases for drawing the distinction between the two groups of pupils was apparently clear enough. But the practical complexities of the social situation, in which colour was as misleading as names, meant that whoever had to determine the degree of colour in any particular instance, or still more to prove it, was confronted with "insurmountable difficulties".[131]

There were several complicating circumstances. Firstly, even though the difficulties were easily overcome as a rule where the child was "obviously Coloured", the possibility could never be excluded that "a 100% European child" could be refused admission on the ground of colour. Secondly, though the School Committees and School Boards could in most cases settle the questions when objections were raised at the time of admission or soon thereafter, it sometimes happened that the parentage of a child was called into question only years after admission to school. Thirdly, the School Committees and parents took a much

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130) J. S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1962, p.p.269, 270.

131) S.C.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.p.49, 50.

more serious view of their duties in deciding questions of colour than was envisaged by the Courts, and took a more positive approach to the matter. Even where the investigations that followed complaints exceeded the requirements, and probed into the genealogy back to the third and fourth generations, the objecting parents were not always satisfied with the more fulfilment of the requirements of the law: when their objections were not sustained they thought nothing of removing their children from a school, and hindering the work of the Department in diverse ways. Cases of this kind occupied so much of his time and that of the legal advisers that M. C. Botha considered it desirable to have legislation which would provide a sounder basis for their settlement.[132]

The Department's policy in 1938 was to insist that, where required, the fullest investigation into a child's parentage was made before his admission to school, and parents and Principals of schools were discouraged from raising questions of this nature after they had allowed a child to associate for a long time with European children. If it was proved, or the parents admitted, that a child was not of unmixed parentage, it was illegal to admit such a child to a school for European pupils. The decision in the matter was left in the first instance to the local School Committee, but an appeal to the School Board was allowed, and the Department itself only intervened in the event of further disagreement. But so contentious were the issues involved in some of these cases that the final authority of the Department was invoked in 1938 to deal with several complaints in regard to the admission of children alleged to be not of pure European descent. However difficult of solution, the classification could not be avoided, because there was no provision in the law for the recognition of a special category of schools for the children of mixed European and Coloured parentage.[133]

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132) Ibid. p.p.49, 50.

133) S.G.E. Report, 1938, p.p.18, 19.

According to a report in The Sun fifty-two children were summarily dismissed at the beginning of 1940 from an Undenominational school for European pupils in the Cape Peninsula as a result of a "Colour Purge". It was alleged that they were excluded either because it was found that, although "White" they were not of "pure European descent", or, although of "pure European descent", yet their colour allowed of some doubt in the matter. The newspaper stated that many of the children had been in attendance for as long as five years, and that no other provisions had been made before the dismissals took place.[134] Quite clearly, the complexities of colour had not been completely resolved by 1940.

Separation of Coloured and Native Pupils.

With the separation of European and non-European pupils that was basic to the School Board Act, and the emphasis that was placed on its successful implementation, the Department after 1905 drew a sharp statistical distinction between schools for European and schools for non-European pupils, in order to give a clearer picture of the "educational condition" of the two separate groups.[135] The S.G.E. viewed the progress in school enrolment, for example, in this two-fold aspect,[136] and even the slight statistical anomaly occasioned by the inclusion of the very small number of non-European pupils in the general category of Undenominational schools was removed in 1913, to reflect more

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134) The Sun, February 16th, 1940. "Coloured Purge" in Peninsula School".

135) S.G.E. Report, 1906, p.2.

136) S.G.E. Report, 1913, p.8.

accurately the strict dichotomy according to colour.[137] This was the usual broad line of division that was drawn,[138] without distinguishing purposefully or effectively between Coloured and Native pupils in the non-European group.[139]

However, the historical distinction that had existed since 1865, within the large non-European group, between the 'B' Mission schools for the pupils inside the Colony proper and the 'C' or Aborigines' Schools for the pupils in the Native territories, continued to be drawn.[140] These two types of schools hardly differed in character.[141] Yet, while they were often combined for statistical purposes as a single category in contradistinction to the schools for European pupils, the Mission schools in the Colony itself were frequently also considered as a separate type of school.[142] Comparisons in regard to differences in efficiency and costs per pupil were drawn, usually reflecting in favour of the Mission schools in the Colony.[143]

Although there was no legal barrier to separate Coloured and Native pupils, schools serving de facto mainly the Native population and schools serving mainly the Coloured population had developed, because the largest concentrations of the Native population were in the Native territories and the Eastern districts, while the Coloured population was largely concentrated in the Western Province, South Western districts and Griqualand West. As a result, there was

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137) S.G.E. Report, 1914, p.14.

138) Ibid. p.p.7, 14.

139) See, for example, S.G.E. Report, 1915, p.p.7, 8.

140) See, for example, S.G.E. Report, 1906, p.p.9, 12.

141) S.G.E. Report, 1906, p.9.

142) See, for example, S.G.E. Report, 1908, p.p.4, 9.

143) S.G.E. Report, 1908, p.p.9, 5.

revealed an increasing tendency to identify, if not compulsorily to separate, Native and Coloured pupils inside the schools, and to look upon the Mission schools in the Colony proper as established essentially for the Coloured children.[144] This practice was continued after 1910 when the Cape Colony became a Province of the Union of South Africa, although no fewer than one-third of the schools officially classified in 1920 as being for Native pupils were outside the Transkeian territories.[145]

In regard to the Undenominational schools, although the School Board Act drew no distinctions inside the group not of European parentage or extraction, the majority of the schools that were established were regarded as serving the Coloured people, because of their situation and the circumstances of their establishment. The Kimberley School Board endorsed the distinction when it transferred to its control in 1906 a school previously established by the local Board of Management specifically for Native pupils.[146] Apart from the First Class school at Lovedale, this school was in 1920 the only Undenominational school classified for Native pupils by the Education Department.[147]

The tendency towards the separate identification of Coloured pupils in their own schools was reflected also in the policy of training Coloured teachers for employment in such schools,[148] and Native teachers for employment in the schools intended for Native pupils.[149] When the Coloured teachers organised themselves into

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144) S.G.E. Report, 1909, p.9.

145) S.G.E. Report, 1920, p.8.

146) J. P. Botma, Die Geskiedenis van die Onderwys in Griekwaland-Wes, 1800 - 1940, p.341.

147) S.G.E. Report, 1920, p.8.

148) Vide infra p. [illegible] et seq..

149) S.G.E. Report, 1917, p.11.

a separate Association,[150] they accepted the advisability of the division inside the non-European section and revealed their particular interest in the Coloured pupils they were teaching. At their inaugural Conference in 1913, they adopted a resolution urging the Department to compile educational statistics under the separate headings of European, Coloured and Native, because they were keen to promote the interests of the Coloured pupils, as required by their Constitution. W. G. Hendrickse, one of the founders of their organisation, thought that when this had been done it marked "a decided step forward", because it was only from then onwards that progress could be gauged in the education of the Coloured pupils as a separate group.[151]

Towards the end of the First World War the conviction grew that the system of education for Coloured pupils presented a problem distinct from that for Native pupils, and required separate study and administration.[152] The distinction between the two types of schools was officially acknowledged by the Department, and began to receive de jure recognition by the Provincial Council through special provisions for schools classified as being for Coloured pupils.[153] However, in such matters as, for example, different salary scales for teachers in the two types of schools, special provisions had still to be made for

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150) Vide infra p370et seq..

151) A.P.O. July 12th, 1913. "S.A. Teachers' League. A summary of the proceedings of the Coloured Teachers' Conference, held in School of Arts, Cape Town, on 24th June and following days", p.8;
The Sun, June 28th, 1940. W. G. Hendrickse, Presidential Address, Teachers' League of South Africa, Annual Conference, 1940. Vide infra p. 325.

152) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.47.

153) S.G.E. Report, 1918, p.p.14, 15. See, for example, The Coloured Educational Institutions Ordinance No. 12 of 1918.

the schools not attended exclusively by Coloured or Native pupils.[154] After 1920 the two types of schools were treated quite separately for statistical purposes.[155] In 1921 the S.G.E. was required by law to classify all Mission schools as being for Coloured or for Native pupils,[156] although there was no corresponding onus placed on him in respect of the Undenominational schools.[157]

The Education Department accepted the task of evolving a system of education to meet the practical requirements of European, Coloured and Native children.[158] In the course of drawing the distinction between Coloured and Native pupils and devising separate systems for them, a Provincial Commission was appointed in 1919 to consider the system of education for Native pupils.[159] The Commission, with the S.G.E. as Chairman, had fourteen additional members, representative of the Inspectorate, the Native Affairs Department, the Transkeian Territories General Council, the Provincial Council, the Union Education Department and the Native Educational Institutions. For the first time in the history of the Government Commissions in South Africa, it included Native members, a fact of which the significance was specially noted by the S.G.E.[160] In the initial attempt to formulate a distinctive policy for the smaller number of Coloured pupils, as a group distinct from both the European and Native pupils, the Administration did not find it possible to appoint

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154) Coloured and Native Educational Institutions Ordinance No. 26 of 1920.

155) S.G.E. Report, 1920, p.8.

156) Consolidated Education Ordinance No. 5 of 1921, Section 339(a).

157) Ibid. Section 327.

158) S.G.E. Report, 1921, p.41.

159) Commission on Native Education, 1920. C.P. 4 - 1920. Terms of Reference. Report, p.2.

160) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28, p.46; Commission on Native Education, 1920. Report, p.23.

a special Commission of investigation. Instead, the views of persons known to be competent and experienced authorities on this "most important aspect of education" were solicited by circular letter, and were considered by a small committee of Inspectors. Inspector C.E.Z. Watermeyer, who was entrusted with the task, after collection and collation of the information and consideration of the opinions and suggestions offered by a representative selection of Europeans and Coloured educationists, submitted a report to the S.G.E..[162] While the Department was in no wise committed to the views expressed in the Report, the S.G.E. confidently anticipated that they would be of material assistance in finding a solution to "this extremely knotty educational problem" of evolving a suitable scheme of education for Coloured pupils.[163]

Because the classification and separation of Coloured and Native pupils had never been enforced it was not possible inside the new bifurcation for the S.G.E. to ascertain, for example, what proportion of the increase of 3,465 in the non-European enrolment in 1921, was respectively Coloured and Native pupils.[164] At the commencement the schools were merely designated as Native or Coloured according to the classification of the majority of the pupils.[165] It took some time to implement the policy, which entailed the identification and physical separation of two groups who in some parts lived in close proximity and intimate social relationship, and were sometimes ethnically indistinguishable. While the distinction between European pupils and others rested upon a clear legal authority and administrative procedure,[166]

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162) Watermeyer. Report, "Coloured Education", 15th March, 1920. For a much fuller investigation, see Coloured Education Commission, Report, C.P. 1 - 1927.

163) S.G.E. Report, 1919, p.13.

164) S.G.E. Report, 1921, p.30.

165) Ibid. Report of W. G. Bennie, Chief Inspector of Native Education, p.47.

166) Vide supra p.305 et seq.

no positive legal definition of a Coloured pupil was provided in 1921,[167] and subsequent enactments did little to clarify precisely the distinction between a Coloured and a Native pupil: a pupil was Coloured if he was of "other than European or native race".[168] In the absence of an official or judicial pronouncement formulating the procedure to be followed in the separation of Coloured and Native pupils, the objective was pursued by persuasion rather than compulsion.

Even after the imposition on the S.G.E. of the onus of classification, the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools saw an advantage in the continued admission to the Training Schools for Coloured students of those Native students who had a good knowledge of the official language used as the medium of training. Apart from the lack of Training schools for Native students outside the Native Territories, he considered the services of Native teachers would be of value in the schools for Coloured pupils with a considerable number of Native children on the roll.[169] In the secondary area, where the facilities for Native pupils, as such, were negligible, when those for Coloured pupils were steadily increasing after 1925,[170] no real obstacle to the admission of Native pupils was presented. In Port Elizabeth, for example, Native pupils were not excluded at the commencement of the local Secondary school, and in 1928 about 40 of the 100 pupils at the school were Native pupils.[171] In fact, it became an established custom to allow Native pupils at the school, although admissions were limited

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167) Consolidated Education Ordinance No. 5 of 1921, Section 2.

168) Education Amendment Ordinance No. 25 of 1928. Section 13(a); S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.47.

169) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.67. Vide infra p.384.

170) Vide infra p.416 et seq.

171) S.G.E. Reports, 1925, p.77; 1926, p.61; 1927 - 28, p.113. Reports of Inspectress L. C. Elton, Port Elizabeth.

because of the increasing number of Coloured pupils.[172] A few Native pupils were also allowed to enrol at the Secondary schools for Coloured pupils in Cape Town and Kimberley, but the number admitted at all three schools was also fewer than the actual number of applications for enrolment. Although the Department raised no objection, it considered the arrangement to be far from satisfactory, and one which could not be continued indefinitely.[173]

In the course of the classification there were schools in some areas that continued to be classified as schools for Native pupils, in spite of the fact that a very small percentage of their pupils could understand or speak a Native language. However, the Managers and teachers sometimes came to realise that it was in the interests of their pupils to have such schools classified as being for Coloured pupils and to follow the appropriate curriculum, and the change was accordingly made.[174] This process of voluntary separation and classification, encouraged by the prospect of a better kind of education, was no doubt facilitated by the attitude of many Coloured people that they were not only racially different from Native people, but were also superior to them. It found expression in an objection to a common classification and to their children having to attend the same schools as Native children, to their teachers being trained alongside Native students, and to Native teachers being sometimes appointed at schools attended by Coloured children.[175] But even though, as in the area around Kimberley, the separation was achieved to some extent after the establishment of additional schools, the

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172) S.G.E. Report, 1931. Report of G. H. Welsh, Chief Inspector for Native Education, p.56.

173) Ibid., p.p.46, 47.

174) S.G.E. Report, 1925. Report of Inspector J. C. Zuidmeer, Britstown, Carnarvon, De Aar, Hopetown, Loxton, Petrusville, Philipstown, Strydenburg, Victoria West, Vosburg, p.109. For the special curriculum for schools for Coloured pupils, see p352et seq..

175) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.p.14, 15.

Mission schools were sometimes most unwilling to co-operate in pursuit of the policy.[176]

Although schools previously classified for Native pupils were sometimes re-graded for Coloured pupils without apparent difficulty,[177] the complete separation of the pupils was perhaps most difficult in the predominantly Native areas, such as the Transkei, where the Coloured people were often very poor and were scattered among the Native population, attending schools classified for Native pupils.[178] Where they requested separate schools for the large number of their children, the matter was not always easily resolved, because it required the establishment of new schools.[179] In other instances the problem was to gather the Coloured children in sufficient numbers to justify the establishment of a separate school. But even though there were sometimes schools for Coloured pupils within reach, many of the Coloured parents in these parts seemed to have no qualms about sending their children to school along with Native children, provided the religious teaching met with their approval.[180] For between the lower classes of Coloured people and the Native people who lived under the same general conditions in the Native locations, there was often no feeling

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176) S.G.E. Reports, 1925, p.68; 1926, p.52. Reports of Inspector R. J. Baigrie, Barkly West, Kimberley.

177) S.G.E. Report, 1925. Report of Inspector W. J. Barker, Mount Fletcher, Mount Frere, p.111.

178) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of Inspector J. E. Pope, Bizana, Flagstaff, Lusikisiki, Ntabankulu; Report of Inspector J. C. Ross, Mount Currie, Mount Ayliff, Umzimkulu, p.p.163, 166.

179) S.G.E. Report, 1925. Report of Inspector G. Bell. Matatiele, Mount Currie, Umzimkulu, p.113.

180) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of Inspector J. C. Ross. Mount Currie, Mount Ayliff, Umzimkulu, p.166.

of antagonism and a quite free intercourse.[181]

The distinction between the two types of schools was accentuated by the different methods by which they were financed. Up to 1921 the funds for all the schools under its control were allocated by the Provincial Administration from its available sources. But thereafter the Central Government increasingly restricted the Administration's powers in regard to the financing of the schools for Native pupils, and in 1925 itself accepted financial responsibility. The S.G.E. was forced to the conclusion that the Native Affairs Department had in fact become the "ultimate arbiter", while the Provincial authorities merely carried responsibility for the administration of the system.[182] The automatic limitation of funds, irrespective of other considerations, was "a device" not applied to the European and Coloured sections and, in the view of G. H. Welsh, Chief Inspector for Native Education, was based on a principle not easy to defend.[183] The annual uncertainty of obtaining adequate funds caused the Department much anxiety after 1925.[184] Although the Administration was autonomous in respect of policy, and its legal provisions sometimes applied to schools for non-Europeans generally,[185] the extent to which schools for Native pupils were assisted was severely restricted.[186] The S.G.E. complained in 1931 that all efforts, for example, to obtain funds from the Central Government to pay 5% rent grants on the cost of school buildings for Native pupils were unsuccessful.[187]

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181) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.15.

182) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28, p.49. Report of W. G. Bennie, Chief Inspector for Native Education, p.89 et seq..

183) S.G.E. Report, 1929. Report of G. H. Welsh, Chief Inspector for Native Education, p.41.

184) Ibid., p.26.

185) See, for example, Ordinance 23 of 1925. Section 10.

186) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of W. G. Bennie, Chief Inspector for Native Education, p.88.

187) S.G.E. Report, 1931, p.46.

The strict classification of the non-European pupils in the two categories was implicit in the special method introduced in 1925 to finance the schools for Coloured pupils.[188] It provided an important financial incentive for the transfer of the Native and Coloured pupils into their respective schools, and the enrolment of only Coloured pupils in the schools classified for them, for only Coloured pupils became Subsidy-earning pupils. Thereafter, although the two types of schools continued to share many adverse features, the developments in the two instances were along quite different lines, and the systems were administered through different sections of the Education Department.[189] With the significant difference in the system of financing the schools, the more generous provisions made by the Administration were restricted to schools for Coloured pupils. However, many obstacles continued to hamper the complete separation of Coloured and Native pupils. In 1937, for example, the Department found it necessary to take a census of Coloured pupils attending schools for Native pupils. Steps were taken to ensure that, wherever possible, such pupils were to be transferred to schools for Coloured pupils or, where necessary, that separate provision was made for them by establishing new schools.[190]

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188) Vide supra p. 249 et seq.

189) S.G.E. Report, 1930, p.4.

190) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.81.

The Medium of Instruction.

Despite the very far-reaching changes it made in the general structure of the educational system, the School Board Act made no specific provisions for alterations in the arrangement by which the medium of instruction employed in the schools was selected.[191] Soon after Union, however, the principle of home language instruction was accepted by the Provincial authorities as the policy of the law. But its enforcement was restricted to pupils in Undenominational schools and thus, apart from the small number of Coloured pupils in such schools, its application was virtually restricted to European pupils. As from 1912 it was required that every pupil in an Undenominational school should be taught through the medium of the language best known and understood by him, up to and including Standard Four. The right of the parent was limited to a claim that the other language be gradually introduced and later be regularly used as a second medium in accordance with the intelligence of the pupil; and to a free choice after Standard Four.[192]

Although there were difficulties in the practical application of the principle in the years thereafter, the tendency was clearly in the direction of its continued enforcement and the further restriction of parental choice. Thus in 1925 home language instruction was made compulsorily applicable to Standards Five and Six as well.[193] By the time this alteration was made, "a revolution of the first magnitude" had taken place over the years since the original application of the

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191) The School Board Act, 1905. Vide supra p.43, et seq..

192) S.G.E. Report, 1925, p.p.9, 10; Ordinance 11 of 1912. The provisions were incorporated in Consolidated Education Ordinance No. 5 of 1921, Chapter. 22, Section 293 et seq..

193) S.G.E. Report, 1925, p.p.9, 10. Ordinance 23 of 1925, Section 13.

principle to European pupils: whereas English had been the medium for all pupils, 97.3% of the English-speaking primary pupils and 91.4% of the Afrikaans or Dutch-speaking pupils were in 1926 being taught through the medium of their home language. Of the small remainder, some were being taught through the medium of the other language and some through both media.[194]

When the draft Language Ordinance was first made known, the leaders of the A.P.O. showed a very decided interest in the new language policy for the schools, which Abdurahman felt concerned the Coloured people because they had to decide whether their language was to be Dutch or English. The leaders of the organisation left no doubt about their strong antagonism to the use of Dutch as the medium in the schools. They conceded that there might be some justification for its use as medium if Dutch as spoken in the country were a language with a "definite agreed-upon grammar"; or if, in its current form, it were the commercial language of the land. And they also considered that, with the paucity of its literature, its use would retard the advancement of their children after they left school. Abdurahman urged the Coloured people to cultivate what he regarded as the superior English tongue wherever and whenever possible, and he deprecated the habit prevalent among so many of them, who possessed a facility in English, of talking to one another in Cape Dutch.[195]

The leaders of the A.P.O. insisted that it would be a retrograde step to compel the children, including those in the towns, to be taught through the medium of Dutch. They staked their claim to the continuation of a free parental choice, confident that there was no desire on the part of the parents to alter the prevailing system, and that it was

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194) S.G.E. Report, 1926, p.p.10, 11.

195) A.P.O., January 13th, 1912. Abdurahman, Presidential Address, A.P.O. Conference, 1912, p.p.6, 7;
A.P.O. June 1st, 1912, p.7.

the wish of all in the towns that their children should be taught through the English medium. They pointed out, for example, that although the home language of 80% of the pupils at an Undenominational school for Coloured pupils in Cape Town was Dutch and the medium was English, no parental objections had ever been raised. To reinforce the strength of their opposition to compulsory home language instruction, they indicated the practical difficulties of finding the additional teachers and accommodation that would be required. In short, it was to them intolerable to change the medium to Dutch against the wishes of the parents.[196] For their fear was that, if the terms of the Language Ordinance were strictly applied to Coloured pupils, the majority would have to be taught through the Dutch medium.[197]

This strong disposition in favour of English did not, however, go unchallenged among the Coloured people. In a lecture to the Cape Division branch of the organisation of the Coloured teachers, the Teachers' League of South Africa, in 1914, Erasmus, a Coloured teacher, held that, although English was "een pronktaal", it was altogether natural that Dutch, even though it was only "Kaapse Hollands", should be used as the medium in the schools for Coloured pupils, because it was the home language of the great majority of the Coloured parents and was as a consequence the language of the younger generation. Even though he noticed that some parents made English the home language, Dutch was among them still the language of general social intercourse. He thought it only reasonable that the teachers should commence the education of the pupils in their home language, "willen wij niet een papegaaike van het gekleurde kind maken". He saw the contradiction between the language they understood the better and the medium of

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196) Ibid. January 13th, 1912. Abdurahman, Presidential Address, A.P.O. Conference, 1912, p.p.6, 7; A.P.O. June 1st, 1912, p.7. Ironically enough, the A.P.O. was itself a bilingual organ.

197) Ibid. August 10th, 1912. "The Finger of God", p.8.

instruction as one of the difficulties in the schools for Coloured pupils; many of the pupils spoke Dutch but were unable to read or write it, and yet their English was faulty and ungrammatical. He did not desire the neglect of English, which he recognised as a world language, and he favoured the use of English and Dutch in the higher Standards. But his view was quite definitely that it was in the interests of the pupils' progress to commence in the Dutch language.[198]

For the Coloured pupils in the Mission schools there was no positive direction of policy through the legal enforcement of any principle. The provisions of the Consolidated Education Ordinance No.5 of 1921 did little to alter the latitude that was allowed in the choice of medium, and to stem the strong bias in favour of English even when it was not the home language of the pupils. The Ordinance merely placed the responsibility upon the S.G.E., in respect of all schools for non-European pupils, other than Undenominational schools, to make such provision for the medium of instruction as in his opinion might be necessary to satisfy the educational requirements of the case.[199] And the Primary School Course to be used in schools for Coloured pupils required, rather indefinitely, that "Instruction should begin with the home language but the other official language should also be taught from a very early stage .....".[200] In practice this left a free choice to the parents.[201]

Inspectors of Schools in some areas reported that a significant factor in the retardation of the pupils' progress was that many of them began their school lives by reading the language they did not speak,[202] and that therefore the introduction of home language instruction was the only remedy for the "painfully mechanical and monotonous" reading

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198) Ibid., June 13th, 1914. "Hollands in Gekleurde Scholen", p.p.13, 14.

199) Consolidated Education Ordinance No. 5 of 1921. Section 332.

200) The Education Gazette, 6th December, 1923, p.796.

201) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.50.

202) S.G.E. Report, 1920. Report of Relieving Inspector and Inspector of Dutch, Dr. B. J. Haarhof, p.16; S.G.E. Report, 1922. Report of Inspector J. Anders, Calitzdorp, Oudtshoorn, p.80.

of the pupils in the Mission schools.[203] The contradiction between the home language and the medium of instruction existed, in the main, in some of the country districts, such as the Karoo, where the Coloured children were predominantly and often wholly Afrikaans-speaking, but English, for its own sake, remained the medium of the schools. Because, unlike the European pupils, they were left "to the mercy of antiquated ideas", it was a not uncommon occurrence in these Mission schools that pupils ten to thirteen years of age and above remained for two full years in Sub-standard A, and even then failed to satisfy the requirements of the syllabus at that stage. When they left school - and two-thirds of them who whiled away their time in this way in one Karoo circuit never reached Standard I - they were both helpless at the language they had all along struggled with, and unable to read or write their own; and were left stranded "on the sands of ignorance".[204]

Although there were some pupils taught through the other medium who made good progress, Inspectors sometimes felt strongly that even their progress would have been more rapid if they had begun their work through the medium of the home language. In the absence of a legal sanction, they made "repeated recommendations" to affected schools for a change, and their recommendations were sometimes acted upon.[205] Where the alteration in the lower Standards followed upon the advice or pressure of the Inspector, it had the effect of hastening the progress of the pupils and shortening the great length of time they often

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203) S.G.E. Report, 1921. Report of Acting Inspector P. J. le Roux, Britstown, Carnarvon, De Aar, Philipstown, Victoria West, p.63.

204) S.G.E. Report, 1925. Report of Inspector C. J. van der Merwe, Beaufort West, Fraserburg, Laingsburg, Williston, p.p.102, 103.

205) S.G.E. Report, 1922. Report of Inspector J. Anders, Calitzdorp, Oudtshoorn, p.80.

spent in the Sub-standards.[206] Even with the limited knowledge which the teachers had of the home langunge of the pupils, there was notable improvement after the more general application of the principle in some areas,[207] and gradual improvement in others, although the teachers in the smaller schools were not always adaptable to the change.[208] In the Paarl and Malmesbury area, where the pupils with few exceptions were Dutch-speaking, the Circuit Inspector made a strong recommendation that the principles of the Language Ordinance applicable to Undenominational schools should be introduced in the Mission schools. He sought the active co-operation of the teachers, and the adoption of the home language medium and the use of Dutch or Afrikaans as first language at least up to Standard Two or Three was accepted in the schools as the best policy for the time being. As a result, the most successful schools in the area were those which accepted the home language as the exclusive medium in the lower classes.[209]

Because of the laissez-faire policy, the choice of medium in the schools was to a great extent dependent on the interplay of the often conflicting trends and forces that revealed themselves in the relationship between the School Inspectors, the teachers, and the Managers, as the representatives of the parents. An Inspector found that where the teachers in an area realised the "absolute soundness" of the "fundamental educational principle" of home language instruction, and the Managers viewed the question in its "true perspective", an alteration in the medium was effected without any friction and the principle

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206) S.C.E. Report, 1926. Report of Inspector S. B. Joubert, Aberdeen, Graaff Reinet, Hanover, Middelburg, Murrayeburg, Pearston, Richmond, p.66.

207) Ibid. Report of Inspector Radloff, Jansenville, Steytlerville, Willowmore, p.71.

208) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Tulbagh.

209) S.C.E. Report, 1920, p.21; 1925, p.81. Reports of Inspector C. Hofmeyr, Malmesbury, Paarl.

could be applied equally to schools for Coloured and for European pupils.[210] But, in the absence of any legally enforceable policy or specific procedure to be followed, the implementation of the principle was dependent on persuasion and pressure, and success was varied. By the middle of the twenties 63% of the schools reported upon to the Coloured Education Commission were giving instruction through the medium of the home language,[211] although the stage and extent to which it was given varied considerably.[212] English was the prevailing medium in the urban areas, and although many schools in the country areas began through the home language medium, both media were employed.[213]

The problem of the change in the medium to be used in the schools in which the pupils were Afrikaans-speaking was complicated by several factors. Apart from the weight of tradition, many of the Managers of schools, themselves English-speaking, encouraged the use of English because that was the medium of worship in their Churches. In the English Church, for example, English was almost uniformly used in its services. Archdeacon Lavis submitted that, even though in the country districts the use of Afrikaans as medium in the schools was quite natural, it should not be enforced to the Fourth Standard, and that, on the whole, there was much to be said for the continuation of English as the medium in the country districts.[214] Through the influence of

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210) S.G.E. Report, 1926. Report of Inspector J.C. Zuidmeer, Britstown, Carnarvon, De Aar, Hopetown, Loxton, Strydenburg, Victoria West, Voeburg, Williston, p.92.

211) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Replies to Questionnaire.

212) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. W. H. Lloyd, Congregational E. Schools, Paarl; Sister Florence, St. Peter's Home, Grahamstown; Rev. W. Holzapfel, Tulbagh; Rev. Dietrich, Port Elizabeth; Rev. P. J. van der Walt, Upington; Rev. Canon B. Price, on behalf of the Diocese of George; Inspector A. Scott, Knysna; Rev. A.P.G. Schierhout, Malmesbury.

213) Ibid. Report, p.6.

214) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.12.

their management, the language of the Churches, largely English-speaking, became also the language of the schools under their control. But significantly, even many of the schools under the control of the Dutch Reformed Church followed the traditional policy and used English as medium.[215]

A further difficulty was that the teachers themselves were not always adequately equipped to teach through the medium of Afrikaans. In the Training Schools English was the medium generally used, although Afrikaans was taught as a language.[216] The vicious circle was that English had to be used as the medium in the Training Schools because English was the medium in the primary schools, and English had to be the medium in the primary schools because it was the medium in which the teachers were trained.[217] The predominantly English orientation of the Training Schools, almost all located in the urban areas, had the effect that those who were trained at them were practically unilingual and, knowing little Afrikaans or Nederlands, they tried to teach even the pupils in the Afrikaans-speaking rural areas through the English medium. When they were persuaded to adopt Afrikaans as the medium and to devote more time to English as a language, they were so badly qualified in the new medium that they found it difficult to adjust themselves to the change.[218] However, a start was made to adapt the training of the teachers more realistically to the requirements of the pupils in the Afrikaans-speaking areas. By 1925 the students were receiving practice in both media, and examinations in class teaching through the Afrikaans medium were also being held, although the

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215) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.p.50, 51.

216) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Report, p.p.6, 7.

217) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.51. Vide infra p.404 et seq.

218) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Robertson, Tulbagh, Wellington, Worcester, p.110.

effect of this change took some time to be felt.[219] Despite some improvement, Afrikaans was still found to be a weak subject in the Training Schools in 1928.[220]

In the bigger urban areas, where a part of the Coloured population was definitely English-speaking, and where, Archdeacon Lavis submitted, English was gaining ground among them both as a language of the home and the playground,[221] the contradictions between home language and medium in the schools were not quite so glaring. In one Circuit in the Cape Peninsula, for example, home language instruction was practised in schools for both European and Coloured pupils, and the number of Coloured pupils not using the home language as medium was small,[222] although there were many schools in the towns in which Afrikaans-speaking pupils were being taught through the English medium.[223] In these areas the problem of single-medium instruction was aggravated by the difficulty sometimes experienced in determining the home language of the pupils.[224] Archdeacon Lavis considered the Coloured children of Cape Town to be bilingual and unconsciously able to pass with ease from one language to the other.[225] And the Rev. Paul Heese, of Amalienstein, observed on his visits to Cape Town that they were able to speak Afrikaans but had a knowledge of English as well: they answered in English if addressed in that language, although of their own accord they used Afrikaans.[226]

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219) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Report, p.7.

220) S.G.E. Report 1927 - 28. Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Report on Afrikaans in Training Colleges and Schools. p.71.

221) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.12.

222) S.G.E. Report, 1925. Report of Inspector C.E.Z. Watermeyer, Cape Division No. 3, p.106.

223) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. Thomas Gamble, Manager, Rose LaneColoured School, Uitenhage; Lutheran Churches, Kimberley; Rev. C. O'Rourke, 32, Somerset Road; Principal, Girls' School, Roeland Street.

224) Ibid. Report, p.6.

225) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.12.

226) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. Paul Heese and teachers of Amalienstein.

Many of the Coloured parents evinced a very keen desire that their children should learn English, and sufficient of it to prepare them for "the practical requirements of life".[227] Their preference was, in part, a reflection of the prevailing English atmosphere of the big cities, in which it was the language of commerce and trade. And it was encouraged, to some extent, by the social prestige enjoyed by the English language in the Coloured community because, although the other language was used, the more prosperous Coloured people, in Port Elizabeth, for example, all spoke English.[228] But it manifested itself also in other areas in which the parents, even though they habitually spoke Afrikaans to one another and themselves knew little English, made their choice of English quite evident and expected their children to be taught through the medium of English.[229] Indeed, they sometimes sent their children to school expressly to acquire a knowledge of the English language.[230]

The economic, rather than the educative, motive was a strong determinant in the choice of medium. The drift of the Coloured people was towards the English-speaking towns, and it was a rare occurrence for those in the towns to remove permanently to the country. From the point of view of their future vocations, Archdeacon Lavis, for example, regarded the English medium in the urban schools as greatly to the advantage of the pupils, and a knowledge of English as necessary also for the country child.[231] In Port Elizabeth, where the Coloured people

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227) Ibid. Report, p.6.

228) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. C. W. Newell, Port Elizabeth.

229) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. A. Pieuepnes, Barkly West.

230) S.G.E. Report, 1922. Report of Inspector J. Anders, Calitzdorp, Oudtshoorn, p.80.

231) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.12.

were obtaining employment in the rapidly developing secondary industries, they were being instructed by English-speaking artisans and a knowledge of the language was an important aid to their progress.[232] Among the main points of view placed before the Coloured Education Commission for consideration was that the medium should be the language in which the child would eventually have to earn his living; and, therefore, children from the country areas should not be disadvantaged, as compared with the urban children, through the application of the home language principle, since, owing to the early age at which they left school, they would have a knowledge only of Afrikaans,[233] and thus be penalised in their future employment.

The enquiry conducted by the Commission revealed among those who submitted evidence no unanimity of principle, calculated to alter the trend which allowed a measure of free choice in local decision and had revealed a bias among many parents and Managers in favour of English, however much deprecated by Inspectors of Schools. Amidst the great diversity of opinion, there were discernible three distinct schools of thought. In the first place, there were those who categorically favoured the application of the home language principle to the Coloured pupils in the same manner and form as for the pupils in Undenominational schools,[234] because they felt, for example, that the Coloured parents' choice of instruction through a second language should be very greatly restricted,[235] or that, if it was a sound principle for European children it was much more so in the case of Coloured children.[236] In the second place, there was a body of opinion in favour of its modified application,[237] with Standard III, for example,

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232) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. C. W. Newell, Port Elizabeth.

233) Ibid. Report, p.6.

234) Ibid. Report, p.11.

235) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. J. C. Truter, Riversdale.

236) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector P. D. Rousseau Tulbagh.

237) Ibid. Report, p.11.

as the upper limit of enforcement because the bulk of the Coloured pupils left at an earlier age than European pupils,[238] or with differential upper limits for rural and urban areas,[239] or with English introduced as early as the Sub-standards.[240] In the third place, there were those who favoured the teaching of English as the main language, with Afrikaans as the subsidiary language of instruction in the urban areas, and the use of English as the prevailing medium of instruction, regardless of the pupils' home language.[241] In addition, there were some who were influenced in their opposition to the home language principle by the difficulty they foresaw in providing additional accommodation for single medium schools and parallel classes in the face of the existing shortage, and therefore regarded it as unworkable or impracticable.[242] Some others were willing to leave the choice of medium to the majority of the parents,[243] or desired equality of treatment for the two languages.[244]

Significantly, after a consideration of these divergent views, and at a time when the principle of home language instruction was being further implemented for European pupils, the Coloured Education Commission considered it advisable in the case of the Coloured pupils to continue to allow sufficient latitude for the exercise of parental and local choice, especially in the urban areas such as Cape Town, Port

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238) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. Jas. Ramage, French Hoek.

239) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. W. Holzapfel, Tulbagh.

240) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, R. M. Nulutshunga, Niekerkshope.

241) Ibid. Report, p.11.

242) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. C. O'Rourke, 32, Somerset Road; W. Runciman, Chairman, Cape School Board.

243) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector S. B. Hobson, Cape Town.

244) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Principal, Girls' School, Roeland Street; A.P.O., Worcester.

Elizabeth and Kimberley. It recommended that in these schools both languages be taught as subjects in all the primary Standards, but that the choice of medium should be left to the discretion of the local management. No legal barrier was therefore to be erected to prevent the realisation of the desire for the use of the English medium where it was demonstrated in the urban schools. For the rural areas, where the language of the majority was Afrikaans, the recommendation of the Commission allowed sufficient elasticity in the application of the home language principle to satisfy to some extent the inclination towards the choice of English. As in the urban schools, the pupils were to be taught both official languages as subjects in all primary Standards, but reading and writing in the Second Language was not to be introduced before the pupils had acquired a fair working vocabulary in the language, and had thoroughly mastered the sounds and symbols of their own language. They were to be taught exclusively through the medium of their home language until they had gained sufficient knowledge of the Second Language to profit from instruction through it as medium, after which the Second Language should be increasingly employed as medium. For the rural pupils dual-medium instruction would thus become the practice, and the use of English not excluded.[245]

These proposals, however, were not given the force of legal sanction, nor were they administratively enforced. In his consideration of the question of medium in 1930, M. C. Botha, the S.G.E., drew a distinction between the Undenominational schools and the Mission schools. He decided that Coloured pupils in the Undenominational schools were to be taught up to Standard Six through the medium of their home language and, if it was neither English nor Afrikaans, such pupils should be included in the majority group in the school. However, with the consent of the School Board, the other language could

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245) Ibid. Report, p.11.

be employed as a subsidiary medium. The implementation of this decision devolved as a duty upon the Principals of the schools but, where it involved a change in the existing arrangements in a school, the educational interests of the affected pupils were to be safeguarded by gradual introduction.[246]

M. C. Botha submitted that, although the historical reasons were easily understood, the position in the schools in regard to the medium of instruction could not be justified on educational grounds. He felt an unfair handicap was imposed on the Afrikaans-speaking pupils, more especially since so many of them left before reaching the final Standard of the primary school. And he therefore envisaged the application to all schools for Coloured pupils of the principle of mother-tongue instruction, and their development as predominantly Afrikaans-medium or English-medium schools, using the other medium to a lesser extent. The aim would be to secure a satisfactory standard of bilingualism among the Coloured pupils but, while using both languages as media, the interests of the pupils would always receive due consideration and the necessary care would be taken to ensure that the Second language was introduced gradually. He hoped to attempt to solve the problem satisfactorily in each school in consultation with the Circuit Inspector. And, in anticipation of the new policy, he intimated that effective action would be taken to adapt the training of the teachers to its requirements.[247]

Of the 74,713 pupils in the sub-Standards to Standard X in 1934 in schools classified as "Town Schools", 21,536 were being taught through the medium of English and Afrikaans more or less equally, and 36,548 and 16,629 respectively were being taught mainly or exclusively through Afrikaans and English.[248] Of the 20,108 pupils in "Country Schools",

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246) The Education Gazette, 30th January, 1930. Medium of Instruction: Coloured Pupils, p.2. The Notice was repeated in 1937. Vide The Education Gazette, 18th November, 1937, p.1280.

247) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.51. Vide infra p. 404 et seq.

248) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35. Medium Table, p.51.

5,475 were being taught through English and Afrikaans more or less equally, 14,222 were taught mainly through Afrikaans and 411 mainly through English.[249] It was clear to de Vos Malan, the new S.G.E., that the medium question was not completely solved.[250] And the enquiry conducted by the Cape Coloured Commission revealed that the lack of mother-tongue instruction, and the too early introduction of the Second Language, remained a defect in the method of instruction in the schools.[251]

However, there was developing a more general consensus of opinion which favoured home language instruction, often with the reservation that the Second Language should be gradually introduced as auxiliary medium.[252] The organised Coloured teachers, for example, held that the principle should be applied up to and including Standard Three, and that from Standard Four upwards the Second Language should be gradually employed as medium.[253] As a result of this more widespread swing of opinion, a determined effort was made in many of the Schools to instruct the pupils, at least in the initial Standards, through the medium of their mother-tongue and, as a more or less general practice, to introduce the other medium at the Standard Two stage.[254] But the anomaly

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249) Ibid. Medium Table, p.54.

250) Ibid., p.55.

251) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Summary of Replies, Report, p.162.

252) Ibid. Report, p.165.

253) Ibid. Views and Recommendations of the Teachers' League of South Africa in connection with the Education section of the Commission's Questionnaire. Appendix 45. Report, p.318.

254) Ibid. Report, p.165.

still remained: that the comparatively small number of Coloured pupils in Undenominational schools were subject to the same language policy as the European pupils, while the overwhelming majority of the pupils, in the Mission schools, remained exempt from the application of any policy which had the force of legal sanction.

The Content of Education.

The very definite distinction drawn by the School Board Act in the legislative and administrative arrangements for providing school facilities for European and non-European pupils was not reflected in any formal differences between the curricula and syllabuses of the schools. The same revised syllabuses of the Elementary School Course which came into use in 1895[255] were followed in all the schools, although the attainments and levels reached by the pupils differed markedly in the different types of school. The Department did not escape reproach on occasion for its omission to provide some differentiation in this respect. Muir, the S.G.E., however, justified the absence of formal distinction on the ground that, while it was in the nature of the case difficult to make any great modification in the school course below Standard Three, the great mass of the non-European pupils did not proceed beyond Standard Two. Judged by the standards considered appropriate to Europeans, the knowledge acquired by the non-European children, even with the same syllabuses, seemed small, although, in relation to the standards of the Coloured people themselves, the S.G.E. considered the acquisition in knowledge to be considerable. The pupils gained a good deal in "intelligence", they profited by the discipline, and left the schools with much more orderly and industrious habits than if they had not been at school at all. Class singing, in particular, was the subject which provided a source

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255) The Education Gazette, 20th February, 1919, p.647; See S.G.E. Report, 1909, p.p. 11, 12 for the requirements for Standard IV.

of peculiar pleasure to them.[256]

Towards the end of the First World War the Education Department formulated a policy of providing different curricula for the three types of schools that had evolved. And the post-War period began with the application as a matter of practical policy of the principle that the syllabuses in schools for European, Coloured and Native pupils should be adapted to the different needs of the three groups of pupils. In 1919 a new Primary School Curriculum was issued.[257] It was not restricted specifically for use only in the schools for European pupils, and the Inspector in the Kimberley area, in the absence of any other curriculum specially designed for the schools for non-European pupils, intended to introduce it also in such of these schools as he considered "ripe for the change".[258]

Although the circumstances during the War had precluded its consideration, Murray, the Acting S.G.E., felt that one of the matters which required particular attention was the revision of the curriculum used in the schools for Native pupils.[259] Viljoen, his successor, thought that, although "many and diverse proposals" had been made, it would be agreed that the curriculum should be suited to the needs of the pupils. And, since the chief occupation of the Native people in the Territories was farming, it was reasonable to expect that its study would be emphasised to prepare the pupils for their future lives.[260]

The question was among those referred for investigation to the Native Education Commission appointed in 1919.[261] In tracing the course of development in a Historical Review, Carmichael, a member of

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256) S.G.E. Report, 1906, p.17.

257) The Education Gazette, 20th February, 1919, pp.647, 648; p.650 et seq.

258) S.G.E. Report, 1920. Report of Inspector E. J. Spurway, Barkly West, Kimberley, p.28.

259) S.G.E. Report, 1917, p.11.

260) S.G.E. Report, 1918, p.15.

261) Commission on Native Education, 1920. Terms of Reference, Report p.2.

the Commission, stated that the original policy, that Government grants to the Mission schools were to be regarded as appropriated for secular instruction only, had been formulated and approved in the previous century mainly with the interests of the poor European, Coloured and non-Native population of the Western Province in mind. In the subsequent development of Mission schools for Native pupils, they had been caught in the same Procrustean bed, and were obliged to conform to the standards and methods of European education in order to qualify for State aid. The result was that the product of the schools had often learnt little to equip himself for becoming useful to his own people or to the country at large, and frequently found himself on the outskirts both of the old tribalism and of a new civilisation, "uncertain of his place in the social order and craving only for what he cannot reach".[262]

The Commission considered that it was necessary for the schools to be brought into closer touch with the facts and circumstances of the lives of the Native people and, while always aiming at standards of culture, sound living and good citizenship, to equip every Native scholar for his place in domestic and economic life.[263] The schools had to take full account of the background of the Native children and thus, for example, religious instruction could not take the place of the definite moral instruction which European children received in well-educated homes.[264] And since, as in the case of the Coloured pupils, there had been no official direction in regard to the medium of instruction, beyond the provision in the School Course that "pupils may take their Standards in either English or Dutch", the Commission recommended that the home language of the pupils should be the medium up to Standard IV, provided English or Dutch be introduced at an early

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262) Ibid. Historical Review by W. Carmichael. Appendix D. Report, p.p.44, 45.

263) Ibid. Report, p.4.

264) Ibid. Report, p.10.

stage and thereafter be regularly used as medium in accordance with the understanding of the pupils.[265] In general, its recommendations meant that, while not contemplating any lowering in the standard of education as compared with the European section, either in principle or in practice, several factors had to be taken into account in prescribing the curriculum for Native pupils: their home conditions and social and mental environment, their hereditary, tribal or racial instincts, their language, and the future position they would occupy in the country.[266]

In accordance with the recommendations of the Commission, a new curriculum for Native pupils was introduced in 1922. It contained, in addition to the subjects of the old Elementary School Course, special syllabuses in moral instruction, hygiene, the Native language and nature study, and placed a special emphasis on manual and industrial training, including Native handwork, agriculture and domestic science. Simultaneously, new courses for the training of Native teachers for these schools were instituted, which reflected the altered content of the new syllabuses.[267]

In the pursuit of his policy of providing differentiated curricula, Viljoen drew a very clear line of distinction between the schools for Native pupils and the schools for Coloured pupils. He regarded the grounds for the distinction as self-evident: that the nature of the problems associated with the education of the Coloured people were in the main wholly different, whether considered from "a psychological, a social, an economic, or a linguistic point of view". This difference was to be

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265) Ibid. Report, p.11.

266) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of W. G. Bennie, Chief Inspector of Native Education, referring to the recommendations of the Commission, p.84.

267) S.G.E. Report, 1921. Report of W.G. Bennie, Chief Inspector of Native Education, p.50.

implemented in general policy, and was to be given concrete expression particularly in regard to the provision of a special curriculum better adapted to the special requirements of the Coloured pupils, "and having a closer relation to the future life of the Coloured classes".[268]

In the circumstances, the position which the Coloured people, or various social layers among them, occupied or were to occupy, became a question of the greatest significance in relation to educational policy. Their separation from the general Native population was clear enough, and represented a major departure from the recognition by Dale in 1890 of only "minor racial differences" inside the non-European section, of little import or significance.[269] But while the differences were now to be given a new meaning so vital and pertinent that they were to become the determinants in a new direction of policy, the important question remained: to define the aim, scope and social objectives to be achieved in the education of the Coloured pupils, and to determine the precise alignment between the curricula for European and Coloured pupils. Upon that question unanimity of opinion was hardly to be expected. For there was to a very great extent a common language background, and the process of acculturation and close association had done much to establish a common social heritage for which the schools had to serve as the agency of transmission. This was particularly so in the case of the more advanced section in the urban areas and larger towns, which was fully identified with the aspirations and ideals of the European section. But their social and economic position was not shared by all the Coloured people. And the vital question, therefore, was whether the content of the education of the Coloured pupils, as prescribed in the curriculum and syllabuses, was to be a means of social uplift and advancement which would not so much differentiate them from the Native pupils as bring

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268) S.G.M. Report, 1918, p.15.

269) Vide supra, p.66.

to them the greater measure of equality with the European section, which the Coloured parents so much desired.

Views on the matter were canvassed in the investigation by Watermeyer in 1920. He reported to the S.G.E. that, while differences in other respects, such as the training and salaries of teachers, were accepted, the overwhelming weight of the best qualified opinion was that there should be no difference in the curricula and syllabuses for European and Coloured pupils. In their essential features they should be identical, although the principle of differentiation between individual schools, already incorporated in the curriculum for European pupils, was accepted. It was agreed that in the primary schools the training of hand and eye in the form of Woodwork, Needlework and other suitable occupations should receive due attention in the schools for Coloured pupils. From this general similarity of content, it followed as a corollary that the grades of schools for Coloured pupils should be parallel to those provided in the system for European pupils: a regular series of primary, intermediate, secondary and Training Schools, with the Mission schools classified as ordinary primary schools.[270]

The policy of the S.G.E. was, however, firmly directed towards the provision of a special curriculum for Coloured pupils, and the matter received further official attention in 1920.[271] A special syllabus was drafted and published for consideration.[272] The S.G.E. described it as a cross between the syllabus for European pupils and that provided for the schools for Native pupils.[273] When it was finally

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270) Watermeyer, Report, Coloured Education, 15th March, 1920.

271) S.G.E. Report, 1920, p.8.

272) The Education Gazette, 15th April, 1922, p.721 et seq..

273) S.G.E. Report, 1921, p.30.

issued at the end of 1923 for introduction in the schools,[274] he characterised it as "a distinctive curriculum with a practical bias", whose main features were the greater emphasis laid on manual and industrial work, the special attention required to be given to nature study and gardening, and the treatment of history and geography "on lines better adapted to the requirements of the Coloured pupils".[275]

The S.G.E. was not unaware of the opposition among the Coloured people to a separate syllabus for their children. He appreciated that they were "rightly ambitious" that their children should receive as good an education as possible, and that they would resent a form of education ostensibly inferior to that provided for European pupils. But he was persuaded to the view that it was nevertheless a fact that the education of the Coloured children would prosper best with a curriculum specially adapted to their needs.[276] And he therefore considered that the provision of this distinctive syllabus should give a "beneficial impetus" to the work in the schools.[277]

Soon after the introduction of this curriculum, the question of possible changes, having regard to the difference between rural and urban conditions, or other factors, was referred to the Coloured Education Commission for enquiry.[278] Its investigation revealed the continued opposition of those who were not in favour of the bias towards manual and industrial training in the primary schools, and who held conclusively that the curricula for European and Coloured pupils should be identical, because they maintained, for example,

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274) The Education Gazette, 6th December, 1923, p.796 et seq..

275) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24, p.43.

276) S.G.E. Report, 1921, p.30.

277) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24, p.44.

278) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Department of Public Education, Cape Town. Circular, 21st September, 1925. Question 10.

that the schools should aim at a general mental training and a proficiency in the three R's.[279] Ranged against this view was the opinion, for example, that, while the best of the pupils were quite able to attain the same standard as in the schools for European pupils, the majority of the Coloured pupils could not complete the requirements for a Standard in one year because of their irregular attendance and adverse home circumstances.[280] But, even among those who favoured more manual and less book work, or who wanted the curriculum restricted to a combination of the three R's and practical instruction in farm and domestic work, it was conceded that the curriculum should allow the intelligent and ambitious pupils who passed Standard VI, in both rural and urban schools, to possess "the instruments wherewith to climb".[281]

The Commission found that the consensus of opinion, however, was that the existing curriculum was generally satisfactory.[282] It was supported, for example, by the central body of Coloured teachers, the Teachers' League.[283] There was a widely accepted insistence that the practical subjects, like handwork, gardening and domestic science, should be more heavily emphasised,[284] although there was a difference

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279) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, H. W. Heaman, Secretary, Joint Meeting A.P.O., Kimberley Branch of Teachers' League, Africander National Bond; Rev. A. E. Padday, M.A., St. Peter's Church School, Port Elizabeth; Canon B. Price, on behalf of Diocese of George, reporting on opinion expressed; Inspector S.B. Hobson, Cape Town.

280) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire. Sister Florence, St. Peter's Home, Grahamstown. The Cape Coloured Commission advanced statistical support for the conclusion that the average Coloured pupil appeared on the whole to take slightly longer than the European pupil to complete a Standard of the primary school. Vide Cape Coloured Commission, 1937, Report, p.172.

281) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. Father J. J. O'Reilly, St. Dominics, Wynberg; Rev. C. O'Rourke, 32, Somerset Road.

282) Ibid. Report, p.p.5, 8.

283) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, The Teachers' League.

284) Ibid. Report, p.5.

of opinion among some whether this bias should be introduced from the beginning,[285] or from, say, Standard Four.[286] The implementation of the requirements in this regard was, however, made difficult by the lack of equipment and accommodation in the schools.[287] The Commission proposed no alteration of the curriculum, but requested one addition. While the syllabuses were considered by some to be wide enough to admit of adaptations to the differing urban and rural conditions,[288] others felt, for example, that greater attention in the schools to rural life and work would tend to prevent the drift to the towns,[289] and they expressed a desire for a distinction to be drawn between urban schools on the one side and rural and farm schools on the other.[290] The Commission recommended that a modified curriculum for one and two teacher schools be introduced, similar to that provided for European pupils.[291] The special curriculum thus remained. The distinctions which existed were to be found mainly in

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285) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Committee of the Wesleyan Church.

286) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. W. Pescod, Chairman, Kimberley School Board.

287) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector G. Anders; Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Tulbagh; J. B. Anderson, Pacaltsdorp; Principal, Girls' School, Roeland Street.

288) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector A. Scott, Knysna.

289) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. A. Pieuepnes, Barkly West.

290) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. W. E. Morgan, Congregational Union, Maritzburg; Rev. W. H. Lloyd, Congregational B. Schools, Paarl.

291) Ibid. Report, p.p.5, 8.

the greater or lesser emphasis placed on certain subjects,[292] and the main divergences were in such subjects as history and geography, where the requirements for the Coloured pupils were less exacting than for the European pupils.[293] In 1931 the Department was preparing the publication of a handbook of suggestions to provide for the particular needs of the Coloured teachers required to teach the syllabuses.[294]

But it was not to be expected that so complex a matter as the aim and content of the education of the Coloured pupils could be permanently settled. For it was a subject on which diverse and often divergent views were held. M. C. Botha, the S.G.E., accepted that separate syllabuses could not differ widely in content, and that in the nature of the case the primary school offered little scope for fundamental variation, either in materials for study or in the methods of teaching. But, beyond the "other and important grounds" on which the distinction existed, he considered the differences were justified more particularly because the vast majority of the pupils left school before completing the primary school curriculum.[295] Paradoxically, for the same reason, Muir had regarded a separate curriculum to be unnecessary.[296]

In its investigation of opinions and views on the subject, including those of Managers of schools, the Cape Coloured Commission found that religious and moral instruction, and practical education with a vocational bias, were most frequently stressed as the basic aims which many thought should be realised in the primary schools. Training the Coloured pupils for citizenship, teaching them the three R's, and educating them to earn a living were less frequently stressed. But while a majority most certainly thought that the aim should be different from that for the European pupils, there was a significant body of opinion which

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292) S.G.E. Report, 1931, p.42.

293) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.143.

294) S.G.E. Report, 1931, p.42.

295) Ibid., p.42.

296) Vide supra p.347.

favoured a complete identity of objective.[297] Among these were the organised teachers: they felt that the aim should be to provide, by means of a thorough grounding in essential subjects, a sound intellectual training calculated to inspire the pupils with greater ambition and to higher ideals; and to give the pupils a cultural and moral training which would produce worthy citizens, capable of appreciating and discharging their duties to the country as a whole.[298]

The majority were satisfied that the objectives they felt should be achieved were being realised by the existing curriculum and the current methods of instruction, although a great many defects were indicated. Among the chief of these was that the education was altogether too unpractical, that there was too little religious and moral training, and that the curriculum did not provide for local needs. In this last respect, there was a strong feeling that a distinction should be drawn between the curricula of urban and rural schools, in the direction of a bias towards industry and agriculture respectively.[299] Even the organised Coloured teachers, who favoured a uniform curriculum for all schools for Coloured pupils, were prepared to concede modifications to suit local needs in rural areas upon the authority of the Circuit Inspector, although they requested that one and two teacher schools be limited to Standard Three and that tho

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297) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Summary of Replies. Report p.p.161, 162. 71 out of 156 replies favoured similarity of aim.

298) Ibid. Views and Recommendations of the Teachers' League of South Africa in connection with the Education section of the Commission's Questionnaire. Appendix 45. Report, pp 317, 318.

299) Ibid. Summary of Replies. Report, p.162. Only 48 out of 151 replies were not in favour of such a distinction.

upper Standards be centralised in larger schools.[300]

Whatever the differences of opinion in regard to differentiated curricula, it was generally accepted that there should be no essential difference in ultimate aim between the education of European and Coloured children, in the sense that what education was meant to do for the one it was meant equally in the final analysis to do for the other i.e. to make better human beings of them. Thus the Commission suggested as a basic function of the schools that they should give all Coloured children at least the common tools of learning to enable them to take their place as citizens in a civilised community. But, within this broad general aim, the Commission saw several determinants, arising in the main from the total situation in which the Coloured people found themselves, and from a consideration of what was most needed for their future development, which necessitated that the education of the Coloured pupils should have "its own peculiar emphasis or bias". It considered this aspect of the matter to be of vital importance. Although appreciating that its view might evoke much criticism and might be construed as a reflection on the Coloured pupils, or as a travesty of true education, the Commission, impelled by a realistic and honest assessment of the circumstances of the Coloured children, recommended that the ultimate aim should be conceived in terms of their physical, mental and moral discipline. It considered this approach particularly justified by the inherent weakness of their education, the criticisms of the products of the schools, and the widely expressed and urgent need of the three types of discipline.[301]

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300) Ibid. Views and Recommendations of the Teachers' League of South Africa in connection with the Education section of the Commission's Questionnaire. Appendix 45. Report, p.318.

301) Ibid. Report, p.p.165, 166.

The special approach inherent in this recommendation was motivated, more specifically, by an awareness of the poorer background of many of the Coloured children. Even though some stressed that the Coloured and European children were to a large extent living side by side, it was equally true that there were differences in the environment in which the two groups grew up and lived during their school years. The home circumstances of many Coloured children, especially those living outside the large urban centres, were in many ways so circumscribed and unsatisfactory that it was necessary for the schools to compensate them for the deficiencies, and this had to be reflected in the subject matter of the syllabuses and the methods of instruction. The prescribed courses had also to take account of the fact that, since the great majority of the Coloured pupils did not proceed beyond Standard Four, their schooling had to be made as valuable as possible for the period they attended, while at the same time encouraging them to value learning and education and inculcating in them the desire to remain at school as long as possible. Further, while some contended that the fundamental needs of both European and Coloured children were the same, it was also true that there were differences in the occupations for which they were being prepared in the schools; and therefore the schools for Coloured children should teach them to do better those things which they would do anyway after leaving school. And finally, the Commission thought that, whether the Coloured children, as such, possessed any "'inmate'" characteristics which deserved to be developed, was a question worthy of further investigation, for it could become a function of their schools to cultivate such characteristics and "natural talent". In essence, the Cape Coloured Commission considered that the syllabuses for Coloured pupils should compass the points both of identity and difference between them and the European pupils; and thus, while not incorporating any fundamental distinction, the curriculum should adequately reflect the differences.[302]

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302) Ibid., Report, p.p.166, 167.

This certainly, as M. C. Botha realised, was one of the "peculiar problems of Coloured education", which offered scope for a wide range of opinion. He endorsed the view of the Coloured teachers that they should be represented on any Departmental Committees which investigated questions relating to the education of the Coloured children. And therefore, when a Committee was appointed in 1931 to investigate the curriculum which had been in use in schools for European pupils since 1919, a separate permanent Committee, consisting of three Inspectors of Schools and three representatives of the organised Coloured teachers, was appointed to deal exclusively with questions connected with the Primary school curriculum for Coloured pupils.[303] These Committees met at least twice a year and practically completed their work by the end of 1935. Thereafter, a Joint Primary Curriculum Committee was constituted to consider their separate reports, with the purpose of discovering to what extent it was possible to have a common course for both European and Coloured primary pupils.[304] The Committee concluded that for the general run of school subjects there was very little reason for differentiation between the syllabuses, but it felt that, in view of the special circumstances of the Coloured pupils, the existing differentiation in the syllabuses for History, Geography, Nature Study and some forms of handwork, including Woodwork and Domestic Science should continue.[305]

The S.G.E. reported that, after careful experiment and observation, the conclusion had been reached that there was no valid ground for differentiation in the curricula.[306] A uniform curriculum was

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303) S.G.E. Reports, 1931, p.42; 1937, p.12.

304) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.12.

305) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.143.

306) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.47.

issued at the end of 1937. Departures from the prescribed course, and adaptation of the syllabuses to suit the requirements of the pupils and the qualifications of the teachers, were allowed in one-teacher and two-teacher schools. Generally, no strict adherence to the syllabuses was enforced. The Department wished to encourage as large a measure of freedom as possible, although modifications required its sanction. Alternative syllabuses for Coloured pupils in History and Geography, Nature Study and Geography (combined) for one-teacher and two-teacher schools, Nature Study for schools with three or more teachers, and Needlework and Housecraft for rural schools were provided. But there was no compulsion: the option was allowed because of the varying conditions under which the schools worked, and the differences in the equipment at their disposal.[307] This new Primary School Curriculum for European and Coloured pupils, which could well be said to allow adequate diversity in its uniformity, was to be introduced optionally in 1938 and compulsorily in 1939.[308] It represented the views on current educational practice of both the Cape Education Department and the teaching profession.[309]

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307) The Education Gazette, 4th November, 1937, pp.1183 et seq..

308) Ibid. 4th November, 1937, p.1124.

309) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.13.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TRAINING AND SUPPLY OF TEACHERS.

The Early Training of Coloured Teachers.

One of the more important concomitants of the interest of the Churches and Missionaries in the education of the Coloured pupils was the part they played from early in the Nineteenth century in the training of Coloured teachers to assist in the Mission schools. Through their agency a beginning was made in the preparation of Coloured teachers for the schools, although such teachers naturally remained officially uncertificated.[1] This source of supply was augmented, though not superseded, by the Departmental pupil-teacher system for the training and certification of primary school teachers, introduced before 1850 and conducted after 1859 in accordance with regulations framed by Dale, the S.G.E., on the model then in vogue in Europe.[2]

Although the respective merits of establishing training institutions and of continuing the pupil-teacher system were discussed, the latter remained the widely used system for several decades. Those Mission schools which in the view of the S.G.E. provided adequate

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1) See C.G.L. Pieterse, The Training of Coloured Teachers in the Cape Province since 1865. Unpublished B.Ed. Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1952, Chapter I; Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. H. P. Cruse, Historical Survey of Coloured Education. Appendix 48. Report, p. 338 et seq.; Eerwaarde R. Schmidt, Die Kweekskool van die Moraviese Sendingsgenootskap in Genadendal, Suid-Afrika. Genadendalse Drukkery, 1935.

2) C.G.L. Pieterse, op. cit., Chapter II; Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. H. P. Cruse, op. cit., Report, p. 341; E. L. Maurice, The History and Administration of the Education of the Coloured Peoples of the Cape, 1652 - 1910. Volume Two, p. 244; E. G. Malherbe, Education in South Africa, 1652 - 1922, p.p. 96, 97.

facilities for the proper training of young teachers were incorporated in the system, and their pupil-teachers became certificated by writing the Departmental examinations.[3] The approved schools were given additional financial assistance through grants for the pupil-teachers provided by interest from the Bible and School Commission Fund and the Slave Compensation Fund.[4] In this way a small group of Coloured teachers, both certificated and uncertificated, gradually developed during the second half of the Nineteenth century.

However, at the beginning of the Twentieth century there was still a considerable number of European teachers employed in the Mission schools.[5] One major difficulty in training Coloured teachers in the pupil-teacher system was the extremely low percentage of the Coloured pupils who reached the upper Standards of the primary schools: even if all those who reached Standards Five or Six in 1908 had entered upon the training course, their numbers would still have been insufficient to furnish an adequate supply of primary teachers.[6] The "considerable sprinkling" of Coloured pupils who reached Standard Six was therefore of the greatest importance to the Education Department, because that had become the entrance Standard to the pupil-teacher course.[7] Although the great majority of the teachers in the Mission schools were uncertificated during the Nineteenth century there was a steady increase after 1905 in the number who became certificated: from 34.22%

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3) C. G. L. Pieterse, op. cit. Chapter II; Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. H. P. Cruse, op. cit., Report, p. 341; E. L. Maurice, op. cit., p.p. 244, 253, 254.

4) C. G. L. Pieterse, op. cit., Chapter II; E. L. Maurice, op. cit., p. 245. et seq..

5) S.G.E. Report, 1906, p. 23.

6) S.G.E. Report, 1908, p. 9.

7) S.G.E. Report, 1911, p. 8.

in 1905 to 53.92% in 1915.[8] This upward trend was further illustrated in the fact that the boys at the Training department attached to Zonnebloem College, Cape Town, as a rule passed Standard Seven, and some the Junior Certificate, before entering on the pupil-teachers' course.[9]

The Policy of Centralised Training Institutions.

According to Muir, the pupil-teachers trained before 1893 in the Third Class and Mission schools were overworked and turned into drudges.[10] In addition, the pupil-teacher system had not been successful in ensuring an adequate supply of trained and certificated teachers: in 1893 only about 26.5% of all the teachers in the State-aided schools had received any professional training. In the words of Muir, who had just taken office as S.G.E., any man who could put pen to paper and looked as if he was unaccustomed to manual labour was in some parts considered fit to be a teacher; and so great was the dearth of capable teachers that a man of that stamp was sure of employment if only he could be got to rate his services at a sufficiently low figure.[11] Much concerned by the situation, Muir initiated and implemented the policy of centralising the training facilities for European teachers. He established training institutions in various places for European teachers and gradually improved the system by progressively raising the entrance Standard after 1894.[12]

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8) S.G.E. Reports, 1908, p. 9; 1915, p. 7.

9) A.P.O., December 12th, 1914. "A Blow to Education", p. 5.

10) S.G.E. Report, 1909, p. 20.

11) S.G.E. Report, 1893, p.p. 19, 20.

12) E. G. Malherbe, op. cit., p. 96, Footnote 37, p. 147, et seq..

There was no little gratification among the Coloured leaders because, although it existed primarily to train European teachers, the central classes at the Training College established in Cape Town in 1893 accepted Coloured students on equal terms.[13] However, with the object of raising the qualifications of the European teachers, the Department arranged in 1909 for the introduction of separate training courses and examinations: a new higher-grade Senior Third Class Teachers' Certificate for European teachers, and the existing four-year Third Class Teachers' Certificate to be taken only by Native and Coloured candidates.[14] Apart from other considerations, it had been discovered that a large proportion of the failures in the mixed classes were from the Coloured candidates. And the S.G.E. thought the separation of the students that arose from this differentiation in training and certification to be justified by the excellent results which followed from the advantage of having "a small homogeneous class".[15]

This was the first occasion on which a colour distinction was being drawn in courses of study and examinations in the educational system. There was an immediate protest from the Coloured leaders. They regarded the differentiation as detrimental to the interests of the Coloured teachers since lower qualifications would prejudice their chances of appointment in competition with the large number of European teachers who also applied for the posts in the Mission schools for Coloured pupils.[16] They contended that if the Coloured students did not prove as efficient as the European students it was due mainly to their not passing the Seventh Standard before admission, and therefore,

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13) A.P.O. July 1st, 1911 "A Coloured Training School", p.10.

14) The Education Gazette, 2nd February, 1911, p.p.568, 569.

15) Ibid. 16th February, 1911, p.682.

16) A.P.O. April 8th, 1911 "A New Departure in Education", p.10.

if any change were needed it should be found in the raising of the entrance Standard.[17] Rubusana, a non-White Member of the Provincial Council, raised the question with the Administrator. But, although the Administrator replied that there was no intention to exclude Coloured candidates from the courses for the higher Certificates, the Coloured leaders doubted whether the Coloured students would be given the same facilities and encouragement as the European students to enter for these examinations.[18]

During 1913 there was a general awakening to the need for securing a larger supply of trained European teachers,[19] and the Provincial Administration made provision for the extension of the system of centralised Training Institutions for European students directly under the control of the Department and the School Boards.[20] At the beginning of 1920 the pupil-teacher system was abolished for the training of European teachers.[21] And a new system was introduced which provided for alternative two-year training courses, with Junior Certificate and Senior Certificate as entrance qualifications,[22] in the ten Training Schools and three Training Colleges established by 1921 for European student-teachers.[23]

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17) Ibid. December 12th, 1914 "A Blow to Education", p.5.

18) Ibid. April 22nd, 1911 "The New Teachers' Course", p.4.

19) S.G.E. Report, 1913, p.27.

20) Ordinance No. 16 of 1913. Part I.

21) S.G.E. Report, 1920, p.5.

22) Ibid., p.5.

23) S.G.E. Report, 1921, p.16.

The Development of Training Schools for Coloured Students.

Muir was greatly in favour of the centralisation of training facilities for Coloured students in certain recognised institutions. In 1906 he again drew the attention of all those interested in the Mission schools to the fact that, although Training Schools for European and for Native students had been established, no similar institutions had been established specificially for Coloured students.[24] No immediate steps were taken, however. In 1911 there were only two Mission schools, Zonnebloem and Hankey, near Port Elizabeth, with any considerable enrolment of Coloured pupil-teachers.[25] The S.G.E. was clearly anxious that the Churches should take advantage of the opportunity for "enterprise and co-operation" in this sphere[26] and, concurrent with the arrangements for the separation of the Coloured students at the Cape Town Training College, the Department once again urged upon the Churches the desirability of establishing a separate Training School for Coloured students as "a valuable addition" to the Training Schools of the Province.[27] In the following year the S.G.E., realising that the first step in any serious attempt to improve the schools for Coloured pupils was the expenditure of much more money on the training of really capable teachers,[28] again directed the attention of the Churches to the need for Training Schools, "specially designed for the Cape Coloured student".[29]

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24) S.G.E. Report, 1906, p.26.

25) S.G.E. Report, 1911, p.17.

26) Ibid., p.17.

27) The Education Gazette, 16th February, 1911, p.682.

28) S.G.E. Report, 1912, p.32.

29) Ibid., p.29.

When they became aware that the Coloured students were to be excluded from the Training College in Cape Town, the leaders in the A.P.O. entered their plea for a Training institution for Coloured students directly under the control of the State.[30] And when in 1913 provision was made for the further establishment of Training Schools and Colleges for European students, they expressed their regret that no arrangements were being made for Coloured students, and indicated the urgent need for similar Undenominational Training institutions.[31] But it was quite apparent that the policy of the Administration was in favour of expanding the training facilities for Coloured pupil-teachers at certain of the larger Mission schools in order to maintain the influence of the Churches.[32] From January, 1915, the Department officially recognised the Zonnebloem Training School, Cape Town, and the Wesley Training School, Salt River, as Training Schools for Mission school pupil-teachers. All Mission school Managers in the area were informed that no further First-Year Coloured students would be admitted to the Cape Town Training College, and those already in attendance would be allowed to transfer if they, or the Managers of their schools, so desired.[33]

The Coloured leaders objected strongly to these arrangements. They felt that the denominational Training Schools would not be as well staffed as the Training College, in which the Coloured students received the same instruction as the European students and by the same teachers. They pointed out the paradox that, at a time when the Churches were complaining about the heavy share of responsibility they were being forced to carry in the education of Coloured pupils, they were being made to shoulder a further burden. And they repeated their submission

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30) A.P.O. July 1st, 1911. "A Coloured Training School", p.10.

31) Ibid. October 25th, 1913. "A.P.O. Conference", p.7.

32) Ibid. May 29th, 1915. "Nog een Kleurlingen-Opleiding School. Opening door de Administratreur", p.11.

33) Ibid. December 12th, 1914. "A Blow to Education", p.4.

that, if the Coloured students were to be excluded from the Training College, they should be compensated by the establishment of an Undenominational Training College and not by the recognition of denominational institutions. They were convinced that this "lamentable change" was a retrograde step.[34]

The S.G.E. was satisfied, however, that there were signs in 1915 that the Coloured community was beginning to realise the need for development in the direction of centralised Training Schools. Together with the Moravian institution in Genadendal, the Training Schools providing specially for Coloured students had a total enrolment of 107 students in that year.[35] They provided the nucleus for the centralisation of training facilities and the pari passu termination of the pupil-teacher system. After the recognition of the Perseverance Training School, Kimberley, and the Dower Memorial College, Uitenhage, the number enrolled in the four Training Schools increased to 323 in 1922, while 179 pupil-teachers were still being trained in 21 Mission schools.[36] Some of these Mission schools were singularly successful in this aspect of their work.[37] Two years later, although the numbers enrolled in the Training Schools had increased to 371, the number of pupil-teachers being trained at the various Mission schools, instead of decreasing, had in fact increased to 233.[38]

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34) Ibid., p.5.

35) S.G.E. Report, 30th June, 1915, p.17.

36) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.65.

37) Ibid. Report of Inspector H. Z. van der Merwe, Ladismith, Riversdale, p.123.

38) Ibid. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.65.

Formation of the Coloured Teachers' Organisation.

By the beginning of the Twentieth century the number of Coloured teachers employed in the schools had become an identifiable group, and the circumstances in which they were situated and employed had fostered among them a growing identity of interests. The desire of the leading and more advanced teachers to give organised and fruitful expression to their professional and social ideals and aspirations had found an outlet in their membership of the South African Teachers' Association (S.A.T.A.), which did not debar Coloured teachers and, in fact, requested them to join. Generally, however, the Coloured teachers apparently saw little purpose in joining the Association.[39] Some averred that it devoted little or no attention to the Coloured child or to the Coloured teacher,[40] although a leading Coloured teacher, who had been a member of the S.A.T.A. for twenty years or more before 1912, and served on the Executive Committee of the Cape Division, stated that at the Conferences of the Association questions connected with Mission schools and the education of the Coloured children had "never suffered for want of sympathy".[41]

The first proposal to form a separate organisation had been made by Muir, the S.G.E., who suggested the idea to a number of Coloured

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39) A.P.O. August 24th, 1912. "Coloured Teachers' Association", by H. Gordon, Albertus Street School, Cape Town, p.5. See also A.P.O. July 13th, 1912, Letter, "A Coloured Teachers' Association", from "A Coloured Teacher", p.11.

40) Ibid. August 24th, 1912. "Coloured Teachers' Association", by Francis Brutus, St. Andrew's School, Ceres, p.5.

41) Ibid. August 24th, 1912. "Coloured Teachers' Association" by H. Gordon, Albertus Street School, Cape Town, p.5; A.P.O. August 10th, 1912. "Coloured Teachers' Association". Views of H. Cressy, B.A., Trafalgar School, Cape Town, p.p.5, 6.

and Native teachers attending a vacation course in Grahamstown.[42] And upon the passing of the School Board Act in 1905 a further abortive attempt was made to organise the Coloured teachers in their own Association.[43] The emphasis and acceleration in the distinctions between the systems of education for European and non-European pupils that followed in the wake of the Act forced upon the leaders of the Coloured teachers the realisation that, although membership of the European-dominated S.A.T.A. was open to them, in fact they hardly shared a community of interests with the European teachers - the nature of the problems of their schools and their community were widely different.[44] Their lot, especially in the Mission schools in which the majority of them were employed, was "not a very bright one".[45] Many of them had for several years entertained the hope of forming a Coloured Teachers' Association, working not in opposition to the S.A.T.A., but on "parallel friendly lines",[46] yet necessarily exerting itself in behalf of "the much neglected Coloured schools".[47] There was some discussion of the matter by the Coloured teachers who attended a vacation course in 1911 organised for them by the Department.[48]

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42) Ibid. August 10th, 1912. "Coloured Teachers' Association". Views of H. Cressy, B.A., Trafalgar School, Cape Town, p.5.

43) Ibid. August 24th, 1912. "Coloured Teachers' Association", by Francis Brutus, St. Andrew's School, Ceres, p.5.

44) Ibid. August 10th, 1912. "Coloured Teachers' Association". Views of H. Cressy, B.A., Trafalgar School, Cape Town, p.6.

45) Ibid. July 13th, 1912. Letter, "A Coloured Teachers' Association", from "A Coloured Teacher", p.11.

46) Ibid. August 10th, 1912. "Coloured Teachers' Association", Views of H. Cressy, B.A., Trafalgar School, Cape Town, p.p.5, 6.

47) Ibid. August 24th, 1912. "Coloured Teachers' Association", by Francis Brutus, St. Andrew's School, Ceres, p 5

48) The Sun, June 28th, 1940. W. G. Hendrickse, Presidential Address Teachers' League of South Africa, Annual Conference, 1940. The Address traced the history of the organisation.

The successful Conferences of the European teachers encouraged the Coloured teachers to consider the advisability of organised action for the effective advancement of the education of their own community. In this endeavour they were fully supported by the A.P.O., which rated the influence of the teachers in the community as second only to that of the Church, and appreciated that the teachers had, at some risk to their own popularity and influence, actively participated in the efforts of the organisation to advance the educational interests of the Coloured people.[49] The teachers, in turn, acknowledged to the full the readiness with which the A.P.O. had always taken up the cudgels on their behalf and had championed the cause of the Coloured people.[50] Now the A.P.O. looked upon the organisation of the teachers into "a strong, representative and enlightened association of Coloured men and women".[51] as being in the interests not only of the teachers as a group but of the Coloured people generally: it could discharge "the much-needed and specialised function of the wide-awake watchdog of the Coloured child's education",[52] and would "wage the battle for Coloured education in vigorous and commanding manner".[53]

In these efforts to form the organisation the leaders were extremely anxious to avoid giving offence, and to allay the suspicion that seemed at the time to surround the formation of organisations of Coloured people.[54] They took steps to consult with the S.A.T.A., and

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49) A.P.O. July 27th, 1912. "A Coloured Teachers' Association", p.6.

50) Ibid. August 10th, 1912. "Coloured Teachers' Association". Views of H. Cressy, B.A., Trafalgar School, Cape Town, pp 5, 6.

51) Ibid. March 22nd, 1913. "Coloured Teachers' Association", p.6.

52) Ibid. July 27th, 1912. "A Coloured Teachers' Association", p.6.

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The Employment of Coloured Teachers in Schools for Coloured Pupils.

Following upon the development of separate schools for Coloured pupils,[59] Muir decided as a matter of policy that these schools were best served by Coloured teachers.[60] At their inaugural Conference,

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55) Ibid. March 22nd, 1913. "Coloured Teachers' Association, p.6; p.11.

56) Ibid. June 28th, 1913. "Teachers' League. Coloured Teachers hold their First Successful Conference", p.10.

57) S.G.E. Report, 1921. p.5.

58) Ibid., p.p.31, 32.

59) Vide supra p321et seq..

60) A.P.O. October 30th, 1915. "Colour Distinctions in Mission Schools", p.8.

the organised Coloured teachers discussed the position of European teachers in the schools. Although they acknowledged that European teachers had often, though not always, done good work, they were quite definitely in favour of restricting appointments to Coloured teachers. But they recognised that the employment of European teachers was sometimes necessary because Coloured teachers were not always sufficiently qualified, especially for the posts of higher grade.[61] There was, however, a further aspect to the matter. For, although advertisements of vacancies in the Mission schools were sometimes restricted to applications from Coloured teachers, and sometimes invited applications from both European and Coloured teachers, the Coloured teachers were not always permitted to compete with European teachers for positions in such schools. It was a practice of Managers of some Mission schools to limit applications for appointments, especially Principalships, to European teachers.[62]

To this form of exclusion the leaders in the A.P.O. raised a very strong objection. They supported the policy of employing Coloured teachers in the schools for Coloured pupils, and were opposed to the "class of pseudo-European Mission school teachers"; and they endorsed the efforts of the organised Coloured teachers to protect their interests and to advance the professional aspirations of the community.[63] The Coloured teachers, on their side, saw in the development of schools for Coloured pupils the opportunity to advance their group interests, and to secure promotion through a policy of restricting such schools to the employment of Coloured teachers. They protested to the Archbishop of Cape Town, for example, that, while the English Church was

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61) Ibid. July 12th, 1913. "S.A. Teachers' League. A summary of the proceedings of the Coloured Teachers' Conference, held in School of Arts, Cape Town, on 24th June and following days", p.8.

62) See, for example, The Education Gazette, 31st December, 1914, p.701.

63) A.P.O. October 30th, 1915. "Colour Distinctions in Mission Schools", p.8.

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63) A.P.O. October 30th, 1915. "Colour Distinctions in Mission Schools", p.8.

training a large number of Coloured teachers, the policy of appointing European teachers was denying them their means of livelihood; and because the Coloured congregations themselves met the deficits in the schools they looked forward to their children occupying such positions. In short, they contended that the Mission schools were the legitimate sphere of the Coloured teachers.[64]

Watermeyer discovered in 1919 that this view was supported by those best qualified to express an opinion on the policy to be pursued. They maintained that in all but exceptional cases Coloured teachers should be appointed in primary schools, and in Intermediate and Secondary schools if they possessed the necessary qualifications, although they conceded that the Training Schools should continue to be staffed by European teachers.[65] However, no legal barrier to the employment of European teachers was imposed by the Department, and Managers of schools continued to exercise their discretionary powers. Nevertheless, the broad effect of the Department's policy was that, of the 1,134 teachers in schools for Coloured pupils at 30th June, 1923, 861 were Coloured, 216 were European and 57 were Native teachers.[66]

The policy of employing Coloured teachers served, in part, to reduce considerably the cost of educating the Coloured pupils, in comparison with the cost of educating the European children. For the Coloured teachers were paid lower salaries, which the S.G.E. considered justified by reason of their lower cost of living.[67] The Provincial Finances Commission reported in 1923 that, while in the

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64) Ibid. December 12th, 1914. "Coloured Teachers' Protests to the Archbishop. Letter from Cape Division of T.L.S.A.", p.4.

65) Watermeyer, Report, "Coloured Education", 15th March, 1920.

66) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Statistics.

67) Ibid., p.53.

Cape Province the net expenditure per Coloured pupil was £3.6.8., including cost of inspection, the effect of the employment of European teachers in the Transvaal, for example, was to raise the cost per Coloured pupil to the "unnecessarily high" figure of £11.5.6., which could be reduced by the employment of more Eurafrican and Indian teachers.[68] While the salaries of European teachers represented nearly 70% of the whole amount spent on education[69] and was the sphere in which there was the greatest room for economy,[70] the Commission considered there was "an overwhelming case" for an increase in the salaries of Coloured teachers.[71] Watermeyer found that, although all parties concerned were agreed that the salaries were inadequate, no claim was made for remuneration equal to that of the European teachers. The only serious difference of opinion was on what was an equitable ratio: he considered a scale ranging from 60% of European teachers' salaries in the higher grades to 72% in the lower grades would probably meet with fairly general approval.[72]

The policy of employing Coloured teachers at a lower rate of remuneration was an important determinant in assessing the size of the Subsidy for Coloured pupils, introduced in 1925.[73] While the Provincial Finances Commission recommended that, in the Training Schools for Coloured students, where European teachers were employed, the Subsidy should be the same as for Europeans, it determined the cost per Coloured pupil at Five Guineas, to allow for a 50% increase in the salaries of

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68) Provincial Finances Commission, 1923, Report, p.64.

69) Ibid., p.29.

70) Ibid., p.36.

71) Ibid., p.64.

72) Watermeyer, Report, "Coloured Education", 15th March, 1920.

73) Vide supra p.249 et seq.

Coloured teachers, which it regarded as not unreasonable.[74] And, consequently, the further implementation of the policy of employing Coloured teachers was greatly influenced by the financial implications of State policy. The Department, in short, had little choice but to employ Coloured teachers wherever possible, because the financial structure of the system was so clearly based on the employment of Coloured teachers in schools for Coloured pupils at a salary lower than that payable to European teachers.

New Courses: end of pupil-teacher system.

At the end of the First World War some of the Coloured educationists advanced the view that the system of teacher-training should allow the qualifications for European and Coloured teachers to be identical. However, Watermeyer found that the overwhelming weight of opinion was that there should continue to be a lower grade of certificate for Coloured teachers, but that the opportunities for gaining the higher qualification should remain open to them.[75] Quite considerable advance had been made in the certification of the teachers. By 1924, 1,053, or 85.9%, of the 1,225 teachers employed in schools for Coloured pupils were professionally certificated, which the S.G.E. regarded as very satisfactory, since the large majority of these teachers were from a community which occupied a relatively low social position.[76]

In the years after the War the whole system for the training of teachers - European, Coloured and Native - was reviewed by the

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74) Provincial Finances Commission, 1923. Report, p.p.64, 65.

75) Watermeyer, Report, "Coloured Education", 15th March, 1920.

76) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24, p.43.

Department.[77] A new Primary Lower Course for Coloured teachers, with Standard Six as the entrance qualification, was commenced at the beginning of 1924 to replace the former "Pupil-Teacher Junior" course, and arrangements were made to introduce later a post-Junior Certificate Coloured Primary Higher course and a special Infant School course,[78] which were instituted, respectively, in 1926 and 1929.[79] These courses were specially designed to train the Coloured teachers for employment in schools in which the bulk of the pupils were in the lower Standards and for which a distinctive curriculum had been devised. The Coloured Primary Lower Course, therefore, while resembling the corresponding course for Native teachers in the greater emphasis laid on Manual and Industrial training, differed in the direction of the emphasis and content, and was regarded by the S.G.E. as distinct from the equivalent qualification for Native teachers.[80] The chief aims of the more advanced post-Junior Certificate course were to train the teachers who would be able to teach Standards Five and Six effectively, and to provide well-qualified teachers for Principalships.[81]

Because of the financial difficulties caused by the Depression, the Department found it impossible immediately to incur additional expenditure on staffing and equipment, and the Training Schools had therefore to satisfy themselves with their existing facilities.[82]

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77) The Education Gazette, 21st February, 1924, p.72.

78) Ibid., p.72; S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24, p.44

79) S.G.E. Report, 1929, p.23.

80) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24, p.44. For the "Courses of Training for Coloured Teachers" see The Education Gazette, 7th February, 1924, p.10 et seq..

81) The Education Gazette, 7th February, 1924, p.15.

82) Ibid., p.10.

However, owing to the specialised nature of the training to be given in the new Courses, the Department regarded it as most desirable that they should be taken only at properly organised and equipped Training Schools, on the lines successfully followed in the training of European teachers.[83] For, while the centralisation of training facilities for European teachers had been completed in 1922, the objective had not yet been fully attained in the training of Coloured teachers.[84] But, although policy was quite definitely directed towards the termination of the pupil-teacher system, the Department realised that it was impracticable to insist that all students should immediately attend only the four recognised Training Schools. It therefore intended to complete the centralisation by limiting the enrolment of students even for the First-Year to nine selected centres in 1925, and in the following year to restrict training facilities to the four Training Schools and possibly two other centres to be developed as Training Schools. Students enrolled in 1925 at centres other than the four Training Schools were therefore required to give an undertaking that they would proceed to a recognised Training School for the Second and Third Years of the course in 1926 and 1927.[85]

The S.G.E. thus hoped that by 1926 the pupil-teacher system would have disappeared entirely and that the better preparation and equipment of the teachers trained in the new Courses would serve to promote more efficient work in the schools.[86] In pursuance of this objective, and

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83) The Education Gazette, 21st February, 1924, p.72.

84) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.66.

85) The Education Gazette, 21st February, 1924, p.72.

86) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24, p.p.44, 56.

in accordance with the authority granted in 1921 for the recognition of Training Schools and departments,[87] the establishment of additional Training Schools was sanctioned at Wynberg (Battswood) and Paarl (Athlone Institute), thus increasing the number to six.[88] The Mission schools which could be used for the training of pupil-teachers were reduced to six, and their enrolments dropped to 107.[89] The Department intended within a year or two to complete the centralisation of training with the proposed establishment in 1929 of a further Training School in Worcester (Sohnge).[90] In this way an increase in the enrolment at the Training Schools was accompanied by a decrease in the number of pupil-teachers trained elsewhere. In 1929 the numbers were respectively 645 and 67, and by 1933 the 1,045 Coloured student-teachers were all being trained in recognised Training Schools.[91]

Denominational Control.

During these stages in the reorganisation of the system of training, the important question was raised in the investigations by the Coloured Education Commission: whether the denominational control of the Training Schools should be continued.[92] The control had flowed almost

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87) Consolidated Education Ordinance No. 5 of 1921. Sections 325, 335.

88) S.G.E. Report, 1925. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.37.

89) S.G.E. Report, 1926. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.34.

90) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.68; Report of Inspector J. Andere, Paarl, Wellington, Worcester, p.96.

91) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. H. P. Cruse, op. cit.. Appendix 48, Report, p.342.

92) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Department of Public Education, Cape Town. 21st September, 1925. Circular. Question 4.

naturally from the pupil-teacher system associated with the Mission schools from which the Training Schools had developed, and was accepted by the Department in granting them recognition. The consensus of opinion confirmed that those strongly in favour of the retention of the Mission school system were ipso facto equally in favour of the denominational control of the training of the teachers for these schools.[93] In particular, the Religious bodies generally and the Joint Committee of European Teachers' Associations were not in favour of State control, and it was almost unanimously felt that the training of the teachers should go hand-in-hand with religious teaching.[94] Representatives of the English Church conceded, however, that in urban areas well-equipped Central Training Institutions, directly under the Department, would have real advantages, provided every encouragement was given to the Churches to establish residential Training Schools,[95] and the right of denominational religious instruction was preserved at the Central Training Schools.[96]

Significant reasons against the continuation of denominational control were also advanced. On principle, some European and Coloured persons wished to have institutions, like their European counterparts, which were established and controlled by the State.[97] Others submitted that denominational control seemed to serve sectional interests[98]

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93) Ibid. Replies to Questionnaire. 37 of the written replies were in favour and 15 against.

94) Ibid. Report, p.5.

95) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.4.

96) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Very Rev. Thos. C. Robson, Hon. Con. Peseverance Training School, Kimberley.

97) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector P.D. Rousseau, Tulbagh; H.W. Beaman, Secretary for the Joint Meeting A.P.O., Kimberley Branch of Teachers' League, Africander National Bond; J.N.L. Vink, Chairman, Mafeking School Board; R.M. Molutshunga, Kiekerkshope; Inspector S.B. Hobson, Cape Town; Rev. E.S. Dietrich, Port Elizabeth; Rev. Alban Heath, Uitenhage; Rev. Henry C. Newell, Port Elizabeth.

98) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector P.D. Rousseau, Tulbagh. For an example of this in the admission of students, see p387.

or to develop an undesirable sectional spirit in the teachers,[99] and was probably responsible for the difficulty in obtaining reliable teachers.[100] In fact, even among those who were opposed to State control there was a view that the Training Schools, or at least additional ones, should be interdenominational.[101] After consideration of the matter, however, the Coloured Education Commission recommended no change in the form of control,[102] and the Training Schools therefore continued as an adjunct of the Mission school system.

By 1929 all the major Churches represented in the system, with the exception of the Roman Catholic Church, had control of their own recognised Training Schools, and were assured of the continuation of their influence in this most important aspect of the system. Of the seven institutions that had been recognised, Zonnebloem Training School, Cape Town, and Perseverance Training School, Kimberley, were controlled by the English Church. Battswood Training School, Wynberg, Wesley Training School, Salt River, Sohnge Training School, Worcester, and Dower Memorial Training School, Uitenhage, were controlled, respectively, by the Dutch Reformed Church, the Methodist Church, the Rhenish Church and the Independent (Congregational) Church. Athlone Training School, Paarl, was interdenominationally controlled by the English, the Congregational and the Dutch Reformed Churches. In their development they had all acquired secondary departments for academic training to Junior Certificate

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99) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, H.W. Heaman, Secretary for the Joint Meeting A.P.O., Kimberley Branch of Teachers' League, Afrikander National Bond.

100) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, J.H.L. Vink, Chairman, Mafeking School Board.

101) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. Walter E. Morgan, Congregational Union, Maritzburg: John B. Anderson, Pacaltsdorp: Rev. W. H. Lloyd, Manager, Congregational B. Schools, Paarl.

102) Ibid. Report, p.7.

standard and Practising departments.[103] They therefore constituted, in a sense, complete units for the training of teachers and, in respect of their complementary Practising schools, the Inspectors of Training Institutions considered they were in a more favourable position than the Training institutions for European students.[104]

The Coloured Education Commission received a complaint that the Catholic schools found difficulty in obtaining suitably qualified teachers for their schools because there was no Catholic institution for the training of their teachers.[105] Although M. C. Botha, the S.G.E., felt that the Catholic Church had a just grievance because the principle of denominational control had been accepted and teachers had to be provided for the large number of pupils in the Catholic schools, the Executive Committee of the Provincial Administration had by 1933 not seen its way clear to recognise a Training School under the control of the Church.[106] The Roman Catholic Church had therefore privately trained its own teachers at Cradock. But by 1935 it was granted permission to establish a Training department, St. Augustine's, at Parow, on the understanding that no further students were to be enrolled at Cradock.[107] Unlike the other Training Schools, no secondary department was immediately attached,[108] but in 1937 official recognition was granted to the Training department, which thus became the eighth Training School.[109]

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103) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.153. For the recognition of denominational secondary departments, see p.418 et seq.

104) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.93.

105) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Sister M. Lucy, St. Joseph's R.C. School, King-williamstown.

106) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.47.

107) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35. Inspector A.L. Charles and Inspector C.J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.94.

108) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.153.

109) S.G.E. Report, 1937. Inspector C.J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.102.

Separation of Coloured and Native Students.

Although the Department provided different courses for the training of Native teachers in separate institutions, Native students were not specifically debarred from the Training Schools for Coloured teachers, especially in areas where there were no alternative provisions. By 1924 it was a customary practice to admit Native students, and the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools saw no objection to the continued admission of those who had a good knowledge of the official language used as the medium of instruction in the Training Schools, because their employment would be an advantage in those schools for Coloured pupils which still had many Native pupils.[110] However, in certain areas where the majority of the teachers in the schools for Coloured pupils were Native teachers, the home language of the pupils did not always receive adequate attention, and an Inspector recommended that as vacancies occurred these teachers should be replaced by Coloured teachers, although Coloured teachers were not easily secured.[111] In the Diocese of George, for example, the Church authorities considered Native teachers to be quite unsuitable as teachers for Coloured pupils. But the number of Native applicants for posts exceeded by far the number of Coloured applicants. In order to increase the supply of Coloured teachers and so obviate the necessity to appoint Native teachers, the Diocesan Board of Education made grants and loans available to assist Coloured pupil-teachers.[112]

In 1924 the Coloured parents in Kimberley objected to the admission

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110) S.C.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.67.

111) S.C.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of Inspector K. A. Hobart Houghton, Fort Beaufort, Stockenstroom, Victoria East, p.118.

112) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. Canon B. Price, on behalf of the Diocese of George.

of Native students to the local Training School, and as a result separate classes were provided. Two years later the organised Coloured teachers in the area pursued the objection to the English Church authorities in control of the institution.[113] The Training Schools soon learnt to exercise greater vigilance and discretion in dissuading Native students who were not proficient in the medium they employed.[114] In 1926, about 60 of the 471 students enrolled in the six Training Schools were Native students.[115] And in the years thereafter the feeling grew stronger that Native and Coloured students did not mix well and, further, the presence of Native students created additional difficulties in providing students with teaching practice.[116] In July, 1935, a start was made in Kimberley with the complete separation of Coloured and Native students, and a proposal for the establishment of a Training School for Native students in the area was mooted.[117]

Quality of Training and Teachers.

Although there was a gradual improvement in quality,[118] the work in the Training Schools was adversely affected by several circumstances. Because of the generally poor economic position of the Coloured people,

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113) J.P. Botma, Die Geskiedenis van die Onderwys in Griekwaland-Wes, 1800 - 1900, p.367.

114) S.G.E. Report, 1925. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.46.

115) S.G.E. Report, 1926. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.34.

116) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.92.

117) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.94.

118) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.68.

and the shortage of secondary schools to provide the recruiting constituencies for the post-J.C. courses,[119] the scholastic standard reached by the great majority of students on entry continued to be Standard Six, and the pass at the Standard Six level, moreover, was of a variable standard.[120] Though the Training Schools were free to conduct entrance examinations, they were not at liberty to question the standard required by the Inspectors for pupils to pass Standard Six.[121] In addition, since the education of the Coloured pupils was, comparatively speaking, still in the "embryo stage", the primary and secondary schools did not give their pupils an efficient general education.[122] And many of the students who entered the Training Schools had a satisfactory command of neither official language.[123]

The attempt to produce a body of Coloured teachers from the ranks of a socially depressed community naturally had many inherent disadvantages and handicaps. It precluded, for example, a more rigid selection of candidates for the profession than might otherwise have been enforced. The Coloured pupils were prevented in the main by the economic position of their parents from entering in larger numbers into those professions requiring lengthy and expensive education. Because the training system created the opportunities at a comparatively low cost, the teaching profession alone offered any considerable scope for Coloured pupils, and the

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119) Vide infra. p.417

120) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.68.

121) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. A. E. Padday, M.A., St. Peter's Church School, Port Elizabeth.

122) S.G.E. Report, 1930, p.31.

123) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.68.

great majority who reached the upper Standards became candidates for the profession. The 1921 Census revealed that, of 318,890 Coloured males and females enumerated, only 1,432 were in professional occupations, excluding clerical staff, and they were mostly primary teachers.[124] But although the choice was limited, the Training Schools sometimes also failed to attract many suitable candidates because the remuneration, especially of male teachers, was not competitive with that offered in the skilled trades in the urban areas.[125] And, with denominational control, the likelihood of the admission of unsuitable candidates was increased because the Principals were exposed to special pleading by Ministers interested in certain candidates. In addition, even though the First-Year examinations might have helped in the elimination, the Coloured parents did not always understand the purpose of the First-Year, and regarded admission to the Training School as admission to the full Course.[126]

With so many of the Coloured teachers poorly equipped in respect of scholastic attainments and general background, the standard of work in the schools suffered accordingly.[127] The Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools found it difficult to see how many of them could be expected to help the Coloured people educationally and socially.[128] There were very serious complaints about the quality and professional ability of the Coloured teachers in some areas. Sometimes it was impossible to secure really good teachers and those in the schools were,

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124) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.81.

125) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.5.

126) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. A. E. Padday, M.A., St. Peter's Church School, Port Elizabeth.

127) S.C.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of Inspector A. Sinton, Cape Division, No. 2, p.140.

128) Ibid. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.68.

with few exceptions, mediocre in their work, suffered from a lack of scholarship and initiative, and were badly equipped and unadaptable.[129] They showed a lack of competence to teach,[130] had no thorough grasp of their work, and lacked class management and control.[131] Even when they were certificated, they were sometimes wanting in a sense of duty and in moral purity.[132] In short, though the Coloured teachers were often qualified, they were really often unqualified.[133] Nonethe less, though often doing their work in uninspiring surroundings and under the most adverse circumstances, there were also those amongst the Coloured teachers who were in increasing numbers taking their work seriously and looking upon it as a means of uplifting their community.[134] They were making personal sacrifices in their efforts to cope with the many difficulties they daily encountered.[135] And, on occasion, an Inspector paid tribute to the "zeal and high professional spirit" of the teachers, and to the high standard of work they succeeded in maintaining under the most depressing conditions.[136]

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129) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Tulbagh; S.G.E. Report, 1925, Report of Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Robertson, Tulbagh, Wellington Worcester, p.91; S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Cape Division No. 4, p.134.

130) S.G.E. Report, 1925. Report of Inspector C. Hofmeyr, Malmesbury, Paarl, p.81.

131) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. Jas. Ramage, French Hoek.

132) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Eerwaarde S. J. Malan.

133) Ibid. Rev. C. O'Rourke, 32, Somerset Road; A. J. Ludick, Carnarvon.

134) S.G.E. Report, 1925. Report of Inspector C. Hofmeyr, Malmesbury, Paarl, p.81.

135) Ibid. Report of Inspector G. M. Slabbert, Namaqualand, Van Rhynsdorp, p.97.

136) S.G.E. Report, 1926. Report of Inspector A. L. Charles, Circuit No. 1, p.59.

In its investigation of the system of training, the Coloured Education Commission found a fairly representative body of opinion which strongly desired that an age-limit be fixed for entry to the training Courses,[137] and favoured a positive attempt to raise the scholastic and professional qualifications of the Coloured teachers.[138] Various proposals were made: that the lowest Standard of admission be raised to Standard Seven[139] or to Junior Certificate for all students,[140] because, as Archdeacon Lavis said, the future of the Coloured community depended largely on the quality of its teachers, and therefore greater efficiency was required.[141] Indeed, there were those who hoped that the entrance Standard would not be lower than required for European students,[142] or that it would be raised gradually, with Matriculation as the ultimate aim.[143] Suggestions were also made that, to overcome any difficulties in raising the Standard of admission, the length of the training course should be increased by one or two years, with possible financial assistance

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137) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Replies to Questionnaire. 30 of the written replies were in favour of a minimum age; 13 were opposed.

138) Ibid. Replies to Questionnaire. 21 out of 46 written replies felt that the Admission Standards were unsatisfactory; and 20 that the length of the Course was unsatisfactory.

139) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector G. Anders; Rev. P. van der Heuvel, Hopefield; C. Jubis, Pearston; A. J. Ludick, Carnarvon; Paul Reese and teachers of Amalienstein; Canon B. Price, on behalf of the Diocese of George; Rev. E. Biesenbach.

140) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, A. Koen, A.P.O., Port Elizabeth; H. W. Reaman, Secretary, Joint Meeting A.P.O., Kimberley Branch of Teachers' League, Africander National Bond; Inspector S. B. Hobson, Cape Town.

141) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.5.

142) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. J. L. September, Willowmore.

143) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. C. Earp-Jones, Manager, E.C. B. School, Paarl.

to the students.[144]

But among those who felt strongly the need to raise the entrance qualifications there was a realistic awareness of the difficulties involved, and of what was practicable in the prevailing conditions. They appreciated that the imposition of a higher admission Standard or a longer professional course would prove a hardship to parents who already found it difficult to keep their children at school long enough to meet the existing requirements;[145] and that some provision would have to be made to enable promising pupils in the country schools to pass any compulsory higher qualifying Standards,[146] by granting financial aid, for example.[147] They realised that, since the few available secondary schools were situated in the towns,[148] the country pupils would be seriously disadvantaged, which they thought should be avoided since the town-bred teachers found it difficult to adjust themselves to rural schools.[149]

The dependence of a higher entrance qualification on adequate

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144) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. W. E. Morgan, Congregational Union, Maritzburg; Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Tulbagh; The Teachers' League; Rev. Jas. Ramage, French Hoek; Rev. E. Biesenbach; Rev. C. O'Rourke, 32, Somerset Road; Rev. A. Manzke, Missionary, Cape Town; Rev. J. Dietzen, Moravian Mission School, Elim; Rev. W. Holtzapfel, Tulbagh; Rev. Paul Trumpelmann, Riversdale; Rev. J. Gericke, Port Elizabeth; Rev. J. J. van der Merwe, Wynberg; Committee of the Wesleyan Church; Rev. H. Söhnge, Worcester; Rev. A. Pieuepnes, Barkly West; Rev. Henry C. Newell, Port Elizabeth.

145) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. Alban Heath, Uitenhage; Rev. Jas. Ramage, French Hoek; Rev. A. A. Headley, Manager, Coloured School, Umtata; Rev. A. Pieuepnes, Barkly West.

146) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Canon B. Price, on behalf of Diocese of George.

147) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, C. Jubie, Pearston.

148) Vide infra p.p 417, 418.

149) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire. Rev. C. Schreve, Goedverwacht.

provision of secondary facilities was an important consideration. Suggestions were therefore made, for example, that the minimum qualification should be raised to J.C. only where a secondary school was available,[150] or that as an interim measure the Training Schools should themselves provide a two-year academic and a two-year professional course for the Lower Certificate, with J.C. as the minimum entrance qualification when there were sufficient secondary schools.[151] Since an alternative post-J.C. course was in fact being provided, and Coloured parents could take advantage of it as more secondary schools became available, the suggestion was also made that, without enforcing a higher admission Standard, a special effort should be made in the large centres to induce more Coloured students to take the advanced Course.[152] This was the line of approach adopted by the Coloured Education Commission, which recommended to the Administration that no alteration be made in either the age limit for entrance, or in the Standards of admission and the training courses themselves.[153] The Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, although he welcomed the prospect, considered in 1928 that the possibility of raising the admission Standard to the Lower Course for Coloured teachers to Standard Eight was "probably a long way off".[154]

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150) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Committee of the Wesleyan Church; Rev. Walter E. Morgan, Congregational Union, Maritzburg.

151) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire. Rev. W. H. Lloyd, Congregational B. Schools, Paarl.

152) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Very Rev. Dean Thos. C. Robson, Hon. Cor., [illegible], Perseverance Training School, Kimberley.

153) Ibid. Report, p.p.7, 8.

154) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.68.

Interim Improvements.

After 1928 the controlling Churches were greatly assisted by the increase to 6% in the Rent grants and they were able to make various improvements, particularly in the extension of the buildings and grounds of the Training Schools. The seven Training Schools, however, served a large area and the provision of boarding facilities remained unsatisfactory: they were provided at only two of the institutions and in a limited way at a third.[155]

The Department considered an improved system of selection of the students, because the different levels of attainment of those who had passed Standard Six caused difficulties, and the number of unsuitable candidates was excessive. After considerable expenditure by their parents and the Department, a large number of students were eliminated, either through failure or discontinuation, when they had spent a year in training: of 1,199 students in the First-Year during the period 1928 - 1931 only 725 proceeded to the Second-Year of the course.[156] And a little more than one-third of those who entered the First-Year successfully completed the course and became certificated teachers.[157] Some of the Training Schools therefore introduced their own entrance examinations to make a better selection for the Lower Course, and the Department, after careful consideration, took steps to eliminate the unsuitable candidates.[158]

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155) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.p. 90, 91.

156) Ibid. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.p.91, 92.

157) Ibid., p.45: S.G.E. Report, 1930, p.31.

158) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.p.91, 92.

After a report by a Sub-Committee of the Departmental Examinations Committee, new Courses were introduced in 1933. They incorporated a fresh point of view in many of the subjects of study, and offered every hope that the students trained under the new syllabuses would enter the profession better equipped for their tasks. One particular change was significant. Whereas previously the final year of the Lower Course, i.e. three years after Standard Six, was considered parallel to the First-Year of the Post-J.C. Primary Higher Course, this principle of inter-relation was abandoned, and the two years of the more advanced course was considered as a single, independent and integrated course. The Inspectors of the Training Institutions considered this to be a step in the right direction.[159]

The Shortage of Teachers: Employment of European Teachers.

By 1925, when the training system had produced a body of over 900 Coloured teachers, the effect of the policy represented, in the words of Archdeacon Lavis, a remarkable achievement which reflected the greatest credit on the Department and the training institutions.[160] Nevertheless, those in control of the schools often experienced the greatest difficulty in securing the services of suitably qualified teachers.[161] There was no real shortage up to Standard Four,[162] although the schools in the remote country districts found it more difficult to attract teachers, particularly females, because of the

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159) Ibid. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.94.

160) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.5.

161) Ibid. Replies to Questionnaire. More than 50% of the written replies revealed such difficulty.

162) Ibid. Report, p.p.5,7.

poor social conditions and the preference for the towns.[163] But in Standards Five and Six the demand quite definitely exceeded the supply.[164] Although there was a growing desire among the Coloured parents even in the more remote areas to have their own teachers in the schools,[165] the number of Coloured teachers was not sufficient to realise the Department's immediate objective that at least all the posts in the Mission schools should be filled by Coloured teachers.[166] To meet the shortage in the upper Standards an Inspector urged that, until the Standard of admission to the Training Schools was raised, it should remain permissible for certificated European teachers to be employed in classes above Standard Five.[167]

At the beginning of the thirties there were several hundred European teachers still employed in the schools for Coloured pupils.[168] In 1935 there was a total of 334 European teachers in an aggregate body of 2,398 teachers, and of these 88 out of 126 were employed in the secondary and Training schools and 246 out of 2,272 were employed in primary schools.[169] The chief reasons were that there were insufficient qualified Coloured teachers to staff the secondary and Training Schools, and that the supply of certificated primary Coloured teachers was inadequate to meet the needs of the

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163) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector G. Anders; Very Rev. Dean Thos. C. Robson, Hon. Cor. Perseverance Training School, Kimberley; Rev. M. Richardson, Graaff Reinet; Rev. L. Saintsbury, Namaqualand; Rev. P. van der Heuvel, Hopefield; C. Jubis, Pearston; Rev. J. Jietzen, Moravian Mission School, Elim; Rev. A. A. Bradley, Manager, Coloured School, Umtata.

164) Ibid. Report, p.5.

165) See, for example, S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of Inspector H. B. Luckhoff, Gordonia, Kenhardt, Prieska, p.122.

166) S.G.E. Report, 1930, p.31.

167) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of Inspector A. Sinton, Cape Division No. 2, p.140.

168) S.G.E. Report, 1931, p.p.41, 42.

169) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.155.

Mission schools.[170]

Although the additional teachers required, and an improvement in the quality of the work in the schools, could have been secured by the further employment of the better qualified European teachers,[171] of whom the Training Colleges were at the time producing a surplus,[172] the Department's policy was that, in principle, the European teachers should in the long run be replaced by Coloured teachers,[173] and its general policy was to employ European teachers only when suitable Coloured teachers were not available for particular posts.[174] M. C. Botha felt strongly that he would employ European teachers only if driven by necessity. There were several relevant considerations. With the developments in education and the changed social circumstances, the European teachers themselves generally preferred teaching in the schools for European pupils, and really only accepted positions in the schools for Coloured pupils if they were forced to do so. For the locally trained South African European teachers, more closely identified with the prevailing social relations, were not, generally speaking, actuated by the same missionary enthusiasm to educate the Coloured pupils as those from overseas in a previous epoch.[175] In addition, except in certain instances, such as the Principalships of practising, Undenominational primary, secondary and high schools and all secondary assistantships, European teachers were also disadvantaged financially in respect of salary and pension rights, because they were remunerated

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170) S.G.E. Report, 1931, p.p.41, 42.

171) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.46.

172) Ibid., p.p.29, 30, 46.

173) S.G.E. Report, 1931, p.p.41, 42.

174) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.155.

175) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.46.

at the lower rates applicable to Coloured teachers, or at rates below those in similar posts in schools for European pupils.[176]

The policy of restricting employment in the schools as far as possible to Coloured teachers had been pursued for well-nigh twenty years. It was firmly established, and had become an integrated part of the general pattern that had been evolved for the education of Coloured pupils. At least in respect of the number of Coloured teachers produced, it had made considerable progress. From its inception, the Coloured people had shown that, while they were grateful to the Europeans for the part they had played, and for what they were still doing, they fully supported the policy, and looked forward to the time when a sufficient number of efficiently trained Coloured teachers would be available to fill all the positions in the schools. M. C. Botha fully endorsed this orientation in their outlook. Although he appreciated that the task of uplifting the Coloured people was "a momentous and difficult one" and in their circumstances they remained in dire need of the assistance of Europeans, he based his policy on the principle that the most effective help was always that which resulted in self-help. Consequently, he saw the need to wean the Coloured people from a dependence on European assistance, and realised that their advancement would be facilitated and hastened by the creation of a greater number of properly educated and economically independent Coloured persons to constitute a leadership in the community.[177]

The appointment of teachers to the schools was influenced also by denominational considerations, for every denomination preferred to appoint its own members as teachers in its schools.[178] But, in

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176) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.p.155, 159.

177) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.46.

178) S.G.E. Report, 1931, p.42.

particular, in the pursuit of its policy, the Department had still to contend with the reluctance of certain European Managers to appoint Coloured teachers as Principals of schools. M. C. Botha realised that South Africa was a country in which "justice is often subordinated to colour prejudice" and "the fact of colour prejudice is often confused with its right of existence". The success of the Department's policy was retarded by this attitude on the part of some of those in control of the schools, and the situation was aggravated in those cases where a Coloured teacher was the best applicant for the Principalship of a school which already had European assistants on its staff. The S.G.E. therefore found it necessary to apprise European teachers who in future applied for such posts of the facts of the situation.[179]

Junior Certificate as Minimum Entrance Standard.

However, there was a steady increase in the number of teachers produced by the Training Schools, and during the years from 1931 to 1933 the number of teachers employed increased from 1,968 to 2,118. The Department was able to replace every certificated teacher who left the service during that period by another certificated teacher, to have a certificated teacher available for every additional post, and to replace 54 of the 240 uncertificated teachers by certificated teachers. The percentage of qualified teachers was thus raised to 91.2%. Although M.C. Botha saw that as "a good sign", he appreciated that it represented only a relative increase in the quality of the teachers, insufficient to effect the desired improvement. He realised fully that among the important reasons for the generally unsatisfactory standard of work in the schools was the fact that not only had some of the teachers failed to obtain any certificate of proficiency during their course

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179) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.p.46, 47.

of training, or received no professional training of any kind, but that the nature of the training for the Lower Course was altogether inadequate.[180]

He recognised that any improvement in the standard of work in the schools was dependent on raising the qualifications of the teachers and, specifically, that Standard Six could no longer be considered an adequate admission Standard to the Training Schools, for the stage which had been reached by the primary schools. However, any consideration of an increase of the lowest admission Standard to Junior Certificate was directly related to the need, in terms of Departmental policy, to ensure an adequate supply of Coloured teachers. As long as the requirements of the schools exceeded the supply from the Training Schools any such step would only have aggravated the shortage.[181] The shortage was still quite evident. During the seven-year period 1925 - 1932, for example, the primary enrolment had increased by 26,867, representing a 51% increase; but during that period the increase in the number of students completing the Final-Year of the training courses was only 41, representing an increase of only 18%. Thus the average annual increase of 6 in the number of qualifying teachers in the seven-year period was certainly not adequate to cope with the average increase of 3,838 pupils.[182] However, the S.G.E. anticipated, rather optimistically, that the position had improved to such an extent that, not only was there no danger of a shortage, but that a higher entrance Standard would in fact be the only way of avoiding a surplus of Coloured teachers.[183]

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180) Ibid., p.45.

181) Ibid., p.p.45, 46.

182) Ibid. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.92.

183) Ibid., p.46.

In this view of the immediate future, the S.G.E. was no doubt influenced by the first signs of an accelerated increase in the enrolment of the post-J.C. students at the Training Schools, which was the most hopeful feature of the situation.[184] The Primary Higher Course was at first slow in taking root, because of the limited secondary facilities. It commenced with only 4 students in 1926, and by the end of 1932 the number of new entrants had increased to only 71. But, mainly because of the remarkable increase in the number of pupils taking the Junior Certificate examination after that year, there was a rapid growth in the three following years, and by 1935 the new admissions to the Course had increased to 222. The initial period of slow growth was, however, also accompanied by a steady increase in the numbers admitted with the Standard Six qualification - from 243 in 1926 to 324 in 1932.[185] But after the Department had indicated its intention to raise the entrance Standard to Junior Certificate,[186] and had decided to grant no further loans to new entrants to the post-Standard Six Course from the beginning of 1934,[187] the number of admissions decreased to 135.[188] The increasing trend in favour of the Primary Higher Course and the decreasing demand for the Lower Course was demonstrated in the increase in the total enrolment in the advanced Course from 94 in 1931 to 416 by 1935, and the concurrent decline from 671 to 533 in the total enrolment in the Lower Course.[189]

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184) Ibid. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.93.

185) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.48. Vide infra, p.422.

186) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.46.

187) Ibid. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.92.

188) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.48.

189) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.154.

It was in anticipation of this development that M. C. Botha decided to adopt the "obvious solution", not possible before, of making the Junior Certificate the compulsory minimum entrance qualification for the training course after 1935, and later to introduce more advanced professional courses. The step was made possible largely through the progress in secondary education, but the S.G.E. thought the decision would also have the desirable converse effect that more secondary schools would have to be established. He expected that the new arrangement would cause an improvement in the standard of work in the schools.[190] For it was abundantly clear to the Inspectors of the Training Institutions that the students admitted to the Training Schools after passing the Junior Certificate examination were of a much better type than those who had passed only Standard Six.[191] The projected elevation in the status of the Training Schools was preceded by extensions almost everywhere, and there were all the signs of vigorous growth.[192]

1935 was therefore the last year for the admission to the Training Schools of students who had passed Standard Six, and the training of Coloured teachers with only that scholastic qualification was expected to disappear after the end of 1937.[193] But when the minimum Junior Certificate qualification for entrance to the two-year Primary Lower Course was introduced at the beginning of 1936 there was a sharp drop in the number of First-Year students: from 357 in 1935 to 182 in 1936.[194]

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190) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.p.45, 46.

191) Ibid. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.92

192) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.p.94, 95.

193) Ibid. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.95.

194) S.G.E. Report, 1936, p.35.

The alarming decrease was naturally due, in the first place, to the higher qualification. But it was also considerably aggravated by the abnormal percentage of failures in the Junior Certificate examination,[195] which caused a serious situation in some of the Training Schools because many of the failures had been previously approved for admission. In order to maintain a reasonable supply at the end of the first two-year period of the new arrangement, pupils who had passed the examination, and who in normal circumstances would have been excluded, had also to be admitted at the beginning of 1936.[196] And the rule that only those students who passed the Lower Course in the First Grade, or in the Second Grade and had two years teaching experience, could be admitted to the Final Year of the advanced Course, was relaxed in 1937, and the Training Schools were allowed in their discretion to admit also those who had passed in the Second Grade.[197]

The possibility that the higher entrance qualification would have an adverse effect on the supply of teachers was the cause for some concern. Although the number of Coloured teachers had increased from 1,804 in 1930 to 2,610 in 1936,[198] the S.G.E. estimated the shortfall to be 249 teachers, or 320 teachers on the more equitable staffing basis required to relieve the abnormal load per teacher which was so seriously handicapping the education of the Coloured pupils, and urgently required a remedy.[199] But now there was a considerable decrease in the number of teachers qualifying at the Training Schools: the number of successful

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195) Vide infra p. 422, Footnote 57.

196) SGE Report 1936 Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.67.

197) Ibid., p.28.

198) Ibid., p.7.

199) Ibid., p.35.

candidates dropped from 418 in 1936 to 238 in 1938.[200] Although each of the eight Training Schools was allowed to admit two First-Year classes annually, some of them were unable to attract a sufficient number of students to fill the two classes.[201] The number of male students consistently exceeded the requirements,[202] and in 1940 the Department found it necessary to restrict their admission.[203] But the number of female students was never adequate. Of the 353 students who entered the Training Schools in 1938 only 138 were females and the increasing masculinity of the teaching profession was a disturbing feature.[204] This imbalance between male and female teachers meant, in effect, that the total number of teachers being trained was not equal to the requirements.[205]

The demand for teachers, moreover, was constantly increasing, for the Department's "chief embarrassment" was to cope with substantial increases in enrolment and the steady demand for new schools in less developed areas,[206] which it came to regard as a regular feature.[207] The Training Schools, however, made rapid progress possible in achieving the objective of staffing the schools with qualified Coloured teachers, of whom 95% in 1939 were certificated.[208] During the years of the War, when the enrolment of pupils increased from 127,093 in 1940 to 154,197 in 1945, the Department was able not only to supply the teachers for all the

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200) S.G.E. Report, 1938. Chief Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.109.

201) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.43.

202) Ibid., p.43.

203) S.G.E. Report, 1940, p.15.

204) S.G.E. Report, 1938, p.p.23, 24.

205) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.43.

206) Ibid., p.57.

207) S.G.E. Report, 1940, p.12.

208) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.49.

additional pupils but also to effect some improvement in the staffing position generally.[209] But, although the number of teachers, augmented after 1942 by the supply from the Training College,[210] increased from 3,311 to 4,056 during those years, the influx of female teachers remained unsatisfactory: although about two-thirds of the 241 who passed the Junior Certificate examination in 1944, for example, entered the Training Schools, they represented only one-half of the number required.[211]

Further Improvements in System of Training.

With the raising of the Standard of admission to Junior Certificate, the Department gave attention to other improvements required in the system of training. In 1935 a new procedure was adopted for the better selection of the students which was, mutatis mutandis, to follow that applied in the case of European students. In essence, it transferred responsibility for the selection from the Principals of the Training Schools to the Principals of the High and Secondary schools, and to the Circuit Inspectors who were to interview all possible candidates when the oral examinations in the two languages were conducted at the schools. In this way it was hoped, through the assistance of those who had a personal knowledge of each candidate, to eliminate unsuitable applicants and to ensure a uniform method of selection for each school.[212] The drop in the applications for admission, which coincided with the introduction of this method of selection, gave it a rather inauspicious start, but it was to serve a useful purpose in

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209) S.G.E. Report, 1941 - 45, p.p.35, 36.

210) Vide infra p. 407 et seq.

211) S.G.E. Report, 1941 - 45, p.36.

212) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.p.91, 92, 97.

curbing the increasingly excessive number of male applicants, although in the case of the female applicants its object was largely defeated by the chronic shortage.

Despite the fact that there was little doubt that Afrikaans was the home language of a large percentage of the students, English was taken, almost without exception, on the higher grade, although sometimes together with Afrikaans. As a result there seemed to the Inspectors of the Training Institutions at times to be some danger that students would leave the Training Schools without a thorough knowledge of either of the official languages. The question therefore arose whether many of them would not derive greater benefit from a thorough study of only their home language on the higher grade, and the second language on the lower grade. And perhaps more important was the fact that in the majority of the Training Schools the medium was still almost exclusively English, and it was questionable whether the Afrikaans-speaking students obtained the full benefit from training through the medium of a language of which their knowledge, at the best, was far from adequate.[213]

M. C. Botha, the S.G.E., therefore considered it necessary to bring about an improvement in the language qualifications of the Coloured teachers, in order generally to improve their standard of bilingualism and, in particular, to prepare them more adequately to satisfy the medium requirements he intended to impose on the schools.[214] He proposed to alter the system which required that the teachers had to be trained through the medium of English because it was the medium in the primary schools, while English had to remain the medium in the primary schools because it was the medium in the Training Schools. In

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213) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.93.

214) Vide supra p.345.

pursuance of this objective, he wished to modify the training courses so that, in practice, some of the Training Schools developed as predominantly Afrikaans medium and others as predominantly English medium institutions, in either case using the other medium to a lesser extent.[215] In 1934 the seven Training Schools were advised as follows: that those situated at Worcester, Paarl and Wynberg would provide training mainly through the Afrikaans medium, and those situated in Cape Town, Salt River and Kimberley would provide training mainly through the English medium, while the Training School at Uitenhage would provide training in both media equally. This followed the tripartite language pattern set for the Training Colleges for European students. Successful applicants were as far as possible to be allocated to the Training School of their choice, and were to be trained through the medium most appropriate to their language attainments. Although the arrangement had its difficulties, mainly because the staffs of the Training Schools were not always equipped for the change, the Department expected that they would be able to comply with the requirements to a large extent by 1936.[216]

Although Coloured teachers were not precluded from entering for the Bilingual Certificate Examinations introduced for European teachers,[217] these examinations were set at the more advanced Senior Certificate level of admission. M. C. Botha therefore arranged for the introduction of a separate Bilingual Certificate Examination for Coloured teachers, adapted to the stage of development they had attained in their training,[218] i.e. with requirements approximating closely to those set in Junior

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215) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.p.50, 51.

216) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.p.90, 92, 96.

217) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.93.

218) Ibid., p.51.

Certificate for the higher and lower grades.[219] In 1937 there were 361 successful candidates in these examinations, of whom 119 obtained First Grade Bilingual Certificates, 223 Second Grade Bilingual Certificates and 29 passed in English or Afrikaans only.[220] And over the three-year period, 1936 - 1938, an average of 96% of those who passed the Teachers' examinations obtained the Bilingual Certificate.[221]

In 1937 the Department planned to introduce a third-year Primary Teachers' Higher Certificate course of a specialised character in subjects such as Manual Training, Domestic Science, Physical Education and Infant School Method, in order to produce a type of teacher who was not only generally qualified but also a specialist in a branch of primary school work.[222] The general system for the training of Coloured teachers therefore followed closely that for European teachers, except that the entrance qualification was J.C. and not S.C., and that the control of the institutions was completely denominational. The Cape Coloured Commission found that, on the whole, the training was on a reasonably sound basis, and the Training Schools well organised, equipped and staffed. It regarded the number as adequate to supply the needs of the schools but thought their distribution through the Province was not altogether satisfactory. Four of the eight institutions were situated in the Cape Division, although it had only about one-third of the enrolment of Coloured pupils. The Commission therefore recommended a more equitable distribution.[223]

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219) Ibid. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.93.

220) S.G.E. Report, 1937. Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.104.

221) S.G.E. Report, 1938, p.66.

222) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.153. These courses were commenced in 1938 in six Training Schools and attracted 50 students. Vide S.G.E. Report, 1938. Chief Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.107.

223) Ibid. Report, p.p.194, 195.

Although de Vos Malan, the S.G.E. regarded a redistribution as theoretically sound and thought that the claims of the South Western districts deserved consideration, he foresaw the practical difficulty that all the Training Schools were denominational and that the buildings had been erected at great expense by the Churches. He felt, therefore, that any curtailment of existing facilities in the Cape Division should require the co-operation of the Churches concerned.[224] No action was taken. The difficulty created by the geographical distribution of the Training Schools was aggravated by the very slow improvement in the provision of boarding facilities. By 1937 there were still only two of the Training Schools with adequate boarding facilities, although a beginning had been made at a further two of them. It was a problem which the Inspector of Training Institutions thought clearly merited earnest consideration, because it was fair neither to the students nor to the Training Schools to bring students from all parts of the country into an urban environment and not provide boarding facilities.[225] In 1938, as part of the additions to the Training Schools, additional boarding facilities were provided.[226]

Post-Senior Certificate Training.

In 1933 M. C. Botha expressed his regret that, in the system of teacher-training as it had evolved over the years, the Department had not yet found it possible to provide courses for students who had passed the

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224) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.66.

225) Ibid. Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.p.103, 104.

226) S.G.E. Report, 1938. Chief Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.p.106, 107.

Senior Certificate. The reason was quite evident: that the flow of Senior Certificated pupils from the single High school for Coloured pupils at the time was altogether inadequate. However, with the increase in the number of High schools at the beginning of 1934, the S.G.E. considered the introduction of such courses as a prospect for the future.[227] And his successor realised that, whatever improvements had been made in the system of training, the standard of the teaching in the schools could improve further only if the quality of the teachers was raised.[228] Apart from the graduates, only 166 of the certificated teachers on the permanent staffs of the schools in 1937 were matriculated, while 2,155 were not matriculated.[229] For the training of European teachers the minimum entrance qualification had been raised to Senior Certificate in 1929. And in its consideration of the requirements of the Coloured pupils, the Cape Coloured Commission submitted that, while it would be inadvisable to raise the admission Standard while there were insufficient pupils with the Senior Certificate qualification to allow a proper selection of students for training, the Senior Certificate would sooner or later have to be prescribed as in the case of European teachers. For one could not logically take the view that, while a European teacher required a general education to Senior Certificate to enable him to give a primary education to a European child, a Coloured teacher required an education only to the Junior Certificate level to give education to a Coloured child.[230]

In his desire to introduce a course of post-Senior Certificate training M. C. Botha was motivated also by the need to assist in the production of a greater number of Coloured teachers for the new

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227) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.47. Vide infra p.425.

228) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.70.

229) Ibid., p.p.74, 78.

230) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.194.

secondary schools, where the shortage necessitated the appointment of European teachers.[231] Although Coloured teachers increasingly accepted the responsibility of teaching in the secondary area, which the Department regarded as properly theirs,[232] there was no organised system to augment the very small supply of Coloured secondary teachers, chiefly from the University of Cape Town.[233] The Cape Coloured Commission therefore recommended the introduction, in addition to the existing courses for the training of secondary teachers, of a three-year composite course of training after Senior Certificate, to include academic and professional subjects and leading to a Lower Secondary Teachers' Certificate.[234] This proposal the S.G.E. considered highly desirable.[235]

In 1941 Hewat Training College, the first training institution accepting only students who had passed the Senior Certificate examination, was established in Cape Town, and was granted Training College status in July, 1942. It was Undenominational, and was to prepare students for the Coloured Primary Teachers' Advanced Certificate. Although it was not practicable at the time because of the insufficiency of Senior Certificated pupils, the Department looked forward to the time when it would be possible to raise to Senior Certificate the entrance Standard for the whole system of teacher-training.[236]

When that stage was reached, the question would have to be faced whether the denominational pattern so strongly entrenched in the system of training would be continued by merely raising the status of the existing

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231) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.47.

232) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.49.

233) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.195.

234) Ibid. Report, p.195.

235) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.p.66, 67.

236) S.G.E. Report, 1941 - 45, p.36.

Training Schools; or whether, following the example of the first Training College, control by the Churches would be terminated through the complete replacement of the Training Schools by Undenominational Training Colleges. Abolition of denominational control would naturally raise many delicate and important issues. But in the gradual approach to the raising of standards, necessitated in particular by the acute shortage of female teachers, a modus vivendi, could perhaps be found in a parallel system which allowed, at least in the early stages, for the existence of both denominational Training Schools and Undenominational Training Colleges.

However, in the policy of providing Coloured teachers to staff the schools for Coloured pupils, so successfully pursued for several decades, it had definitely become a major objective increasingly to realise parity with the system of training for European teachers, by compelling more prospective students, especially males, to pass the Senior Certificate examination before admission to a training course. The very close relationship between the provision of secondary facilities and the adequate training and supply of teachers had become abundantly clear in a community in which secondary education was to a great extent a preparation for entry to the teaching profession. An adequate system of secondary education was therefore a sine qua non for the realisation of the aim, and any raising to Senior Certificate of the minimum entrance Standard would become possible only as provision was made for more pupils to pass the Senior Certificate examination.

CHAPTER IX.

PROGRESS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

The First Secondary Schools for Coloured Pupils.

For many years during the latter half of the Nineteenth century and the early years of the Twentieth century the major requirements in the education of the Coloured pupils were largely, if not completely, in the primary area: to bring as many children as possible into the schools and to ensure that sufficient of them progressed from the sub-Standards into the upper Standards. The numbers qualifying for secondary education were therefore comparatively small, and practically confined to the larger urban areas. Individual pupils were able, prior to the policy of enforced separation introduced by the School Board Act, to receive a more advanced education alongside European pupils. But the provision of secondary facilities on any large scale for Coloured pupils, as such, hardly arose as a question of policy.

In 1901 the Undenominational school for Coloured pupils established in Kimberley under the voluntary-guarantee system was graded as a Second Class school, with 11 pupils in Standard Seven,[1] and was transferred to the control of the School Board in July, 1906.[2] And in Cape Town the Coloured people in 1910 successfully persuaded the local School Board to establish an Undenominational Second Class school for their children.[3] Apart from certain of the better Mission schools which had classes beyond Standard Six - for example, in the pupil-teacher system - these were the only two Undenominational schools

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1) J. P. Botma, Die Geskiedenis van die Onderwys in Griekwaland-Wes, 1800 - 1940, p.189. Vide supra, p.127.

2) Ibid., p.341: S.G.E. Report, 1906, p.9.

3) Vide supra, p.196.

which in 1910 provided post-primary facilities for Coloured pupils.[4] By definition, as Second Class schools, they were "satisfactorily organised and equipped to give instruction up to and including Standard Seven, together with instruction in two such 'extra' subjects as may be considered most suitable" for the locality they served, although many of the Second Class schools offered also a course one year beyond Standard Seven.[5] In 1911 the school in Cape Town was enrolling pupils in preparation for the University Junior Certificate.[6]

The only First Class school was at Lovedale in the Eastern Cape, which was established primarily to meet the needs of Native pupils but did not refuse admission to Coloured pupils.[7] But by 1917 it had an enrolment of only 43 pupils and only six pupils in classes above Standard Seven, which the S.G.E. regarded as hardly satisfactory.[8] The leaders in the A.P.O. expressed their disappointment in 1913 that, though the Coloured people constituted a group of more than half a million, they had no First Class school of their own: they thought the time had come for one to be established to serve the Coloured population of the Cape Peninsula.[9] Although non-European candidates could enter for the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations conducted by the University, the leaders doubted whether, because of the lack of facilities, a dozen had passed in ten years.[10] In 1912, however, the Second Class school in Cape Town was prepared to commence

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4) S.G.E. Report, 1910, p.6.

5) S.G.E. Report, 1912, p.6.

6) A.P.O. December, 16th, 1911. Advertisement, "Cape School Board. Chapel Street A2 Public School",p.14.

7) Ibid. May 13th, 1913, p.7.

8) S.G.E. Report, 1917, p.6.

9) A.P.O. May 13th, 1913, p.7.

10) Ibid. April 22nd, 1911. "The New Teachers' Course", p.14.

a Matriculation class if pupils presented themselves for enrolment.[11]

Conditions at the two Second Class schools caused much dissatisfaction and the leaders severely criticised the poor facilities: the equipment at the school in Cape Town was unsatisfactory and the building, consisting of hired rooms, without a playground, they looked upon as a disgrace to the School Board and "a monument of the selfishness and neglect of the authorities".[12] As a consequence, leading members of the community tried to enrol their children at better equipped schools but, owing to the colour restrictions being imposed in these schools, they had to have recourse to private tuition.[13] Abdurahman exhorted the Coloured people to co-operate in the effort to secure better facilities for the more advanced education of their children, and to assist indigent parents in paying the fees, which limited enrolment at the schools.[14] There was a good response, and the community soon developed a great pride in the achievements of the two schools.[15] To provide opportunities for pupils from the country areas the School Committee in Cape Town tried to establish a boarding department for their school.[16] And, along with European sympathisers, the leaders made representations to the Administrator in 1914 for improvements both in Cape Town and Kimberley. They were informed that funds for proper buildings for the two schools would be provided after the prior provision of accommodation for all the European children, but arrangements would be made for the purchase of suitable sites.[17] With the assistance

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11) Ibid. December 15th, 1911. Advertisement, "Cape School Board. Chapel Street A2 Public School", p.14.

12) Ibid. January 25th, 1913, p.7: March 7th, 1914. "Europeans First", p.9; Vide supra, p.197.

13) Ibid. January, 25th, 1913, p.7.

14) Ibid. October 11th, 1913. Presidential Address, Tenth A.P.O. Conference, p.7; Vide supra, p.212 et seq..

15) A.P.O. January 25th, 1913, p.7.; November 22nd, 1913, p.9.

16) Ibid. February 21st, 1914, p.9.

17) Ibid. March 7th, 1914. "Europeans First", p.9; April 4th, 1914, p.6.

of the Cape School Board the first steps were taken soon after for the provision of proper buildings for the school in Cape Town when funds were included in the estimates.[18]

Post-War Expansion of Undenominational Secondary Schools.

Towards the end of the First World War, when the problems in the primary education of the European pupils had been largely solved, secondary education became to the S.G.E. "the pivot of the whole educational question", because the State had to undertake the task of providing as many European pupils as possible with the opportunity of further instruction during the period of adolescence.[19] The Department geared itself for the achievement of the ideal that the natural culmination of the primary school course for the majority of the European pupils was a secondary education of at least two years.[20] The old division and nomenclature of the Undenominational schools was discarded in 1917, and they were reclassified as Secondary, i.e. with classes to Matriculation; Intermediate, i.e. with classes including Standard Seven; Primary and Private Farm Schools.[21] And, following upon the raising of the compulsory education limit to Standard Six and the reorganisation of the school system which eliminated the category of Intermediate schools, the Department was enabled to grant recognition to schools providing only a secondary education beyond Standard Seven, divorced completely from primary

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18) Ibid. May 29th, 1915, p.5.

19) S.G.E. Report, 1916, p.19.

20) S.G.E. Report, 1921, p.10.

21) S.G.E. Report, 1917, p.4; Ordinance No. 23 of 1917.

departments.[22] Rules were devised for the promotion of schools to higher grades,[23] and new Departmental Junior and Senior Certificate curricula, syllabuses and examination arrangements were instituted in 1921.[24] To overcome the difficulties presented by distance and poverty, especially in the rural areas, and equalise opportunities for urban and country pupils, a new scheme of secondary school bursaries for promising and necessitous European pupils was inaugurated,[25] and subsequently amended to provide boarding and conveyance bursaries and subsidised boarding departments.[26]

When the plans for the development of secondary education for European pupils had reached this stage, the problems in the primary education of Coloured pupils still remained unsolved, and the major objectives of policy were concentrated in the primary area.[27] However, as Watermeyer reported, the view of leading European and Coloured educationists was that the school system for Coloured pupils should be organised to provide the same pattern of graded schools as for European pupils, including also intermediate and secondary schools.[28] And the S.G.E. intended that the projected expansion of secondary education for European pupils would be paralleled by increased facilities for Coloured pupils in this sphere.[29]

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22) S.G.E. Report, 1920, p.p.6, 7. Ordinance No. 8 of 1920.

23) S.G.E. Report, 1921, p.p.10, 11.

24) Vide infra p. 429.

25) Ordinance No. 8 of 1920.

26) S.G.E. Report, 1921, p.p.12, 13; Consolidated Education Ordinance No. 5 of 1921. Chapter 21.

27) Vide supra, p.218 et seq..

28) Watermeyer, Report, "Coloured Education", 15th March, 1920.

29) S.G.E. Report, 1920, p.8.

The two schools at Cape Town and Kimberley were clearly quite inadequate to satisfy the growing demand which had developed. Particularly among the more advanced layers, whose children often came from "better class, refined homes", there were increasing claims for secondary education. Sometimes there were as many as several hundred families in one area clamouring for facilities beyond those provided by the ordinary Mission schools. These parents were quite willing and fully able to pay, and they felt acutely the disabilities imposed upon their children.[30] In the Cape Peninsula, the Circuit Inspector regarded the insistent requests made by "a large and respectable class of Coloured people" in Wynberg, for example, as justified in every way, though he did not suggest that the school should be provided by the School Board.[31] Requests for a secondary school came also from the more advanced section of the Coloured community in Port Elizabeth.[32] And the growth of the demand manifested itself even in Namaqualand, where by 1926 a strong movement was afoot to obtain a secondary school.[33]

The Post-War Depression naturally retarded developments. But in 1925 the Paterson Secondary School was established in Port Elizabeth, which soon made good progress.[34] The school immediately succeeded in greatly stimulating the primary schools in its constituency, and the parents demonstrated their appreciation by voluntarily contributing towards the purchase of a school library. They further showed

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30) Watermeyer, op. cit..

31) S.G.E. Report, 1920. Report of Inspector C.E.Z. Watermeyer, Cape Division No. 3, p.31.

32) S.G.E. Reports, 1922, p.87; 1923 - 24, p.98. Reports of Inspectress I. C. Alton, Port Elizabeth.

33) S.G.E. Report, 1926. Report of Inspector G.M.J. Slabbert, Namaqualand, Van Rhynsdorp, p.82.

34) S.G.E. Report, 1925, p.23.

their support by forming an Educational Association, which encouraged local interest in both primary and secondary education and gave regular assistance in the form of prizes and book grants. Within three years of its establishment there were approximately 100 Coloured and Native children enrolled in Standards Seven and Eight in the school, which was achieving specially good results in manual training and domestic science, and provided the pupils with a useful preparation for various trades, as well as for entering the teaching and nursing professions.[35]

Although the total number of secondary pupils increased from 68 to 343 in the period of nine years after 1919, and the development represented an important part of the "distinct forward movement" after the War,[36] the secondary enrolment was small in relation to the total number of Coloured pupils who entered the primary schools. In this respect it showed a striking contrast to the progress achieved in the same period in the secondary education of European pupils: nearly half of those who reached Standard Six were proceeding to secondary schools.[37] Apart from other factors, the poor holding power of the primary schools adversely affected the numbers of Coloured pupils qualifying for secondary education, and increases in enrolment were therefore in a large measure contingent upon the solution of the problems which existed in the primary area. Significantly, because the greater majority of the pupils who reached Standard Six was concentrated in the larger urban areas, the three Undenominational schools providing secondary facilities by 1926 were

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35) S.C.E. Reports, 1925, p.77; 1926, p.61; 1927 - 28, p.113. Reports of Inspectress L. C. Elton, Port Elizabeth.

36) S.C.E. Report, 1927 - 28, p.42.

37) Ibid., p.p.9, 23.

situated in Cape Town, Kimberley and Port Elizabeth, and a denominational secondary department had been established in Wynberg.[38] The smaller urban and rural centres remained without secondary facilities. The Coloured Education Commission expected that, as more pupils in these areas reached Standard Six, the need for further secondary schools would arise. It recommended to the Administration that, as the demands made themselves felt, additional schools should be established in the country towns, especially in the more densely populated Western and South-Western areas.[39] In the ten years thereafter Livingstone Secondary at Claremont, Cape, Karoo Secondary at Beaufort West, Oudtshoorn Secondary, and Luckhoff Secondary at Stellenbosch were established, and the number of Undenominational schools offering secondary facilities was further increased by the establishment of such schools at Riversdale and East London.[40]

Denominational Secondary Departments.

The proposal in 1924 to institute an optional, advanced teacher-training course with Junior Certificate as the entrance qualification, which was implemented in 1926,[41] clearly pre-supposed, as the Inspectress at Port Elizabeth pointed out, the provision of more secondary schools at the larger centres.[42] The prospect of a higher teaching qualification provided a great incentive for the

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38) For the establishment of denominational secondary departments, see p.419 et seq..

39) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Report, p.10.

40) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.p.148, 149, 193.

41) Vide supra, p.378.

42) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of Inspectress L. C. Elton, Port Elizabeth, p.98.

secondary education of larger numbers of Coloured pupils. And the close connection between the limited secondary facilities available and the success of the Primary Higher courses led to a new departure in policy, which extended the Mission school system into the secondary area. Where the more advanced courses were started, the Church authorities were permitted to provide secondary facilities to the Junior Certificate stage in departments attached to the Training Schools. Such secondary departments were first commenced at the Battswood Training School in Wynberg in 1926 and soon after at the Athlone Training Institute, Paarl.[43] They were subsequently added to the other Training institutions, and by 1935, apart from the four Undenominational High schools, seven of the ten schools offering courses to the Junior Certificate stage were such departments: five attached to Training Schools, one an adjunct to a Training School, and one as part of the unaided Roman Catholic Training institution at Parow.[44] Departmental grants of two Pounds for every one Pound contributed locally were allowed towards the salaries of European teachers employed in these Mission secondary schools,[45] and towards the cost of requisites, furniture and equipment supplied for use.[46] The establishment of these secondary departments had the effect of dividing the control of secondary education up to Standard Eight between the Churches and the School Boards, but, through the additional agency,

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43) S.G.E. Report, 1929. Report of Inspector C.E.Z. Watermeyer, Cape Division No. 3, p.105; S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28, p.44; Report of Inspector J. Anders, Paarl, Wellington Worcester, p.96.

44) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.47: Cape Coloured Commission, Report, p.p.148, 149.

45) Education Amendment Ordinance No. 23 of 1929. Section 11.

46) Education Amendment Ordinance No. 25 of 1928. Section 19.

they gave a considerable impetus to the further education of the Coloured pupils in the Mission primary schools.

Financial Assistance and Increased Enrolment.

The general poverty of the Coloured people was a very real impediment to the secondary education of their children, and financial assistance to indigent parents was therefore essential. The Coloured Education Commission recommended, for example, a more liberal application of provisions for free education for promising pupils whose parents were unable to pay the fees, and of the regulations which allowed the School Boards to remit 30% of the fees in the Undenominational schools in certain circumstances.[47] The latter concession was extended in 1928 to the Mission secondary departments by an arrangement which allowed the Administration to reimburse the Churches in respect of the fees they found it necessary to remit because of indigency, to a maximum of 30% of the total fees payable in such departments.[48] The Commission also recommended that, if deserving pupils from the rural areas were to have the opportunity of a secondary education in the few available schools, the provision of boarding and transport bursaries and capitation, rent, interest and other grants for private hostels was imperative. It considered the cost in this respect would be comparatively small, since the number of pupils in Standard Six was not large and the majority were in any case in the towns and did not require this form of assistance.[49] In 1930 a system of boarding and conveyance bursaries was introduced

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47) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Report, p.10. Vide Education Amendment Ordinance No. 23 of 1925. Section 15.

48) Education Amendment Ordinance No. 25 of 1928. Section 21.

49) Coloured Education Commission, Report, p.10.

to assist promising Coloured pupils who might otherwise be precluded by distance from attending a secondary school.[50]

Around 1927 - 28 there was a strong feeling that, in order to bring more of the European children into the secondary schools, the system of free, compulsory education to the age of 16 or Standard Six should be replaced by the provision of free, compulsory education to the age of 15 years, irrespective of the Standard attained.[51] Both Viljoen and M. C. Botha were agreed that, because of the difficulties involved, the step could not be lightly taken and that an alteration in the compulsory limit should be left to a later stage. But they also concurred in the view that it was necessary to encourage at least the more deserving pupils to continue to the secondary schools, and to overcome the difficulty as soon as possible for those children who passed Standard Six before the age of 15 and were unable to continue because their parents could not afford the fees payable in the secondary schools.[52] Although the Depression was at hand, the solution was found in an arrangement, which came into force at the beginning of 1931, to provide free education to the age of 15 for all pupils, including Coloured pupils, in Undenominational schools, irrespective of the Standard they had attained.[53] And, since the payment of fees by the Coloured pupils in the denominational secondary departments was essential because the Churches were required to pay one-third of the teachers' salaries, a special concession was made for the reimbursement of the Churches by the Administration in respect

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50) S.G.E. Report, 1930, p.31; Education Amendment Ordinance No. 17 of 1930. Section 32(a)

51) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28, p.10.

52) Ibid., p.p.10, 11; S.G.E. Report, 1929, p.p.5, 6, 7.

53) S.G.E. Report, 1929, p.p.5, 6; Education Amendment Ordinance No. 17 of 1930. Section 1.

of the fees payable by pupils in the appropriate age group.[54]

These financial provisions ushered in a period of fairly rapid expansion in the total secondary enrolment. In 1930 there were seven Undenominational schools and denominational departments which provided secondary education, and they had a total enrolment of 332 pupils. By 1936, when the number of such schools and departments had doubled, the secondary enrolment had increased to 1,862 pupils.[55] The increases reflected also the improvement in the holding power of the primary schools, which showed a steady increase in the number of pupils reaching Standard Six: from 2,142 in 1931 to 2,845 in 1935. And the percentage of those who proceeded from Standard Six at least to Standard Seven was raised from 22% in 1932 to 31% in 1935.[56] The trend of the development was well illustrated in the increasing number of candidates for the Junior Certificate Examination, as shown in the following Table:[57]

Year	No. of Candidates	Increase over Previous Year.
1930	90	-
1931	176	86
1932	210	34
1933	310	100
1934	383	73
1935	434	51
1936	572	138

54) S.G.E. Report, 1930, p.31; Education Amendment Ordinance No. 17 of 1930. Section 5(a)

55) S.G.E. Report, 1936, p.34.

56) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.150.

57) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.150; S.G.E. Report, 1936, p.20. The percentage of passes in the Junior Certificate Examination was not very high. In 1930, for example, 59 of the 90 candidates passed and 259 of the 434 candidates passed in 1935. Vide Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.150.

By the time the decision was taken to raise the minimum entrance Standard to the Training Schools to Junior Certificate in 1936,[58] an "almost unparalleled awakening" to the advantages of educating their children had developed among the Coloured people. Often at the greatest sacrifices to themselves, they were keeping their children at school beyond the age at which they might have become wage-earners and the S.G.E. considered the further extension of secondary facilities was therefore necessary.[59] Applications for the establishment of secondary schools were coming in "from all sides", due in a large measure to the higher entrance Standard to the Training Schools.[60] The greater majority of the Managers of schools and others concerned in the education of the Coloured pupils were not satisfied with the available facilities beyond the primary stage.[61] And the Cape Coloured Commission found that, although facilities up to the Junior Certificate level were fairly well distributed, especially in the southern part of the Province, additional schools were required to serve areas such as Caledon, Bredasdorp, Graaff Reinet or Cradock, Untata or Kokstad, Upington and the north-western areas.[62] The need for these schools in the country districts was reinforced by the necessity to overcome the shortage of female teachers.[63] For the parents were naturally hesitant to send their young daughters away from home for the four years required to complete the Junior

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58) Vide supra, p. 397 et seq.

59) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.55.

60) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.p.4, 69.

61) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Summary of Replies. Report, p.164. Approximately one-third were satisfied with the available facilities.

62) Ibid., Report, p.193.

63) Vide supra, p. 402.

Certificate and the Training School course, and the establishment of local secondary schools would have the advantage that they would need to be away for only two years and at a more mature age.[64]

Advancements to High School Status.

While this expansion of secondary facilities to the Junior Certificate stage was proceeding, there was a further significant development. As with so many of the schools for European pupils, the full primary course was also offered at the Trafalgar Secondary school in Cape Town, and it was in fact a primary school with an ad hoc secondary department. In accordance with the policy laid down in 1920 for the recognition of independent secondary schools, the Circuit Inspector suggested that the primary Standards at the school should be gradually excluded, and in 1921 no pupils were admitted to the sub-Standards of the school. He hoped to increase the secondary accommodation by following this policy step by step in consecutive years. But the removal of all the primary classes was hastened by the centralisation of the upper primary Standards in the area in 1925.[65]

With its recognition in July, 1925 as a fully-fledged High school with only secondary classes, Trafalgar became the first High school for Coloured pupils in the Cape Province. It was equipped with facilities for the teaching of Domestic Science and Manual Training and laboratories for Science, and was thus able to offer a variety of courses and a range of secondary work comparable to the best

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64) S.C.E. Report, 1938, p.24.

65) S.C.E. Report, 1921, p.56; 1925, p.74. Reports of Inspector A. L. Charles, Cape Division No. 1. Vide supra, p.236.

equipped High school for European pupils. It had a large immediate constituency afforded by the Undenominational and many Mission schools in the Cape Division and, with only 671 Coloured pupils who had reached Standard Six in 1924 in all the schools in the Province, the enrolment of nearly 100 pupils in Standards Seven to Ten at the end of 1925 fully justified the enhanced status of the school. The S.G.E. took great pride in "this special distinction" achieved by the school.[66]

Until 1933 this remained the only secondary school offering a complete secondary education to the Senior Certificate level. At the beginning of 1934 three further secondary schools, William Pescod in Kimberley, Paterson in Port Elizabeth, and Livingstone in Claremont (Cape), were granted High school status.[67] In 1935, however, there were altogether only 63 Senior Certificate candidates,[68] which represented only 3% of the pupils who had reached Standard Six in 1931.[69] De Vos Malan realised that the extension of secondary education, particularly to the Senior Certificate level, to meet needs other than those of the teaching profession, was not merely an educational and financial problem, but was bound up with the larger question of the social and economic future of the Coloured people and the avenues of employment open to them.[70]

The flow of pupils from Standard Eight to Standard Nine was directly affected by the fact that a large percentage of the

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66) S.G.E. Report, 1925, p.p.23, 24.

67) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.47.

68) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.31.

69) Cape Coloured Commission, 1927, Report, p.150.

70) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.55.

secondary pupils were intending primary teachers, for whom the incentive to proceed to Senior Certificate was largely absent. Beyond the chance of a university education for the few whose parents were able to afford it, there were no particular additional vocational incentives to stimulate any large increase in the number of pupils proceeding beyond Standard Eight. But the motivation could, as had happened at the Junior Certificate level, be provided, in part, at least, by raising the entrance Standard to the Training institutions to Standard Ten, which would necessitate an increase in the number of High schools.[71] And a further incentive could be provided by arrangements to train more Coloured secondary school teachers to replace the European teachers.[72] The Cape Coloured Commission, however, considered the four High schools were adequate to meet the demand and, in view of their small enrolments in Standards Nine and Ten, considered it wise not to add to their number until their enrolments had increased sufficiently to allow them to expand the restricted curricula they offered.[73] The increase in enrolment thereafter was steady but slow. In 1945 there were 128 candidates for the Senior Certificate Examination, and this small number had taken practically ten years to double itself.[74]

The Subsidy.

A major factor which limited the further expansion was the inadequate Subsidy provided by the Central Government.[75] Its

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71) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.193.

72) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.55. Vide supra, p.408, 409.

73) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.193.

74) S.G.E. Report, 1941 - 45, p.49.

75) Vide supra, p.281 et seq..

restrictive effect in the secondary area applied, if not to the same degree, to both European and Coloured pupils. From the commencement of the new Subsidy system in 1925, the Department publicly and repeatedly stated its view that in respect of the European pupils the Subsidy was insufficient,[76] and no important public speech on education omitted mention of the financial disadvantage which hampered extension and reorganisation.[77] This applied particularly to the secondary area, in which the attainment of the ideal of secondary education for all European pupils depended on whether money would be available.[78] The system drew no distinction between primary and secondary pupils, but, whereas the cost of primary education was roughly £14 per pupil and therefore more or less equal to the Subsidy for European pupils, the cost of educating a European secondary pupil was £28, and the need for expansion was in the secondary area.[79]

This "unscientific" basis[80] for the calculation of the Subsidy affected the expansion of secondary facilities for Coloured pupils even more adversely. The Subsidy of Five Guineas per pupil had proved inadequate for primary education; a fortiori it could not possibly meet the expenditure in the secondary area,[81] where the cost per Coloured pupil was more than three times as great.[82] The increase in the provisions for secondary education before 1937 had already consumed a goodly share of the annual Subsidy and had affected

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76) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28, p.p.52, 53.

77) S.G.E. Report, 1929, p.p.29, 30.

78) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.16.

79) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.11.

80) Ibid., p.11.

81) Ibid., p.65.

82) S.G.E. Report, 1938, p.24.

progress in other spheres.[83] In the circumstances, the Executive Committee of the Provincial Administration in 1937 postponed the consideration of further secondary schools until more satisfactory arrangements with regard to the Subsidy were made.[84]

The secondary enrolment increased from 2,293 pupils in 1938[85] to only 2,444 in 1941.[86] And the effect of the restriction on development was fully reflected in the decline in the annual rate of increase in the number of Junior Certificate candidates, revealed in the following Table:[87]

Year	No. of Candidates	Increase over Previous Year.
1937	702	130
1938	784	82
1939	800	16
1940	817	17

At the outbreak of the Second World War negotiations for an increased Subsidy had not succeeded. And it remained to be seen whether the events after the War, arising from the changes in the system for the calculation of the Subsidy and the decisions of the Provincial Council[88] would lead to a more rapid expansion in the secondary education of Coloured pupils.

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83) Vide supra, p.281.

84) S.C.E. Report, 1937, p.65.

85) S.C.E. Report, 1938, p.24.

86) S.C.E. Report, 1941 - 45, p.37.

87) The Table was compiled from information obtained from the following sources: S.C.E. Reports, 1937, p.33, 34; 1938, p.67; 1939, p.74; 1940, p.20.

88) Vide supra, p.286 et seq.

Curricula, Syllabuses and Examinations.

When the new Primary School Curriculum, intended for European pupils, was issued in 1919,[89] the S.G.E. was convinced that the secondary schools could not be making the best use of their pupils by taking them indiscriminately through the same curriculum prescribed by the Joint Matriculation Board.[90] The curriculum was unsparingly criticised as being too theoretical, and adapted more to the needs of the minority of the pupils.[91] The S.G.E. felt that the "rigid uniformity" had been tolerated too long, and that the time had arrived for the introduction of differentiated secondary school courses.[92] As part of the planned expansion of secondary education for European pupils after the War, the Department introduced its own Secondary School Courses and Examinations,[93] which provided differentiated curricula allowing greater flexibility in the choice of subjects, and was less dominated by university requirements.[94] The first Departmental Junior Certificate and Senior Certificate Examinations were held in 1921 and 1923 respectively.[95]

In the early years of its application there were several difficulties in the adaption of the schools to the purpose behind the new curriculum. The S.G.E. considered that for the majority of the European pupils the academic course was considerably overweighted on the linguistic side - it was almost too bookish, to the exclusion of manual training, domestic science, handicrafts and vocational subjects.

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89) Vide supra, p.348.

90) S.G.E. Report, 1918, p.9.

91) S.G.E. Report, 1922, p.37.

92) S.G.E. Report, 1918, p.9.

93) The Education Gazette, 10th February, 1921, p.771 et seq., 17th December, 1921, p.442 et seq..

94) S.G.E. Report, 1922, p.37.

95) S.G.E. Reports, 1921, p.23; 1923 - 24, p.34.

On a liberal estimate only 15% of the European pupils who entered a secondary school proceeded to a university, and the greatest initial weakness was thus that the bulk of the pupils were still being educated in entire disregard of this fact. Their parents were conservative; the teachers were hesitant to recommend a departure from the traditional; and false pride and blind prejudice, rather than the future needs of the pupils, were too often the determinants in the choice of curriculum.[96]

The extent to which particular schools were able to offer the differentiated curricula was further limited by the available staff, for the quota of teachers was based on the enrolment and not on the courses offered. The smaller schools were therefore at a disadvantage and, able to offer only a single course, they often clung to the academic course. Although keen that the schools should break away from the bonds of tradition and base their curricula on the needs of the majority of their pupils, the Department was also hampered during the early years of the new Secondary Courses, which coincided with the period of the Depression, by the large initial outlay for equipment and the heavy recurrent expenditure for apparatus and materials required for the introduction of practical subjects.[97] Bookish education was cheap and practical education expensive,[98] and there was thus an irreconcilable incompatibility in any demand for more practical education and any attempt at economy.[99] Nevertheless, from the beginning, there were signs, despite the obstacles, of an awakening to the value of the practical subjects, such as

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96) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24, p.35.

97) Ibid., p.35.

98) S.G.E. Report, 1922, p.37.

99) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24, p.35.

Woodwork, Metalwork, Needlework, Gardening, Agriculture, Drawing, Music and Cookery.[100]

When these changes were being arranged, Watermayer found that the leading European and Coloured educationists and others qualified to express an opinion considered that, though the curricula and syllabuses in the schools for European and Coloured pupils should be identical in their essential features, the majority of the intermediate and secondary schools for Coloured pupils should provide an industrial or agricultural bias in their courses.[101] From their inception the Departmental Secondary School Courses and examination requirements were made applicable also to the few schools for Coloured pupils in existence at the time. But, after the gradual advances in enrolment, the Coloured Education Commission considered the question whether there should be any differentiation between the curricula for European and Coloured pupils and, if so, the directions in which they should differ.[102]

A Circuit Inspector maintained that very few Coloured pupils in the country areas could follow the Secondary School Course, and that a secondary curriculum for Coloured pupils should provide for thorough instruction in the two official languages, simple courses of Mathematics, History and Geography, and a fairly extensive course of Industrial training.[103] But, on the whole, no evidence was submitted to the Commission to justify any differentiation between the actual syllabuses for European and Coloured pupils: on the

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100) Ibid., p.p.35, 36.

101) Watermeyer, Report, "Coloured Education", 15th March, 1920.

102) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Department of Public Education, Cape Town. Circular, 21st September, 1925. Question II.

103) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector B.D. Rousseau, Tulbagh.

one hand, the variety of the courses in the existing curriculum allowed the introduction of sufficient practical subjects; and, on the other hand, it was felt that there should be no barrier in the way of those pupils who wished to pursue an academic course.[104] The Commission itself was strongly of the opinion that there should be no formal differentiation in the curriculum for secondary schools.[105] But there was a strong feeling that the actual courses offered in the schools, at least for the average Coloured pupils, should definitely be orientated towards the practical side.[106] And the Commission expected that, within the range of courses provided, the Coloured pupils would normally take one of the more practical courses, but that the few pupils who desired to take an academic course should have the opportunity to do so.[107]

The difference in approach from that followed in the primary schools[108] was therefore occasioned largely by the wide option of subjects provided by the secondary curriculum, which was also the determinant in not providing a separate secondary curriculum for Native pupils in 1921.[109] The Coloured Education Commission accepted that an education which was entirely too bookish was not calculated to meet the requirements of the majority of the Coloured pupils, bearing in mind their preparation for future employment and their duties in their community and their homes. And to cater for the special needs of the

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104) Ibid. Report, p.5.

105) Ibid. Report, p.8.

106) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Tulbagh; Rev. E. Earp Jones, E.C.B. School, Paarl; Very Rev. Dean Thos C. Robson, Hon. Cor. Perseverance Training School, Kimberley; Rev. W. H. Lloyd, Congregational B. Schools, Paarl; Rev. W. Holzapfel, Tulbagh; Sister M. Lucy, St. John's R.C. Coloured School, Kingwilliam's Town.

107) Ibid. Report, p.8.

108) Vide supra, p. 352 et seq.

109) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of W.G. Bennie, Chief Inspector for Native Education, p.62.

pupils and preserve the correlation of aim in primary and secondary education what was required, therefore, was not a separate secondary curriculum per se, but the provision of equipment and facilities, especially in the larger urban areas, for instruction in subjects such as manual training and housecraft in accordance with the prescribed syllabuses.[110]

The extent to which these could be provided was greatly limited by financial considerations, for practical education was expensive. But by 1935 there was marked progress in the introduction of practical subjects to the Junior Certificate level. For the 399 examination candidates in that year the practical subjects for boys were Woodwork major, Woodwork minor, Metalwork and Agriculture minor, for which the number of entries were respectively 78, 97, 13 and 3; while a form of Domestic Science was offered by 111 girls and Needlework by 65 girls. But at the Senior Certificate stage the curriculum offered was restricted by the small enrolments: of the 66 candidates in 1935 for the Senior Certificate Examination only 4 offered Cookery, Housewifery and Laundrywork, 3 offered Needlework and 18 Manual training.[111]

In its investigation the Cape Coloured Commission discovered that the view of the organised Coloured teachers at the time was that, in a curriculum which postulated an identity of aim in the education of European and Coloured pupils, the secondary schools should extend the work of the primary schools through differentiated courses, to allow all pupils capable of profiting from the instruction "a reasonable measure of freedom of choice" in preparation for their future. The curriculum in use, while not ideal, appeared to them

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110) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Report, p.10.

111) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937, Report, p.149.

to be the best possible under the prevailing circumstances.[112] The Managers of schools and others stressed in the main that the chief aim should be more practical instruction with a vocational bias, and they emphasised intellectual development, training for good citizenship and leadership, and moral and religious training less frequently. About two-thirds of them considered the aims they had in mind were realised by the existing curriculum.[113] The Commission recommended no alteration.[114] However, the S.G.E. was of the opinion in 1939 that the education of the Coloured pupils was "in danger of being too bookish" and was greatly in need of opportunities for practical instruction: European pupils had better facilities and equipment for the practical subjects, because insufficient money was available for their provision in the schools for Coloured pupils.[115]

As in the primary schools,[116] the instruction in the secondary schools was from the beginning strongly biased towards English. In 1935 only 58 of the 399 Junior Certificate candidates entered for Afrikaans Higher, and the Senior Certificate candidates entered exclusively for English Higher.[117] The S.G.E. considered the medium of instruction used in the secondary schools was a matter which required attention,[118] and it was amongst the subjects discussed at a Conference of Inspectors and Instructors held in March,

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112) Ibid. Views and Recommendations of the Teachers' League of South Africa in connection with the education section of the Commission's questionnaire. Appendix 45. Report, p.p.317, 318.

113) Ibid. Summary of Replies. Report, p.162.

114) For the views of the Commission on the general aims in the education of Coloured pupils, see p.358 et seq..

115) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.50.

116) Vide supra, p. 43 et seq ; p. 333 et seq.

117) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.149.

118) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.55.

1935.[119] But it was clear that any policy which required the extension of the principle of home language instruction to the secondary area required, amongst other things, an expansion of facilities, particularly through the provision of additional schools in the country areas, and the training of secondary teachers equipped for the change. In essence, therefore, all future developments were dependent on the solution of the problem of the Subsidy, which had shown itself to be the radix malorum in all aspects of the education of Coloured pupils.

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119) Ibid., p.26.

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUSION.

The record of the period under review has revealed undoubted progress in the primary and secondary education of Coloured pupils. It is unnecessary to re-state the facts in any detail. Broadly speaking, with the passage of time, increasing numbers were enrolled in schools and higher proportions of the pupils received a more extended education. There developed a greater acceptance by the State of financial responsibility for their education, and a progressive improvement in the nature and extent to which the agencies entrusted with the establishment of schools were assisted. This led not only to an increase in the number of schools, but to an improvement in the standard of the accommodation that became available. The Coloured parents also received increasing financial aid, in several forms, which helped them greatly to overcome the handicap of poverty in the education of their children.

Among the developments, the emergence of Undenominational schools, even if gradual, and the attempts to develop agencies to co-ordinate and promote the education of Coloured pupils, laid the foundation upon which could be built a later system of full State responsibility, which showed the first signs of taking shape after the Second World War. The controversies which ranged around the question of the content of education were finally settled in a way which gave satisfaction to everybody concerned. And the period was characterised by significant progress in the certification and qualification of the teachers in the schools, because of the advances that were made in the system of teacher-training. This led inevitably to an increasingly higher quality and standard of teaching in the schools, even though the pupils were sometimes denied the advantage of the services of the better qualified European teachers, and the problem of the shortage of female teachers was not solved. Finally, there was, throughout,

an awareness of the needs of the Coloured pupils and a desire to meet in some measure the requests made on behalf of the community for improvements in the system of education.

Since the purpose of this study has been to delineate and reveal the background, motivations and effects of policy, it is pertinent to add that this general advancement in the education of Coloured pupils was accompanied by the pursuit of specific policies, which gave rise to certain very definite features. In the main, however much these policies might have contributed to the promotion of their education, one of the major effects of their application was increasingly to draw the distinction between the provisions for European pupils and for Coloured pupils, and to maintain a gap between the progress made by the two groups. In this respect, judgments are, therefore, dependent on whether they are based on absolute or relative standards. The Education Department, for example, always based its assessment on a combination of both. The Coloured leaders, and many others, on the other hand, founded their conclusions almost wholly on comparisons with the policy and progress in the case of European pupils. Their sights were turned not so much, if at all, on what had been achieved, as on what remained to be done to attain their ideals for the Coloured pupils.

The chief instrument of policy was the application of the colour bar in education, which manifested itself in the enforced separation of the pupils into different schools administered in separate systems. It was not a division per se. For it was never calculated to, and never did, achieve equality within a parallel system, and its overriding purpose and result was to give to the European pupils an education superior to that of the Coloured pupils. It is true that the educational ideals often bore a certain similarity, and the Coloured pupils were not always excluded from their ambit. They were, for example, never entirely excluded from some provision for an

Undenominational system of schools, and the need for their compulsory education certainly did not escape attention and consideration. But, both in the legislative prescription of the objectives and the administrative system for their achievement, there were important differences: and these led in the course of time to the situation which existed in 1940.

In some aspects of policy, such as the provision of free education after 1920, the ideal of similarity of treatment was simultaneously achieved, though the extent to which the two sections benefitted differed greatly. But, generally, the hiatus between the aims of policy and their realisation revealed a far greater time-lag in the case of the Coloured pupils. Thus, within twenty years of the School Board Act, the problems in the primary education of European pupils were solved in a system of Undenominational schools, and compulsory education had become a reality; but after the lapse of forty years the system of primary education for Coloured pupils still left much to be achieved, and the comparable provision of Undenominational schools and compulsory education remained legislative ideals. When the European pupils were moving towards the threshold of compulsion to the Junior Certificate level, the system of secondary education for Coloured pupils was still in its infancy. And twelve years after the training of all European teachers had been raised to the post-Senior Certificate level of admission, the first steps were taken towards the provision of a similar system for Coloured teachers.

In the narrative three distinct stages may be discerned. The first, in which some Coloured pupils sometimes enjoyed advantages over European pupils, ended with the passing of the School Board Act. It witnessed the attempts which were made to overcome the neglect by the State of the education of European pupils, and the nascent efforts of the emerging Coloured leaders to advance the claims of their community to at least a measure of equality. The second, created

by the policy and terms of the Act, saw the development of the clear advantages given to European pupils, and the gradual evolution of an educational system for Coloured pupils. The third, commencing at the end of the First World War, initiated and evolved the concept of "Coloured Education" in the modern sense of the term: of schools restricted to Coloured pupils; financed in a particular way; employing Coloured teachers; following curricula and syllabuses specially devised and adapted to meet the needs of Coloured pupils as distinct from those of European and Native pupils; and administered by a separate section of the Education Department and different local controlling agencies, in which the Churches were officially accepted as indispensable.

Of all the factors which had influenced the nature of their education the influence of the Churches was perhaps predominant. They were able to maintain their position for a variety of reasons. Apart from the impelling force of the historical process in earlier times, they derived considerable status from the leadership they were able to offer, and the close attachment of large sections of the Coloured people. But, throughout, they owed their pervading hegemony to the support they received from official quarters. However, the years had shown without doubt that, apart from other considerations, the denominational agency was not only inadequate, but that its continued widespread use was incompatible with any successful attempt to solve the problems in the education of Coloured pupils. To exclude or diminish the dependence on the agency of the Churches had, of necessity, to be a major objective of policy.

To those whose aspirations were in the direction of equality with the Europeans, the main features of "Coloured Education" offered little satisfaction. In so far, however, as it was the by-product of the colour bar in education, the policy that created it had become so deeply embedded that requests on behalf of the Coloured

people came to contain an implicit assumption that any schools established would be restricted to Coloured pupils and would employ Coloured teachers. In this approach there was no small element of self-interest. But within this limitation, there was a constant struggle to attain greater equality of educational opportunities: for more liberal financial assistance from the State, for better-trained and better-paid teachers, and for a quality of education which did not differ from that available to European pupils.

In a very large measure the burden of this struggle came in the course of time to be accepted by the Coloured teachers themselves. By 1940 they had grown into a coherent and articulate body, organised in the Teachers' League of South Africa. The official policy had opened an avenue of employment which had brought into being a professional class of some proportions, which enjoyed a high status in the Coloured community and, by virtue of the circumstances, naturally assumed the role of leadership. In their situation they became acutely aware of the problems that faced them: in particular, the inferior position of the Coloured people in the social fabric, and the manner in which the educational system for Coloured pupils tended towards its perpetuation. And it is significant that the period ushered in by the Second World War was to see among them a new orientation of outlook, which sought to grapple with the consequences of the basic truth: that educational systems are so closely related to the polity of which they form a part that they cannot be divorced from the social systems which generated them for their service.

At the stage at which this study ends, the directions in which improvements in the education of the Coloured pupils were needed were clear enough. Within the framework of official policy and the legal enactments and administrative arrangements, the specific questions to be answered in the decade ahead were quite simple: whether the financial provisions of the State and Provincial Administration would

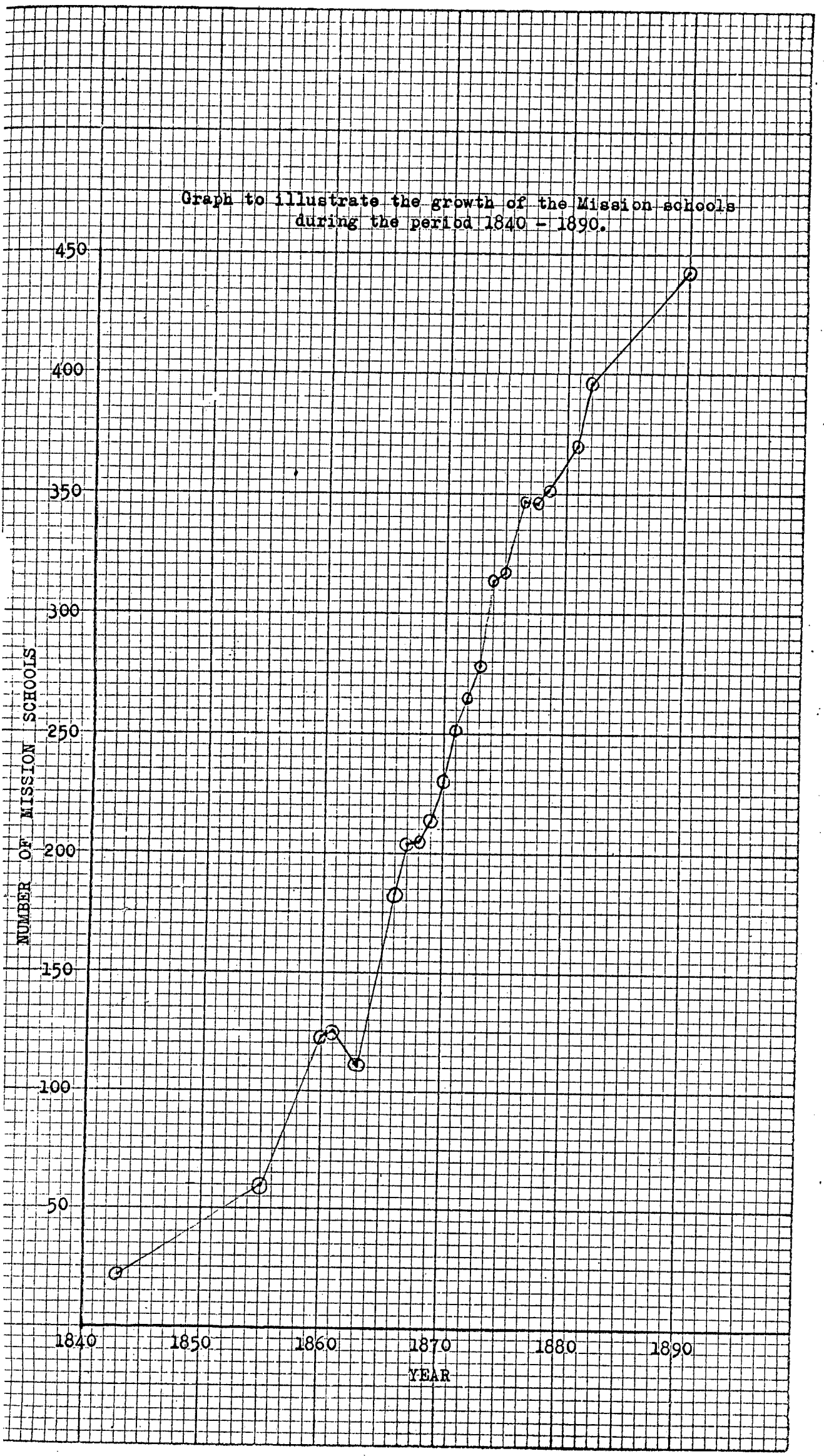
prove adequate for all that was required; whether the School Boards would co-operate and, if not, whether the proposed system of Coloured Education Committees would operate successfully; whether compulsory primary education would become an accomplished fact; whether the number of secondary schools would be extended and increasingly be raised to High School status; whether the more advanced training of teachers just initiated, would become more widespread; and whether the principle of uniform curricula and syllabuses for European and Coloured pupils would be maintained and would have the effect of providing a similarity of content in their education. In a very real sense the answers depended on State policy. For, in the wider context, they were directly related to the social and economic position the Coloured people were to occupy in the body politic, and clearly involved their whole future status. Upon that issue the trends in other spheres had caused a steady decline in their position. But the questions had by no means been altogether resolved, and a defined policy had not completely crystallised. The Second World War, like all similar upheavals, could provide the impetus and the climate for rapid social change. And the events that were to follow provide an interesting field of study for future historians.

APPENDIX A.

The graph overleaf has been constructed from information obtained from the following sources:

1. Memorandum of the S G E, 1844
2. Education Commission, 1863. Report, page xli.
3. Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Dale pp. 26,32.
4. Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Appendix II.
5. Ibid. Report, p. 5.
6. Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p. 4.
7. Government Gazette, 20 February, 1891.
8. Various Reports of the S G E.

Graph to illustrate the growth of the Mission schools during the period 1840 - 1890.



APPENDIX B.

Return showing the number of white and coloured children attending Mission Schools in the following towns in 1890:

	White	Coloured
1. Cape Town	2955	4283
2. Graham's Town	710	377
3. King William's Town	640	75
4. Paarl	113	1038
5. Port Elizabeth	1118	1180
6. Stellenbosch	38	676
7. Worcester	33	668

Extracted from Education Commission, 1891. Appendices to First Report and Proceedings, page 213.

APPENDIX C.

List of District Mission Schools in Cape Town into which white children are admitted; and the number of white children reported to attend each Mission School, 1890.

				Number of Children
Cape Town,	District	No 1	S. Andrew's (Scotch Church)	52
Do	do	No 2	S. Stephen's (Dutch Church)	14
Do	do	No 3	South African Mission	25
Do	Sub-do	No 3	Lutheran Mission, Buitengracht Street	122
Do	do	No 4	School of Industry, New Street	172
Do	Sub-do	No 4	S. Michael's (English Church) Keerom Street	98
Do	do	No 5	S. George's Orphanage Mission	30
Do	do	No 6	Congregational Church Mission, Barrack St.	22
Do	do	No 7	Dutch Church, Bree Street	80
Do	do	No 9	Wesleyan Mission, Sydney Street	141
Do	do	No10	S. John's English Church, Rogge Bay	87
Do	do	No11	Boys' Trinity, Harrington Street	50
Do	do	No11	Girls' do do	199
Do	do	No12	S. Mark's (English Church)	172
Do	do	No13	Dutch Church, Hanover Street	182
Do	do	No14	(English Church) S. Philip's	234
Do	do	No15	S. Aloysius' (Roman Catholic)	404
Do	do	No15	Girls' S. Bridget's (Roman Catholic)	324
Do	do	No16	(English Church) S. Paul's	23
Do	do	No17	(Roman Catholic) Sir Lowry Road	163
Do	do	No18	do Somerset Road	271
Do	do	No19	Ebenezer Mission, Rose Street	63
Do	do	No20	Dutch Church, Rogge Bay	12
Do	do	No21	Moravian Mission, Frere Street	5
Deaf and Dumb Institution (Additional)				10
			Total	2955

(Extracted from Education Commission 1891. Appendices to First Report and Proceedings, page 214)

APPENDIX D.

Particulars relating to Mission Schools aided by Grants from the Education Department and worked by Religious Denominations, based on Schools actually in existence during the year 1890:-

MISSION SCHOOLS	Total amount received by each Denomination in aid of its Mission Schools:- £	s	d	Amount raised by each Religious Body in Fees, Contributions, &c:- £	s	d
English Church	5131	0	0	6098	2	3
Wesleyan Society	3942	19	2	2550	1	1
Dutch Reformed Church	2225	0	0	4430	13	8
Independent or Congregational	1714	10	0	1207	16	10
Moravian Society	990	0	0	600	9	1
Berlin Society	723	15	0	1090	4	6
Roman Catholic Church	1655	0	0	4388	17	7
Free Church (Scotch)	884	0	0	566	16	1
Rhenish Society	791	5	0	655	15	11
Lutheran Church	120	0	0	144	10	0
French Protestant	70	10	0	7	18	3
United Presbyterian	65	0	0	31	17	6
Miscellaneous	343	0	0	257	3	9

(Extracted from Education Commission 1891. Appendices to First Report and Proceedings, page 213)

APPENDIX E

A Note on Abdurahman and the A.P.O.

The history of the A.P.O. and the biography of its leader Dr. A. Abdurahman, still remain to be written. The Organisation was formed in 1902 by a small group of Coloured men in Cape Town, motivated by the desire to obtain for the Coloured people in the Northern Republics the political rights accorded to the non-Europeans in the Cape Colony. It soon extended its scope, and at its Conference in Somerset East in April, 1905 it adopted a comprehensive Constitution for the regulation of its affairs. Its aims were to promote unity among the Coloured people of South Africa, to secure better and more advanced education for their children, the registration of all Coloured voters, and the defence and general promotion of the social, political and civic rights of the Coloured people. These objects remained substantially unchanged during the whole of the period in which Abdurahman was associated with the Organisation.

Abdurahman, born in 1872 (?) in Wellington, Cape, was the eldest son of a large family. His grandparents were manumitted slaves by purchase. He was educated at a Mission school in Wellington, and at Marist Brothers and S.A.C.S. in Cape Town. He graduated as a Medical Doctor at the University of Glasgow in 1893 and, after two years in London, returned to Cape Town in 1895 and began his own practice, with both European and non-European patients.

In April 1905 Abdurahman became President of the A.P.O. He served the Organisation in that capacity until his death in 1940. Under his leadership it maintained its position as the most powerful and influential Organisation amongst the Coloured people for approximately thirty years. Although centred in Cape Town, and receiving its main impetus from the urban areas, the A.P.O. was by no means representative only of the advanced sections of the Coloured people. In 1909 it had about 100 branches. It built up a large and enthusiastic constituency of support, particularly in the Cape Province. It was represented organisationally in many towns and villages, and

held its Conferences at various places throughout the country. In 1909 it started its fortnightly Journal, the A.P.O. (edited by Abdurahman, and not inaptly referred to sometimes as Abdurahman's Political Opinion), which remained, except for a period during the War, in continuous publication until 1923. Frequently cited in the documentation of the thesis, the A.P.O. Journal is an invaluable repository of the political and social outlook of the Coloured leaders of the time, of their reactions to policies and events, and of the support they received in their manifold attempts to promote the interests of the Coloured people.

The original political policy of the A.P.O. was geared to the constitutional framework of the Cape Colony. The early strategy of its struggle for the social rights of the Coloured people was devised in the period of the non-racial, qualified franchise, and advancement was therefore closely related to educational and economic progress. Its great interest in the education of the Coloured pupils is therefore easily understandable. And for the same reason, there is a strong correlation between subsequent events affecting the political status of the Coloured people and the activities of the Organisation. As President of the A.P.O., Abdurahman led a deputation of Coloured leaders to England in 1906 to seek the enfranchisement of Coloured persons in the Northern ex-Republics. And in 1909, after many protests and petitions to the National Convention and the Colonial Parliaments by the A.P.O. and other organisations, Abdurahman was a member of a deputation which tried to persuade the British Government to exclude the colour bar provisions from the Act of Union.

After Union, the A.P.O. increasingly prosecuted its struggle against the diminution of the rights of Coloured people. It continued its chief technique of offering the support of the Coloured vote to one or other of the European political Parties, and in this way to attempt to influence policy in favour of the Coloured people. In this context its position was unsuccessfully challenged by the Africander National Bond, formed in 1924 by dissident elements to

support the Pact Government. But the existence of the Bond was short-lived. To its activities at election time the A.P.O. added frequent deputations and protests to the authorities whenever the rights of Coloured people were affected. After 1930, when the enfranchisement of European women and the effects of other legislation reduced the importance of the Coloured vote, these tactics were severely criticised by a younger generation of Coloured leaders. The emergence of a new political outlook, after a short and bitter struggle with the old, led to the demise of the A.P.O. as a political force.

Through his leadership of the Coloured people Abdurahman became a prominent public figure. He was elected to the Cape Town City Council in 1904 and, except for two years (1913-15), he remained a Councillor until his death. During this lengthy period of office he was elected Chairman of several Committees, and was Chairman of the Streets and Drainage Committee for the period 1923-37. He became an influential person in civic affairs, and it was generally acknowledged, even by his opponents, that, but for the colour of his skin, he would have become Mayor of the Mother City of South Africa. He was elected to the Cape Provincial Council in 1914 and retained his seat throughout his life. As the Provincial Council was entrusted with the administration of primary and secondary education, Abdurahman used his position to promote the educational interests of Coloured pupils. He was a member of the Committee of the Council which allocated the funds for Coloured pupils granted by the Government after the post-War Depression, and of the Coloured Education Commission appointed in 1926, from which, however, he resigned. He was appointed by the Government in 1934 as a member of the Cape Coloured Commission which, after a thorough and exhaustive investigation, presented a very valuable report on all facets of the lives of the Coloured people.

It is necessary to add only two further points to this brief note. In the first place, apart from the high level of political

consciousness it brought to them, the A.P.O. did much constructive work among the Coloured people. Many institutions in the community owe their origin and growth to the enterprise and endeavour of the Organisation. In the field of education, the Teachers' League of South Africa, large numbers of schools and, above all, the deep and self-sacrificing devotion of Coloured parents to the education of their children are among its legacies. In the second place, the A.P.O. was never nationalistically-orientated, and in its organisation of the Coloured people it did not aspire to their achievement of political power as a national or racial entity. It regarded the Coloured people as an appendage of the Europeans and, while it did make attempts to co-operate with other non-European groups, it never dissociated itself from the European section. In the main, therefore, it imbued Coloured people with the desire to aspire to equality with the Europeans, and left them the heritage of unremitting labours in this direction.

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II. LIST OF ACTS AND ORDINANCES.

III. ABDURAHMAN PAPERS.

IV. NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS.

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the organised Coloured teachers discussed the position of European teachers in the schools. Although they acknowledged that European teachers had often, though not always, done good work, they were quite definitely in favour of restricting appointments to Coloured teachers. But they recognised that the employment of European teachers was sometimes necessary because Coloured teachers were not always sufficiently qualified, especially for the posts of higher grade.[61] There was, however, a further aspect to the matter. For, although advertisements of vacancies in the Mission schools were sometimes restricted to applications from Coloured teachers, and sometimes invited applications from both European and Coloured teachers, the Coloured teachers were not always permitted to compete with European teachers for positions in such schools. It was a practice of Managers of some Mission schools to limit applications for appointments, especially Principalships, to European teachers.[62]

To this form of exclusion the leaders in the A.P.O. raised a very strong objection. They supported the policy of employing Coloured teachers in the schools for Coloured pupils, and were opposed to the "class of pseudo-European Mission school teachers"; and they endorsed the efforts of the organised Coloured teachers to protect their interests and to advance the professional aspirations of the community.[63] The Coloured teachers, on their side, saw in the development of schools for Coloured pupils the opportunity to advance their group interests, and to secure promotion through a policy of restricting such schools to the employment of Coloured teachers. They protested to the Archbishop of Cape Town, for example, that, while the English Church was

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61) Ibid. July 12th, 1913. "S.A. Teachers' League. A summary of the proceedings of the Coloured Teachers' Conference, held in School of Arts, Cape Town, on 24th June and following days", p.8.

62) See, for example, The Education Gazette, 31st December, 1914, p.701.

63) A.P.O. October 30th, 1915. "Colour Distinctions in Mission Schools", p.8.

training a large number of Coloured teachers, the policy of appointing European teachers was denying them their means of livelihood; and because the Coloured congregations themselves met the deficits in the schools they looked forward to their children occupying such positions. In short, they contended that the Mission schools were the legitimate sphere of the Coloured teachers.[64]

Watermeyer discovered in 1919 that this view was supported by those best qualified to express an opinion on the policy to be pursued. They maintained that in all but exceptional cases Coloured teachers should be appointed in primary schools, and in Intermediate and Secondary schools if they possessed the necessary qualifications, although they conceded that the Training Schools should continue to be staffed by European teachers.[65] However, no legal barrier to the employment of European teachers was imposed by the Department, and Managers of schools continued to exercise their discretionary powers. Nevertheless, the broad effect of the Department's policy was that, of the 1,134 teachers in schools for Coloured pupils at 30th June, 1923, 861 were Coloured, 216 were European and 57 were Native teachers.[66]

The policy of employing Coloured teachers served, in part, to reduce considerably the cost of educating the Coloured pupils, in comparison with the cost of educating the European children. For the Coloured teachers were paid lower salaries, which the S.G.E. considered justified by reason of their lower cost of living.[67] The Provincial Finances Commission reported in 1923 that, while in the

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64) Ibid. December 12th, 1914. "Coloured Teachers' Protests to the Archbishop. Letter from Cape Division of T.L.S.A.", p.4.

65) Watermeyer, Report, "Coloured Education", 15th March, 1920.

66) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Statistics.

67) Ibid., p.53.

Cape Province the net expenditure per Coloured pupil was £3.6.8., including cost of inspection, the effect of the employment of European teachers in the Transvaal, for example, was to raise the cost per Coloured pupil to the "unnecessarily high" figure of £11.5.6., which could be reduced by the employment of more Eurafrican and Indian teachers.[68] While the salaries of European teachers represented nearly 70% of the whole amount spent on education[69] and was the sphere in which there was the greatest room for economy,[70] the Commission considered there was "an overwhelming case" for an increase in the salaries of Coloured teachers.[71] Watermeyer found that, although all parties concerned were agreed that the salaries were inadequate, no claim was made for remuneration equal to that of the European teachers. The only serious difference of opinion was on what was an equitable ratio: he considered a scale ranging from 60% of European teachers' salaries in the higher grades to 72% in the lower grades would probably meet with fairly general approval.[72]

The policy of employing Coloured teachers at a lower rate of remuneration was an important determinant in assessing the size of the Subsidy for Coloured pupils, introduced in 1925.[73] While the Provincial Finances Commission recommended that, in the Training Schools for Coloured students, where European teachers were employed, the Subsidy should be the same as for Europeans, it determined the cost per Coloured pupil at Five Guineas, to allow for a 50% increase in the salaries of

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68) Provincial Finances Commission, 1923. Report, p.64.

69) Ibid., p.29.

70) Ibid., p.36.

71) Ibid., p.64.

72) Watermeyer, Report, "Coloured Education", 15th March, 1920.

73) Vide supra p. 249 et seq.

Coloured teachers, which it regarded as not unreasonable.[74] And, consequently, the further implementation of the policy of employing Coloured teachers was greatly influenced by the financial implications of State policy. The Department, in short, had little choice but to employ Coloured teachers wherever possible, because the financial structure of the system was so clearly based on the employment of Coloured teachers in schools for Coloured pupils at a salary lower than that payable to European teachers.

New Courses: end of pupil-teacher system.

At the end of the First World War some of the Coloured educationists advanced the view that the system of teacher-training should allow the qualifications for European and Coloured teachers to be identical. However, Watermeyer found that the overwhelming weight of opinion was that there should continue to be a lower grade of certificate for Coloured teachers, but that the opportunities for gaining the higher qualification should remain open to them.[75] Quite considerable advance had been made in the certification of the teachers. By 1924, 1,053, or 85.9%, of the 1,225 teachers employed in schools for Coloured pupils were professionally certificated, which the S.G.E. regarded as very satisfactory, since the large majority of these teachers were from a community which occupied a relatively low social position.[76]

In the years after the War the whole system for the training of teachers - European, Coloured and Native - was reviewed by the

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74) Provincial Finances Commission, 1923. Report, p.p.64, 65.

75) Watermeyer, Report, "Coloured Education", 15th March, 1920.

76) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24, p.43.

Department.[77] A new Primary Lower Course for Coloured teachers, with Standard Six as the entrance qualification, was commenced at the beginning of 1924 to replace the former "Pupil-Teacher Junior" course, and arrangements were made to introduce later a post-Junior Certificate Coloured Primary Higher course and a special Infant School course,[78] which were instituted, respectively, in 1926 and 1929.[79] These courses were specially designed to train the Coloured teachers for employment in schools in which the bulk of the pupils were in the lower Standards and for which a distinctive curriculum had been devised. The Coloured Primary Lower Course, therefore, while resembling the corresponding course for Native teachers in the greater emphasis laid on Manual and Industrial training, differed in the direction of the emphasis and content, and was regarded by the S.G.E. as distinct from the equivalent qualification for Native teachers.[80] The chief aims of the more advanced post-Junior Certificate course were to train the teachers who would be able to teach Standards Five and Six effectively, and to provide well-qualified teachers for Principalships.[81]

Because of the financial difficulties caused by the Depression, the Department found it impossible immediately to incur additional expenditure on staffing and equipment, and the Training Schools had therefore to satisfy themselves with their existing facilities.[82]

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77) The Education Gazette, 21st February, 1924, p.72.

78) Ibid., p.72; S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24, p.44

79) S.G.E. Report, 1929, p.23.

80) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24, p.44. For the "Courses of Training for Coloured Teachers" see The Education Gazette, 7th February, 1924, p.10 et seq..

81) The Education Gazette, 7th February, 1924, p.15.

82) Ibid., p.10.

However, owing to the specialised nature of the training to be given in the new Courses, the Department regarded it as most desirable that they should be taken only at properly organised and equipped Training Schools, on the lines successfully followed in the training of European teachers.[83] For, while the centralisation of training facilities for European teachers had been completed in 1922, the objective had not yet been fully attained in the training of Coloured teachers.[84] But, although policy was quite definitely directed towards the termination of the pupil-teacher system, the Department realised that it was impracticable to insist that all students should immediately attend only the four recognised Training Schools. It therefore intended to complete the centralisation by limiting the enrolment of students even for the First-Year to nine selected centres in 1925, and in the following year to restrict training facilities to the four Training Schools and possibly two other centres to be developed as Training Schools. Students enrolled in 1925 at centres other than the four Training Schools were therefore required to give an undertaking that they would proceed to a recognised Training School for the Second and Third Years of the course in 1926 and 1927.[85]

The S.G.E. thus hoped that by 1926 the pupil-teacher system would have disappeared entirely and that the better preparation and equipment of the teachers trained in the new Courses would serve to promote more efficient work in the schools.[86] In pursuance of this objective, and

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83) The Education Gazette, 21st February, 1924, p.72.

84) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.66.

85) The Education Gazette, 21st February, 1924, p.72.

86) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24, p.p.44, 56.

in accordance with the authority granted in 1921 for the recognition of Training Schools and departments,[87] the establishment of additional Training Schools was sanctioned at Wynberg (Battswood) and Paarl (Athlone Institute), thus increasing the number to six.[88] The Mission schools which could be used for the training of pupil-teachers were reduced to six, and their enrolments dropped to 107.[89] The Department intended within a year or two to complete the centralisation of training with the proposed establishment in 1929 of a further Training School in Worcester (Sonnge).[90] In this way an increase in the enrolment at the Training Schools was accompanied by a decrease in the number of pupil-teachers trained elsewhere. In 1929 the numbers were respectively 645 and 67, and by 1933 the 1,045 Coloured student-teachers were all being trained in recognised Training Schools.[91]

Denominational Control.

During these stages in the reorganisation of the system of training, the important question was raised in the investigations by the Coloured Education Commission: whether the denominational control of the Training Schools should be continued.[92] The control had flowed almost

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87) Consolidated Education Ordinance No. 5 of 1921. Sections 325, 335.

88) S.G.E. Report, 1925. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.37.

89) S.G.E. Report, 1926. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.34.

90) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.68; Report of Inspector J. Anders, Paarl, Wellington, Worcester, p.96.

91) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. H. P. Cruse, op. cit.. Appendix 48, Report, p.342.

92) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Department of Public Education, Cape Town. 21st September, 1925. Circular. Question 4.

naturally from the pupil-teacher system associated with the Mission schools from which the Training Schools had developed, and was accepted by the Department in granting them recognition. The consensus of opinion confirmed that those strongly in favour of the retention of the Mission school system were ipso facto equally in favour of the denominational control of the training of the teachers for these schools.[93] In particular, the Religious bodies generally and the Joint Committee of European Teachers' Associations were not in favour of State control, and it was almost unanimously felt that the training of the teachers should go hand-in-hand with religious teaching.[94] Representatives of the English Church conceded, however, that in urban areas well-equipped Central Training Institutions, directly under the Department, would have real advantages, provided every encouragement was given to the Churches to establish residential Training Schools,[95] and the right of denominational religious instruction was preserved at the Central Training Schools.[96]

Significant reasons against the continuation of denominational control were also advanced. On principle, some European and Coloured persons wished to have institutions, like their European counterparts, which were established and controlled by the State.[97] Others submitted that denominational control seemed to serve sectional interests[98]

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93) Ibid. Replies to Questionnaire. 37 of the written replies were in favour and 15 against.

94) Ibid. Report, p.5.

95) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.4.

96) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Very Rev. Thos. C. Robson, Hon. Con. Peseverance Training School, Kimberley.

97) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector P.D. Rousseau, Tulbagh; H.W. Beaman, Secretary for the Joint Meeting A.P.O., Kimberley Branch of Teachers' League, Africander National Bond; J.H.L. Vink, Chairman, Mafeking School Board; R.M. Molutshunga, Niekerkshope; Inspector S.B. Hobson, Cape Town; Rev. E.S. Dietrich, Port Elizabeth; Rev. Alban Heath, Uitenhage; Rev. Henry C. Newell, Port Elizabeth.

98) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector P.D. Rousseau, Tulbagh. For an example of this in the admission of students, see p.387.

or to develop an undesirable sectional spirit in the teachers,[99] and was probably responsible for the difficulty in obtaining reliable teachers.[100] In fact, even among those who were opposed to State control there was a view that the Training Schools, or at least additional ones, should be interdenominational.[101] After consideration of the matter, however, the Coloured Education Commission recommended no change in the form of control,[102] and the Training Schools therefore continued as an adjunct of the Mission school system.

By 1929 all the major Churches represented in the system, with the exception of the Roman Catholic Church, had control of their own recognised Training Schools, and were assured of the continuation of their influence in this most important aspect of the system. Of the seven institutions that had been recognised, Zonnebloem Training School, Cape Town, and Perseverance Training School, Kimberley, were controlled by the English Church. Battswood Training School, Wynberg, Wesley Training School, Salt River, Sohnge Training School, Worcester, and Dower Memorial Training School, Uitenhage, were controlled, respectively, by the Dutch Reformed Church, the Methodist Church, the Rhenish Church and the Independent (Congregational) Church. Athlone Training School, Paarl, was interdenominationally controlled by the English, the Congregational and the Dutch Reformed Churches. In their development they had all acquired secondary departments for academic training to Junior Certificate

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99) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, H.W. Heaman, Secretary for the Joint Meeting A.P.O., Kimberley Branch of Teachers' League, Africander National Bond.

100) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, J.H.L. Vink, Chairman, Hafelding School Board.

101) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. Walter E. Morgan, Congregational Union, Maritzburg; John B. Anderson, Pacaltsdorp; Rev. W. H. Lloyd, Manager, Congregational B. Schools, Paarl.

102) Ibid. Report, p.7.

standard and Practising departments.[103] They therefore constituted, in a sense, complete units for the training of teachers and, in respect of their complementary Practising schools, the Inspectors of Training Institutions considered they were in a more favourable position than the Training institutions for European students.[104]

The Coloured Education Commission received a complaint that the Catholic schools found difficulty in obtaining suitably qualified teachers for their schools because there was no Catholic institution for the training of their teachers.[105] Although M. C. Botha, the S.G.E., felt that the Catholic Church had a just grievance because the principle of denominational control had been accepted and teachers had to be provided for the large number of pupils in the Catholic schools, the Executive Committee of the Provincial Administration had by 1933 not seen its way clear to recognise a Training School under the control of the Church.[106] The Roman Catholic Church had therefore privately trained its own teachers at Cradock. But by 1935 it was granted permission to establish a Training department, St. Augustine's, at Parow, on the understanding that no further students were to be enrolled at Cradock.[107] Unlike the other Training Schools, no secondary department was immediately attached,[108] but in 1937 official recognition was granted to the Training department, which thus became the eighth Training School.[109]

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103) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.153. For the recognition of denominational secondary departments, see p.418 et seq.

104) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.93.

105) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Sister M. Lucy, St. Joseph's R.C. School, King-williamstown.

106) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.47.

107) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35. Inspector A.L. Charles and Inspector C.J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.94.

108) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.153.

109) S.G.E. Report, 1937. Inspector C.J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.102.

Separation of Coloured and Native Students.

Although the Department provided different courses for the training of Native teachers in separate institutions, Native students were not specifically debarred from the Training Schools for Coloured teachers, especially in areas where there were no alternative provisions. By 1924 it was a customary practice to admit Native students, and the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools saw no objection to the continued admission of those who had a good knowledge of the official language used as the medium of instruction in the Training Schools, because their employment would be an advantage in those schools for Coloured pupils which still had many Native pupils.[110] However, in certain areas where the majority of the teachers in the schools for Coloured pupils were Native teachers, the home language of the pupils did not always receive adequate attention, and an Inspector recommended that as vacancies occurred these teachers should be replaced by Coloured teachers, although Coloured teachers were not easily secured.[111] In the Diocese of George, for example, the Church authorities considered Native teachers to be quite unsuitable as teachers for Coloured pupils. But the number of Native applicants for posts exceeded by far the number of Coloured applicants. In order to increase the supply of Coloured teachers and so obviate the necessity to appoint Native teachers, the Diocesan Board of Education made grants and loans available to assist Coloured pupil-teachers.[112]

In 1924 the Coloured parents in Kimberley objected to the admission

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110) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.67.

111) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of Inspector K. A. Hobart Houghton, Fort Beaufort, Stockenstroom, Victoria East, p.118.

112) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. Canon B. Price, on behalf of the Diocese of George.

of Native students to the local Training School, and as a result separate classes were provided. Two years later the organised Coloured teachers in the area pursued the objection to the English Church authorities in control of the institution.[113] The Training Schools soon learnt to exercise greater vigilance and discretion in dissuading Native students who were not proficient in the medium they employed.[114] In 1926, about 80 of the 471 students enrolled in the six Training Schools were Native students.[115] And in the years thereafter the feeling grew stronger that Native and Coloured students did not mix well and, further, the presence of Native students created additional difficulties in providing students with teaching practice.[116] In July, 1935, a start was made in Kimberley with the complete separation of Coloured and Native students, and a proposal for the establishment of a Training School for Native students in the area was mooted.[117]

Quality of Training and Teachers.

Although there was a gradual improvement in quality,[118] the work in the Training Schools was adversely affected by several circumstances. Because of the generally poor economic position of the Coloured people,

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113) J.P. Botma, Die Geskiedenis van die Onderwys in Griekwaland-Wes, 1800 - 1940, p.367.

114) S.G.E. Report, 1925. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.46.

115) S.G.E. Report, 1926. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.34.

116) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.92.

117) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.94.

118) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.68.

and the shortage of secondary schools to provide the recruiting constituencies for the post-J.C. courses,[119] the scholastic standard reached by the great majority of students on entry continued to be Standard Six, and the pass at the Standard Six level, moreover, was of a variable standard.[120] Though the Training Schools were free to conduct entrance examinations, they were not at liberty to question the standard required by the Inspectors for pupils to pass Standard Six.[121] In addition, since the education of the Coloured pupils was, comparatively speaking, still in the "embryo stage", the primary and secondary schools did not give their pupils an efficient general education.[122] And many of the students who entered the Training Schools had a satisfactory command of neither official language.[123]

The attempt to produce a body of Coloured teachers from the ranks of a socially depressed community naturally had many inherent disadvantages and handicaps. It precluded, for example, a more rigid selection of candidates for the profession than might otherwise have been enforced. The Coloured pupils were prevented in the main by the economic position of their parents from entering in larger numbers into those professions requiring lengthy and expensive education. Because the training system created the opportunities at a comparatively low cost, the teaching profession alone offered any considerable scope for Coloured pupils, and the

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119) Vide infra. p.417

120) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.68.

121) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. A. E. Padday, M.A., St. Peter's Church School, Port Elizabeth.

122) S.G.E. Report, 1930, p.31.

123) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.68.

great majority who reached the upper Standards became candidates for the profession. The 1921 Census revealed that, of 318,890 Coloured males and females enumerated, only 1,432 were in professional occupations, excluding clerical staff, and they were mostly primary teachers.[124] But although the choice was limited, the Training Schools sometimes also failed to attract many suitable candidates because the remuneration, especially of male teachers, was not competitive with that offered in the skilled trades in the urban areas.[125] And, with denominational control, the likelihood of the admission of unsuitable candidates was increased because the Principals were exposed to special pleading by Ministers interested in certain candidates. In addition, even though the First-Year examinations might have helped in the elimination, the Coloured parents did not always understand the purpose of the First-Year, and regarded admission to the Training School as admission to the full Course.[126]

With so many of the Coloured teachers poorly equipped in respect of scholastic attainments and general background, the standard of work in the schools suffered accordingly.[127] The Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools found it difficult to see how many of them could be expected to help the Coloured people educationally and socially.[128] There were very serious complaints about the quality and professional ability of the Coloured teachers in some areas. Sometimes it was impossible to secure really good teachers and those in the schools were,

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124) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.81.

125) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.5.

126) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. A. E. Padday, M.A., St. Peter's Church School, Port Elizabeth.

127) S.C.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of Inspector A. Sinton, Cape Division, No. 2, p.140.

128) Ibid. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.68.

with few exceptions, mediocre in their work, suffered from a lack of scholarship and initiative, and were badly equipped and unadaptable.[129] They showed a lack of competence to teach,[130] had no thorough grasp of their work, and lacked class management and control.[131] Even when they were certificated, they were sometimes wanting in a sense of duty and in moral purity.[132] In short, though the Coloured teachers were often qualified, they were really often unqualified.[133] Nonethe less, though often doing their work in uninspiring surroundings and under the most adverse circumstances, there were also those amongst the Coloured teachers who were in increasing numbers taking their work seriously and looking upon it as a means of uplifting their community.[134] They were making personal sacrifices in their efforts to cope with the many difficulties they daily encountered.[135] And, on occasion, an Inspector paid tribute to the "zeal and high professional spirit" of the teachers, and to the high standard of work they succeeded in maintaining under the most depressing conditions.[136]

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129) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Tulbagh; S.G.E. Report, 1925, Report of Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Robertson, Tulbagh, Wellington Worcester, p.91; S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Cape Division No. 4, p.134.

130) S.G.E. Report, 1925. Report of Inspector C. Hofmeyr, Malmesbury, Paarl, p.81.

131) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. Jas. Ramage, French Hoek.

132) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Eerwaarde S. J. Malan.

133) Ibid. Rev. C. O'Rourke, 32, Somerset Road; A. J. Ludick, Carnarvon.

134) S.G.E. Report, 1925. Report of Inspector C. Hofmeyr, Malmesbury, Paarl, p.81.

135) Ibid. Report of Inspector G. M. Slabbert, Namaqualand, Van Rhynsdorp, p.97.

136) S.G.E. Report, 1926. Report of Inspector A. L. Charles, Circuit No. 1, p.59.

In its investigation of the system of training, the Coloured Education Commission found a fairly representative body of opinion which strongly desired that an age-limit be fixed for entry to the training Courses,[137] and favoured a positive attempt to raise the scholastic and professional qualifications of the Coloured teachers.[138] Various proposals were made: that the lowest Standard of admission be raised to Standard Seven[139] or to Junior Certificate for all students,[140] because, as Archdeacon Lavis said, the future of the Coloured community depended largely on the quality of its teachers, and therefore greater efficiency was required.[141] Indeed, there were those who hoped that the entrance Standard would not be lower than required for European students,[142] or that it would be raised gradually, with Matriculation as the ultimate aim.[143] Suggestions were also made that, to overcome any difficulties in raising the Standard of admission, the length of the training course should be increased by one or two years, with possible financial assistance

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137) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Replies to Questionnaire. 30 of the written replies were in favour of a minimum age; 13 were opposed.

138) Ibid. Replies to Questionnaire. 21 out of 46 written replies felt that the Admission Standards were unsatisfactory; and 20 that the length of the Course was unsatisfactory.

139) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector G. Anders; Rev. P. van der Heuvel, Hopefield; C. Jubis, Pearston; A. J. Ludick, Carnarvon; Paul Heese and teachers of Amalienstein; Canon B. Price, on behalf of the Diocese of George; Rev. E. Biesenbach.

140) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, A. Koen, A.P.O., Port Elizabeth; H. W. Heaman, Secretary, Joint Meeting A.P.O., Kimberley Branch of Teachers' League, Africander National Bond; Inspector S. B. Hobson, Cape Town.

141) Ibid. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.5.

142) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. J. L. September, Willowmore.

143) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. C. Earp-Jones, Manager, E.C. B. School, Paarl.

to the students.[144]

But among those who felt strongly the need to raise the entrance qualifications there was a realistic awareness of the difficulties involved, and of what was practicable in the prevailing conditions. They appreciated that the imposition of a higher admission Standard or a longer professional course would prove a hardship to parents who already found it difficult to keep their children at school long enough to meet the existing requirements;[145] and that some provision would have to be made to enable promising pupils in the country schools to pass any compulsory higher qualifying Standards,[146] by granting financial aid, for example.[147] They realised that, since the few available secondary schools were situated in the towns,[148] the country pupils would be seriously disadvantaged, which they thought should be avoided since the town-bred teachers found it difficult to adjust themselves to rural schools.[149]

The dependence of a higher entrance qualification on adequate

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144) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. W. E. Morgan, Congregational Union, Maritzburg; Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Tulbagh; The Teachers' League; Rev. Jas. Ramage, French Hoek; Rev. E. Biesenbach; Rev. C. O'Rourke, 32, Somerset Road; Rev. A. Manzke, Missionary, Cape Town; Rev. J. Dietzen, Moravian Mission School, Elim; Rev. W. Holtzapfel, Tulbagh; Rev. Paul Trumpelmann, Riversdale; Rev. J. Gericke, Port Elizabeth; Rev. J. J. van der Merwe, Wynberg; Committee of the Wesleyan Church; Rev. H. Söhnge, Worcester; Rev. A. Picuepnes, Barkly West; Rev. Henry C. Newell, Port Elizabeth.

145) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Rev. Alban Heath, Uitenhage; Rev. Jas. Ramage, French Hoek; Rev. A. A. Headley, Manager, Coloured School, Umtata; Rev. A. Picuepnes, Barkly West.

146) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Canon B. Price, on behalf of Diocese of George.

147) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, C. Jubie, Pearston.

148) Vide infra p.p 417, 418.

149) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire. Rev. C. Schreve, Goedverwacht.

provision of secondary facilities was an important consideration. Suggestions were therefore made, for example, that the minimum qualification should be raised to J.C. only where a secondary school was available,[150] or that as an interim measure the Training Schools should themselves provide a two-year academic and a two-year professional course for the Lower Certificate, with J.C. as the minimum entrance qualification when there were sufficient secondary schools.[151] Since an alternative post-J.C. course was in fact being provided, and Coloured parents could take advantage of it as more secondary schools became available, the suggestion was also made that, without enforcing a higher admission Standard, a special effort should be made in the large centres to induce more Coloured students to take the advanced Course.[152] This was the line of approach adopted by the Coloured Education Commission, which recommended to the Administration that no alteration be made in either the age limit for entrance, or in the Standards of admission and the training courses themselves.[153] The Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, although he welcomed the prospect, considered in 1928 that the possibility of raising the admission Standard to the Lower Course for Coloured teachers to Standard Eight was "probably a long way off".[154]

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150) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Committee of the Wesleyan Church; Rev. Walter E. Morgan, Congregational Union, Maritzburg.

151) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire. Rev. W. H. Lloyd, Congregational B. Schools, Paarl.

152) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Very Rev. Dean Thos. C. Robson, Hon. Cor., [illegible], Perseverance Training School, Kimberley.

153) Ibid. Report, p.p.7, 8.

154) S.C.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of the Inspector of Training Colleges and Schools, p.68.

Interim Improvements.

After 1928 the controlling Churches were greatly assisted by the increase to 6% in the Rent grants and they were able to make various improvements, particularly in the extension of the buildings and grounds of the Training Schools. The seven Training Schools, however, served a large area and the provision of boarding facilities remained unsatisfactory: they were provided at only two of the institutions and in a limited way at a third.[155]

The Department considered an improved system of selection of the students, because the different levels of attainment of those who had passed Standard Six caused difficulties, and the number of unsuitable candidates was excessive. After considerable expenditure by their parents and the Department, a large number of students were eliminated, either through failure or discontinuation, when they had spent a year in training: of 1,199 students in the First-Year during the period 1928 - 1931 only 725 proceeded to the Second-Year of the course.[156] And a little more than one-third of those who entered the First-Year successfully completed the course and became certificated teachers.[157] Some of the Training Schools therefore introduced their own entrance examinations to make a better selection for the Lower Course, and the Department, after careful consideration, took steps to eliminate the unsuitable candidates.[158]

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155) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.p. 90, 91.

156) Ibid. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.p.91, 92.

157) Ibid., p.45: S.G.E. Report, 1930, p.31.

158) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.p.91, 92.

After a report by a Sub-Committee of the Departmental Examinations Committee, new Courses were introduced in 1933. They incorporated a fresh point of view in many of the subjects of study, and offered every hope that the students trained under the new syllabuses would enter the profession better equipped for their tasks. One particular change was significant. Whereas previously the final year of the Lower Course, i.e. three years after Standard Six, was considered parallel to the First-Year of the Post-J.C. Primary Higher Course, this principle of inter-relation was abandoned, and the two years of the more advanced course was considered as a single, independent and integrated course. The Inspectors of the Training Institutions considered this to be a step in the right direction.[159]

The Shortage of Teachers: Employment of European Teachers.

By 1925, when the training system had produced a body of over 900 Coloured teachers, the effect of the policy represented, in the words of Archdeacon Lavis, a remarkable achievement which reflected the greatest credit on the Department and the training institutions.[160] Nevertheless, those in control of the schools often experienced the greatest difficulty in securing the services of suitably qualified teachers.[161] There was no real shortage up to Standard Four,[162] although the schools in the remote country districts found it more difficult to attract teachers, particularly females, because of the

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159) Ibid. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.94.

160) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Archdeacon Lavis, Reply to Questionnaire, p.5.

161) Ibid. Replies to Questionnaire. More than 50% of the written replies revealed such difficulty.

162) Ibid. Report, p.p.5,7.

poor social conditions and the preference for the towns.[163] But in Standards Five and Six the demand quite definitely exceeded the supply.[164] Although there was a growing desire among the Coloured parents even in the more remote areas to have their own teachers in the schools,[165] the number of Coloured teachers was not sufficient to realise the Department's immediate objective that at least all the posts in the Mission schools should be filled by Coloured teachers.[166] To meet the shortage in the upper Standards an Inspector urged that, until the Standard of admission to the Training Schools was raised, it should remain permissible for certificated European teachers to be employed in classes above Standard Five.[167]

At the beginning of the thirties there were several hundred European teachers still employed in the schools for Coloured pupils.[168] In 1935 there was a total of 334 European teachers in an aggregate body of 2,398 teachers, and of these 88 out of 126 were employed in the secondary and Training schools and 246 out of 2,272 were employed in primary schools.[169] The chief reasons were that there were insufficient qualified Coloured teachers to staff the secondary and Training Schools, and that the supply of certificated primary Coloured teachers was inadequate to meet the needs of the

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163) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector G. Anders; Very Rev. Dean Thos. C. Robson, Hon. Cor. Perseverance Training School, Kimberley; Rev. M. Richardson, Graaff Reinet; Rev. L. Saintsbury, Namaqualand; Rev. P. van der Heuvel, Hopefield; C. Jubis, Pearston; Rev. J. Jietzen, Moravian Mission School, Elim; Rev. A. A. Bradley, Manager, Coloured School, Umtata.

164) Ibid. Report, p.5.

165) See, for example, S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of Inspector H. B. Luckhoff, Gordonia, Kenhardt, Prieska, p.122.

166) S.G.E. Report, 1930, p.31.

167) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of Inspector A. Sinton, Cape Division No. 2, p.140.

168) S.G.E. Report, 1931, p.p.41, 42.

169) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.155.

Mission schools.[170]

Although the additional teachers required, and an improvement in the quality of the work in the schools, could have been secured by the further employment of the better qualified European teachers,[171] of whom the Training Colleges were at the time producing a surplus,[172] the Department's policy was that, in principle, the European teachers should in the long run be replaced by Coloured teachers,[173] and its general policy was to employ European teachers only when suitable Coloured teachers were not available for particular posts.[174] M. C. Botha felt strongly that he would employ European teachers only if driven by necessity. There were several relevant considerations. With the developments in education and the changed social circumstances, the European teachers themselves generally preferred teaching in the schools for European pupils, and really only accepted positions in the schools for Coloured pupils if they were forced to do so. For the locally trained South African European teachers, more closely identified with the prevailing social relations, were not, generally speaking, actuated by the same missionary enthusiasm to educate the Coloured pupils as those from overseas in a previous epoch.[175] In addition, except in certain instances, such as the Principalships of practising, Undenominational primary, secondary and high schools and all secondary assistantships, European teachers were also disadvantaged financially in respect of salary and pension rights, because they were remunerated

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170) S.G.E. Report, 1931, p.p.41, 42.

171) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.46.

172) Ibid., p.p.29, 30, 46.

173) S.G.E. Report, 1931, p.p.41, 42.

174) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.155.

175) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.46.

at the lower rates applicable to Coloured teachers, or at rates below those in similar posts in schools for European pupils.[176]

The policy of restricting employment in the schools as far as possible to Coloured teachers had been pursued for well-nigh twenty years. It was firmly established, and had become an integrated part of the general pattern that had been evolved for the education of Coloured pupils. At least in respect of the number of Coloured teachers produced, it had made considerable progress. From its inception, the Coloured people had shown that, while they were grateful to the Europeans for the part they had played, and for what they were still doing, they fully supported the policy, and looked forward to the time when a sufficient number of efficiently trained Coloured teachers would be available to fill all the positions in the schools. M. C. Botha fully endorsed this orientation in their outlook. Although he appreciated that the task of uplifting the Coloured people was "a momentous and difficult one" and in their circumstances they remained in dire need of the assistance of Europeans, he based his policy on the principle that the most effective help was always that which resulted in self-help. Consequently, he saw the need to wean the Coloured people from a dependence on European assistance, and realised that their advancement would be facilitated and hastened by the creation of a greater number of properly educated and economically independent Coloured persons to constitute a leadership in the community.[177]

The appointment of teachers to the schools was influenced also by denominational considerations, for every denomination preferred to appoint its own members as teachers in its schools.[178] But, in

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176) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.p.155, 159.

177) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.46.

178) S.G.E. Report, 1931, p.42.

particular, in the pursuit of its policy, the Department had still to contend with the reluctance of certain European Managers to appoint Coloured teachers as Principals of schools. M. C. Botha realised that South Africa was a country in which "justice is often subordinated to colour prejudice" and "the fact of colour prejudice is often confused with its right of existence". The success of the Department's policy was retarded by this attitude on the part of some of those in control of the schools, and the situation was aggravated in those cases where a Coloured teacher was the best applicant for the Principalship of a school which already had European assistants on its staff. The S.G.E. therefore found it necessary to apprise European teachers who in future applied for such posts of the facts of the situation.[179]

Junior Certificate as Minimum Entrance Standard.

However, there was a steady increase in the number of teachers produced by the Training Schools, and during the years from 1931 to 1933 the number of teachers employed increased from 1,968 to 2,118. The Department was able to replace every certificated teacher who left the service during that period by another certificated teacher, to have a certificated teacher available for every additional post, and to replace 54 of the 240 uncertificated teachers by certificated teachers. The percentage of qualified teachers was thus raised to 91.2%. Although M.C. Botha saw that as "a good sign", he appreciated that it represented only a relative increase in the quality of the teachers, insufficient to effect the desired improvement. He realised fully that among the important reasons for the generally unsatisfactory standard of work in the schools was the fact that not only had some of the teachers failed to obtain any certificate of proficiency during their course

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179) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.p.46, 47.

of training, or received no professional training of any kind, but that the nature of the training for the Lower Course was altogether inadequate.[180]

He recognised that any improvement in the standard of work in the schools was dependent on raising the qualifications of the teachers and, specifically, that Standard Six could no longer be considered an adequate admission Standard to the Training Schools, for the stage which had been reached by the primary schools. However, any consideration of an increase of the lowest admission Standard to Junior Certificate was directly related to the need, in terms of Departmental policy, to ensure an adequate supply of Coloured teachers. As long as the requirements of the schools exceeded the supply from the Training Schools any such step would only have aggravated the shortage.[181] The shortage was still quite evident. During the seven-year period 1925 - 1932, for example, the primary enrolment had increased by 26,867, representing a 51% increase; but during that period the increase in the number of students completing the Final-Year of the training courses was only 41, representing an increase of only 18%. Thus the average annual increase of 6 in the number of qualifying teachers in the seven-year period was certainly not adequate to cope with the average increase of 3,838 pupils.[182] However, the S.G.E. anticipated, rather optimistically, that the position had improved to such an extent that, not only was there no danger of a shortage, but that a higher entrance Standard would in fact be the only way of avoiding a surplus of Coloured teachers.[183]

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180) Ibid., p.45.

181) Ibid., p.p.45, 46.

182) Ibid. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.92.

183) Ibid., p.46.

In this view of the immediate future, the S.G.E. was no doubt influenced by the first signs of an accelerated increase in the enrolment of the post-J.C. students at the Training Schools, which was the most hopeful feature of the situation.[184] The Primary Higher Course was at first slow in taking root, because of the limited secondary facilities. It commenced with only 4 students in 1926, and by the end of 1932 the number of new entrants had increased to only 71. But, mainly because of the remarkable increase in the number of pupils taking the Junior Certificate examination after that year, there was a rapid growth in the three following years, and by 1935 the new admissions to the Course had increased to 222. The initial period of slow growth was, however, also accompanied by a steady increase in the numbers admitted with the Standard Six qualification - from 243 in 1926 to 324 in 1932.[185] But after the Department had indicated its intention to raise the entrance Standard to Junior Certificate,[186] and had decided to grant no further loans to new entrants to the post-Standard Six Course from the beginning of 1934,[187] the number of admissions decreased to 135.[188] The increasing trend in favour of the Primary Higher Course and the decreasing demand for the Lower Course was demonstrated in the increase in the total enrolment in the advanced Course from 94 in 1931 to 416 by 1935, and the concurrent decline from 671 to 533 in the total enrolment in the Lower Course.[189]

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184) Ibid. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.93.

185) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.48. Vide infra, p.422.

186) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.46.

187) Ibid. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.92.

188) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.48.

189) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.154.

It was in anticipation of this development that M. C. Botha decided to adopt the "obvious solution", not possible before, of making the Junior Certificate the compulsory minimum entrance qualification for the training course after 1935, and later to introduce more advanced professional courses. The step was made possible largely through the progress in secondary education, but the S.G.E. thought the decision would also have the desirable converse effect that more secondary schools would have to be established. He expected that the new arrangement would cause an improvement in the standard of work in the schools.[190] For it was abundantly clear to the Inspectors of the Training Institutions that the students admitted to the Training Schools after passing the Junior Certificate examination were of a much better type than those who had passed only Standard Six.[191] The projected elevation in the status of the Training Schools was preceded by extensions almost everywhere, and there were all the signs of vigorous growth.[192]

1935 was therefore the last year for the admission to the Training Schools of students who had passed Standard Six, and the training of Coloured teachers with only that scholastic qualification was expected to disappear after the end of 1937.[193] But when the minimum Junior Certificate qualification for entrance to the two-year Primary Lower Course was introduced at the beginning of 1936 there was a sharp drop in the number of First-Year students: from 357 in 1935 to 182 in 1936.[194]

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190) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.p.45, 46.

191) Ibid. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.92

192) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.p.94, 95.

193) Ibid. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.95.

194) S.G.E. Report, 1936, p.35.

The alarming decrease was naturally due, in the first place, to the higher qualification. But it was also considerably aggravated by the abnormal percentage of failures in the Junior Certificate examination,[195] which caused a serious situation in some of the Training Schools because many of the failures had been previously approved for admission. In order to maintain a reasonable supply at the end of the first two-year period of the new arrangement, pupils who had passed the examination, and who in normal circumstances would have been excluded, had also to be admitted at the beginning of 1936.[196] And the rule that only those students who passed the Lower Course in the First Grade, or in the Second Grade and had two years teaching experience, could be admitted to the Final Year of the advanced Course, was relaxed in 1937, and the Training Schools were allowed in their discretion to admit also those who had passed in the Second Grade.[197]

The possibility that the higher entrance qualification would have an adverse effect on the supply of teachers was the cause for some concern. Although the number of Coloured teachers had increased from 1,804 in 1930 to 2,610 in 1936,[198] the S.C.E. estimated the shortfall to be 249 teachers, or 320 teachers on the more equitable staffing basis required to relieve the abnormal load per teacher which was so seriously handicapping the education of the Coloured pupils, and urgently required a remedy.[199] But now there was a considerable decrease in the number of teachers qualifying at the Training Schools: the number of successful

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195) Vide infra p. 422, Footnote 57.

196) SCE Report 1936 Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.67.

197) Ibid., p.28.

198) Ibid., p.7.

199) Ibid., p.35.

candidates dropped from 418 in 1936 to 238 in 1938.[200] Although each of the eight Training Schools was allowed to admit two First-Year classes annually, some of them were unable to attract a sufficient number of students to fill the two classes.[201] The number of male students consistently exceeded the requirements,[202] and in 1940 the Department found it necessary to restrict their admission.[203] But the number of female students was never adequate. Of the 353 students who entered the Training Schools in 1938 only 138 were females and the increasing masculinity of the teaching profession was a disturbing feature.[204] This imbalance between male and female teachers meant, in effect, that the total number of teachers being trained was not equal to the requirements.[205]

The demand for teachers, moreover, was constantly increasing, for the Department's "chief embarrassment" was to cope with substantial increases in enrolment and the steady demand for new schools in less developed areas,[206] which it came to regard as a regular feature.[207] The Training Schools, however, made rapid progress possible in achieving the objective of staffing the schools with qualified Coloured teachers, of whom 95% in 1939 were certificated.[208] During the years of the War, when the enrolment of pupils increased from 127,093 in 1940 to 154,197 in 1945, the Department was able not only to supply the teachers for all the

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200) S.G.E. Report, 1938. Chief Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.109.

201) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.43.

202) Ibid., p.43.

203) S.G.E. Report, 1940, p.15.

204) S.G.E. Report, 1938, p.p.23, 24.

205) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.43.

206) Ibid., p.57.

207) S.G.E. Report, 1940, p.12.

208) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.49.

additional pupils but also to effect some improvement in the staffing position generally.[209] But, although the number of teachers, augmented after 1942 by the supply from the Training College,[210] increased from 3,311 to 4,056 during those years, the influx of female teachers remained unsatisfactory: although about two-thirds of the 241 who passed the Junior Certificate examination in 1944, for example, entered the Training Schools, they represented only one-half of the number required.[211]

Further Improvements in System of Training.

With the raising of the Standard of admission to Junior Certificate, the Department gave attention to other improvements required in the system of training. In 1935 a new procedure was adopted for the better selection of the students which was, mutatis mutandis, to follow that applied in the case of European students. In essence, it transferred responsibility for the selection from the Principals of the Training Schools to the Principals of the High and Secondary schools, and to the Circuit Inspectors who were to interview all possible candidates when the oral examinations in the two languages were conducted at the schools. In this way it was hoped, through the assistance of those who had a personal knowledge of each candidate, to eliminate unsuitable applicants and to ensure a uniform method of selection for each school.[212] The drop in the applications for admission, which coincided with the introduction of this method of selection, gave it a rather inauspicious start, but it was to serve a useful purpose in

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209) S.G.E. Report, 1941 - 45, p.p.35, 36.

210) Vide infra p. 407 et seq.

211) S.G.E. Report, 1941 - 45, p.36.

212) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.p.91, 92, 97.

curbing the increasingly excessive number of male applicants, although in the case of the female applicants its object was largely defeated by the chronic shortage.

Despite the fact that there was little doubt that Afrikaans was the home language of a large percentage of the students, English was taken, almost without exception, on the higher grade, although sometimes together with Afrikaans. As a result there seemed to the Inspectors of the Training Institutions at times to be some danger that students would leave the Training Schools without a thorough knowledge of either of the official languages. The question therefore arose whether many of them would not derive greater benefit from a thorough study of only their home language on the higher grade, and the second language on the lower grade. And perhaps more important was the fact that in the majority of the Training Schools the medium was still almost exclusively English, and it was questionable whether the Afrikaans-speaking students obtained the full benefit from training through the medium of a language of which their knowledge, at the best, was far from adequate.[213]

M. C. Botha, the S.G.E., therefore considered it necessary to bring about an improvement in the language qualifications of the Coloured teachers, in order generally to improve their standard of bilingualism and, in particular, to prepare them more adequately to satisfy the medium requirements he intended to impose on the schools.[214] He proposed to alter the system which required that the teachers had to be trained through the medium of English because it was the medium in the primary schools, while English had to remain the medium in the primary schools because it was the medium in the Training Schools. In

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213) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.93.

214) Vide supra p.345.

pursuance of this objective, he wished to modify the training courses so that, in practice, some of the Training Schools developed as predominantly Afrikaans medium and others as predominantly English medium institutions, in either case using the other medium to a lesser extent.[215] In 1934 the seven Training Schools were advised as follows: that those situated at Worcester, Paarl and Wynberg would provide training mainly through the Afrikaans medium, and those situated in Cape Town, Salt River and Kimberley would provide training mainly through the English medium, while the Training School at Uitenhage would provide training in both media equally. This followed the tripartite language pattern set for the Training Colleges for European students. Successful applicants were as far as possible to be allocated to the Training School of their choice, and were to be trained through the medium most appropriate to their language attainments. Although the arrangement had its difficulties, mainly because the staffs of the Training Schools were not always equipped for the change, the Department expected that they would be able to comply with the requirements to a large extent by 1936.[216]

Although Coloured teachers were not precluded from entering for the Bilingual Certificate Examinations introduced for European teachers,[217] these examinations were set at the more advanced Senior Certificate level of admission. M. C. Botha therefore arranged for the introduction of a separate Bilingual Certificate Examination for Coloured teachers, adapted to the stage of development they had attained in their training,[218] i.e. with requirements approximating closely to those set in Junior

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215) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.p.50, 51.

216) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.p.90, 92, 96.

217) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.93.

218) Ibid., p.51.

Certificate for the higher and lower grades.[219] In 1937 there were 381 successful candidates in these examinations, of whom 119 obtained First Grade Bilingual Certificates, 223 Second Grade Bilingual Certificates and 29 passed in English or Afrikaans only.[220] And over the three-year period, 1936 - 1938, an average of 96% of those who passed the Teachers' examinations obtained the Bilingual Certificate.[221]

In 1937 the Department planned to introduce a third-year Primary Teachers' Higher Certificate course of a specialised character in subjects such as Manual Training, Domestic Science, Physical Education and Infant School Method, in order to produce a type of teacher who was not only generally qualified but also a specialist in a branch of primary school work.[222] The general system for the training of Coloured teachers therefore followed closely that for European teachers, except that the entrance qualification was J.C. and not S.C., and that the control of the institutions was completely denominational. The Cape Coloured Commission found that, on the whole, the training was on a reasonably sound basis, and the Training Schools well organised, equipped and staffed. It regarded the number as adequate to supply the needs of the schools but thought their distribution through the Province was not altogether satisfactory. Four of the eight institutions were situated in the Cape Division, although it had only about one-third of the enrolment of Coloured pupils. The Commission therefore recommended a more equitable distribution.[223]

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219) Ibid. Inspector A. L. Charles and Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.93.

220) S.G.E. Report, 1937. Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.104.

221) S.G.E. Report, 1938, p.66.

222) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.153. These courses were commenced in 1938 in six Training Schools and attracted 50 students. Vide S.G.E. Report, 1938. Chief Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.107.

223) Ibid. Report, p.p.194, 195.

Although de Vos Malan, the S.G.E. regarded a redistribution as theoretically sound and thought that the claims of the South Western districts deserved consideration, he foresaw the practical difficulty that all the Training Schools were denominational and that the buildings had been erected at great expense by the Churches. He felt, therefore, that any curtailment of existing facilities in the Cape Division should require the co-operation of the Churches concerned.[224] No action was taken. The difficulty created by the geographical distribution of the Training Schools was aggravated by the very slow improvement in the provision of boarding facilities. By 1937 there were still only two of the Training Schools with adequate boarding facilities, although a beginning had been made at a further two of them. It was a problem which the Inspector of Training Institutions thought clearly merited earnest consideration, because it was fair neither to the students nor to the Training Schools to bring students from all parts of the country into an urban environment and not provide boarding facilities.[225] In 1938, as part of the additions to the Training Schools, additional boarding facilities were provided.[226]

Post-Senior Certificate Training.

In 1933 M. C. Botha expressed his regret that, in the system of teacher-training as it had evolved over the years, the Department had not yet found it possible to provide courses for students who had passed the

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224) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.66.

225) Ibid. Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.p.103, 104.

226) S.G.E. Report, 1938. Chief Inspector C. J. Hofmeyr, Report on Training Institutions, p.p.106, 107.

Senior Certificate. The reason was quite evident: that the flow of Senior Certificated pupils from the single High school for Coloured pupils at the time was altogether inadequate. However, with the increase in the number of High schools at the beginning of 1934, the S.G.E. considered the introduction of such courses as a prospect for the future.[227] And his successor realised that, whatever improvements had been made in the system of training, the standard of the teaching in the schools could improve further only if the quality of the teachers was raised.[228] Apart from the graduates, only 168 of the certificated teachers on the permanent staffs of the schools in 1937 were matriculated, while 2,155 were not matriculated.[229] For the training of European teachers the minimum entrance qualification had been raised to Senior Certificate in 1929. And in its consideration of the requirements of the Coloured pupils, the Cape Coloured Commission submitted that, while it would be inadvisable to raise the admission Standard while there were insufficient pupils with the Senior Certificate qualification to allow a proper selection of students for training, the Senior Certificate would sooner or later have to be prescribed as in the case of European teachers. For one could not logically take the view that, while a European teacher required a general education to Senior Certificate to enable him to give a primary education to a European child, a Coloured teacher required an education only to the Junior Certificate level to give education to a Coloured child.[230]

In his desire to introduce a course of post-Senior Certificate training M. C. Botha was motivated also by the need to assist in the production of a greater number of Coloured teachers for the new

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227) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.47. Vide infra p.425.

228) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.70.

229) Ibid., p.p.74, 78.

230) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.194.

secondary schools, where the shortage necessitated the appointment of European teachers.[231] Although Coloured teachers increasingly accepted the responsibility of teaching in the secondary area, which the Department regarded as properly theirs,[232] there was no organised system to augment the very small supply of Coloured secondary teachers, chiefly from the University of Cape Town.[233] The Cape Coloured Commission therefore recommended the introduction, in addition to the existing courses for the training of secondary teachers, of a three-year composite course of training after Senior Certificate, to include academic and professional subjects and leading to a Lower Secondary Teachers' Certificate.[234] This proposal the S.G.E. considered highly desirable.[235]

In 1941 Hewat Training College, the first training institution accepting only students who had passed the Senior Certificate examination, was established in Cape Town, and was granted Training College status in July, 1942. It was Undenominational, and was to prepare students for the Coloured Primary Teachers' Advanced Certificate. Although it was not practicable at the time because of the insufficiency of Senior Certificated pupils, the Department looked forward to the time when it would be possible to raise to Senior Certificate the entrance Standard for the whole system of teacher-training.[236]

When that stage was reached, the question would have to be faced whether the denominational pattern so strongly entrenched in the system of training would be continued by merely raising the status of the existing

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231) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.47.

232) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.49.

233) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.195.

234) Ibid. Report, p.195.

235) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.p.66, 67.

236) S.G.E. Report, 1941 - 45, p.36.

Training Schools; or whether, following the example of the first Training College, control by the Churches would be terminated through the complete replacement of the Training Schools by Undenominational Training Colleges. Abolition of denominational control would naturally raise many delicate and important issues. But in the gradual approach to the raising of standards, necessitated in particular by the acute shortage of female teachers, a modus vivendi, could perhaps be found in a parallel system which allowed, at least in the early stages, for the existence of both denominational Training Schools and Undenominational Training Colleges.

However, in the policy of providing Coloured teachers to staff the schools for Coloured pupils, so successfully pursued for several decades, it had definitely become a major objective increasingly to realise parity with the system of training for European teachers, by compelling more prospective students, especially males, to pass the Senior Certificate examination before admission to a training course. The very close relationship between the provision of secondary facilities and the adequate training and supply of teachers had become abundantly clear in a community in which secondary education was to a great extent a preparation for entry to the teaching profession. An adequate system of secondary education was therefore a sine qua non for the realisation of the aim, and any raising to Senior Certificate of the minimum entrance Standard would become possible only as provision was made for more pupils to pass the Senior Certificate examination.

CHAPTER IX.

PROGRESS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

The First Secondary Schools for Coloured Pupils.

For many years during the latter half of the Nineteenth century and the early years of the Twentieth century the major requirements in the education of the Coloured pupils were largely, if not completely, in the primary area: to bring as many children as possible into the schools and to ensure that sufficient of them progressed from the sub-Standards into the upper Standards. The numbers qualifying for secondary education were therefore comparatively small, and practically confined to the larger urban areas. Individual pupils were able, prior to the policy of enforced separation introduced by the School Board Act, to receive a more advanced education alongside European pupils. But the provision of secondary facilities on any large scale for Coloured pupils, as such, hardly arose as a question of policy.

In 1901 the Undenominational school for Coloured pupils established in Kimberley under the voluntary-guarantee system was graded as a Second Class school, with 11 pupils in Standard Seven,[1] and was transferred to the control of the School Board in July, 1906.[2] And in Cape Town the Coloured people in 1910 successfully persuaded the local School Board to establish an Undenominational Second Class school for their children.[3] Apart from certain of the better Mission schools which had classes beyond Standard Six - for example, in the pupil-teacher system - these were the only two Undenominational schools

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1) J. P. Botma, Die Geskiedenis van die Onderwys in Griekwaland-Wes, 1800 - 1940, p.189. Vide supra, p.127.

2) Ibid., p.341; S.G.E. Report, 1906, p.9.

3) Vide supra, p.196.

which in 1910 provided post-primary facilities for Coloured pupils.[4] By definition, as Second Class schools, they were "satisfactorily organised and equipped to give instruction up to and including Standard Seven, together with instruction in two such 'extra' subjects as may be considered most suitable" for the locality they served, although many of the Second Class schools offered also a course one year beyond Standard Seven.[5] In 1911 the school in Cape Town was enrolling pupils in preparation for the University Junior Certificate.[6]

The only First Class school was at Lovedale in the Eastern Cape, which was established primarily to meet the needs of Native pupils but did not refuse admission to Coloured pupils.[7] But by 1917 it had an enrolment of only 43 pupils and only six pupils in classes above Standard Seven, which the S.G.E. regarded as hardly satisfactory.[8] The leaders in the A.P.O. expressed their disappointment in 1913 that, though the Coloured people constituted a group of more than half a million, they had no First Class school of their own: they thought the time had come for one to be established to serve the Coloured population of the Cape Peninsula.[9] Although non-European candidates could enter for the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations conducted by the University, the leaders doubted whether, because of the lack of facilities, a dozen had passed in ten years.[10] In 1912, however, the Second Class school in Cape Town was prepared to commence

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4) S.G.E. Report, 1910, p.6.

5) S.G.E. Report, 1912, p.6.

6) A.P.O. December, 16th, 1911. Advertisement, "Cape School Board. Chapel Street A2 Public School", p.14.

7) Ibid. May 13th, 1913, p.7.

8) S.G.E. Report, 1917, p.6.

9) A.P.O. May 13th, 1913, p.7.

10) Ibid. April 22nd, 1911. "The New Teachers' Course", p.14.

a Matriculation class if pupils presented themselves for enrolment.[11]

Conditions at the two Second Class schools caused much dissatisfaction and the leaders severely criticised the poor facilities: the equipment at the school in Cape Town was unsatisfactory and the building, consisting of hired rooms, without a playground, they looked upon as a disgrace to the School Board and "a monument of the selfishness and neglect of the authorities".[12] As a consequence, leading members of the community tried to enrol their children at better equipped schools but, owing to the colour restrictions being imposed in these schools, they had to have recourse to private tuition.[13] Abdurahman exhorted the Coloured people to co-operate in the effort to secure better facilities for the more advanced education of their children, and to assist indigent parents in paying the fees, which limited enrolment at the schools.[14] There was a good response, and the community soon developed a great pride in the achievements of the two schools.[15] To provide opportunities for pupils from the country areas the School Committee in Cape Town tried to establish a boarding department for their school.[16] And, along with European sympathisers, the leaders made representations to the Administrator in 1914 for improvements both in Cape Town and Kimberley. They were informed that funds for proper buildings for the two schools would be provided after the prior provision of accommodation for all the European children, but arrangements would be made for the purchase of suitable sites.[17] With the assistance

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11) Ibid. December 16th, 1911. Advertisement, "Cape School Board. Chapel Street A2 Public School", p.14.

12) Ibid. January 25th, 1913, p.7; March 7th, 1914. "Europeans First", p.9; Vide supra, p.197.

13) Ibid. January, 25th, 1913, p.7.

14) Ibid. October 11th, 1913. Presidential Address, Tenth A.P.O. Conference, p.7; Vide supra, p.212 et seq..

15) A.P.O. January 25th, 1913, p.7.; November 22nd, 1913, p.9.

16) Ibid. February 21st, 1914, p.9.

17) Ibid. March 7th, 1914. "Europeans First", p.9; April 4th, 1914, p.6.

of the Cape School Board the first steps were taken soon after for the provision of proper buildings for the school in Cape Town when funds were included in the estimates.[18]

Post-War Expansion of Undenominational Secondary Schools.

Towards the end of the First World War, when the problems in the primary education of the European pupils had been largely solved, secondary education became to the S.G.E. "the pivot of the whole educational question", because the State had to undertake the task of providing as many European pupils as possible with the opportunity of further instruction during the period of adolescence.[19] The Department geared itself for the achievement of the ideal that the natural culmination of the primary school course for the majority of the European pupils was a secondary education of at least two years.[20] The old division and nomenclature of the Undenominational schools was discarded in 1917, and they were reclassified as Secondary, i.e. with classes to Matriculation; Intermediate, i.e. with classes including Standard Seven; Primary and Private Farm Schools.[21] And, following upon the raising of the compulsory education limit to Standard Six and the reorganisation of the school system which eliminated the category of Intermediate schools, the Department was enabled to grant recognition to schools providing only a secondary education beyond Standard Seven, divorced completely from primary

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18) Ibid. May 29th, 1915, p.5.

19) S.G.E. Report, 1916, p.19.

20) S.G.E. Report, 1921, p.10.

21) S.G.E. Report, 1917, p.4; Ordinance No. 23 of 1917.

departments.[22] Rules were devised for the promotion of schools to higher grades,[23] and new Departmental Junior and Senior Certificate curricula, syllabuses and examination arrangements were instituted in 1921.[24] To overcome the difficulties presented by distance and poverty, especially in the rural areas, and equalise opportunities for urban and country pupils, a new scheme of secondary school bursaries for promising and necessitous European pupils was inaugurated,[25] and subsequently amended to provide boarding and conveyance bursaries and subsidised boarding departments.[26]

When the plans for the development of secondary education for European pupils had reached this stage, the problems in the primary education of Coloured pupils still remained unsolved, and the major objectives of policy were concentrated in the primary area.[27] However, as Watermeyer reported, the view of leading European and Coloured educationists was that the school system for Coloured pupils should be organised to provide the same pattern of graded schools as for European pupils, including also intermediate and secondary schools.[28] And the S.G.E. intended that the projected expansion of secondary education for European pupils would be paralleled by increased facilities for Coloured pupils in this sphere.[29]

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22) S.G.E. Report, 1920, p.p.6, 7. Ordinance No. 8 of 1920.

23) S.G.E. Report, 1921, p.p.10, 11.

24) Vide infra p. 429.

25) Ordinance No. 8 of 1920.

26) S.G.E. Report, 1921, p.p.12, 13; Consolidated Education Ordinance No. 5 of 1921. Chapter 21.

27) Vide supra, p.218 et seq..

28) Watermeyer, Report, "Coloured Education", 15th March, 1920.

29) S.G.E. Report, 1920, p.8.

The two schools at Cape Town and Kimberley were clearly quite inadequate to satisfy the growing demand which had developed. Particularly among the more advanced layers, whose children often came from "better class, refined homes", there were increasing claims for secondary education. Sometimes there were as many as several hundred families in one area clamouring for facilities beyond those provided by the ordinary Mission schools. These parents were quite willing and fully able to pay, and they felt acutely the disabilities imposed upon their children.[30] In the Cape Peninsula, the Circuit Inspector regarded the insistent requests made by "a large and respectable class of Coloured people" in Wynberg, for example, as justified in every way, though he did not suggest that the school should be provided by the School Board.[31] Requests for a secondary school came also from the more advanced section of the Coloured community in Port Elizabeth.[32] And the growth of the demand manifested itself even in Namaqualand, where by 1926 a strong movement was afoot to obtain a secondary school.[33]

The post-War Depression naturally retarded developments. But in 1925 the Paterson Secondary School was established in Port Elizabeth, which soon made good progress.[34] The school immediately succeeded in greatly stimulating the primary schools in its constituency, and the parents demonstrated their appreciation by voluntarily contributing towards the purchase of a school library. They further showed

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30) Watermeyer, op. cit..

31) S.G.E. Report, 1920. Report of Inspector C.E.Z. Watermeyer, Cape Division No. 3, p.31.

32) S.G.E. Reports, 1922, p.87; 1923 - 24, p.98. Reports of Inspectress I. C. Alton, Port Elizabeth.

33) S.G.E. Report, 1926. Report of Inspector G.M.J. Slabbert, Namaqualand, Van Rhynsdorp, p.82.

34) S.G.E. Report, 1925, p.23.

their support by forming an Educational Association, which encouraged local interest in both primary and secondary education and gave regular assistance in the form of prizes and book grants. Within three years of its establishment there were approximately 100 Coloured and Native children enrolled in Standards Seven and Eight in the school, which was achieving specially good results in manual training and domestic science, and provided the pupils with a useful preparation for various trades, as well as for entering the teaching and nursing professions.[35]

Although the total number of secondary pupils increased from 68 to 343 in the period of nine years after 1919, and the development represented an important part of the "distinct forward movement" after the War,[36] the secondary enrolment was small in relation to the total number of Coloured pupils who entered the primary schools. In this respect it showed a striking contrast to the progress achieved in the same period in the secondary education of European pupils: nearly half of those who reached Standard Six were proceeding to secondary schools.[37] Apart from other factors, the poor holding power of the primary schools adversely affected the numbers of Coloured pupils qualifying for secondary education, and increases in enrolment were therefore in a large measure contingent upon the solution of the problems which existed in the primary area. Significantly, because the greater majority of the pupils who reached Standard Six was concentrated in the larger urban areas, the three Undenominational schools providing secondary facilities by 1926 were

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35) S.G.E. Reports, 1925, p.77; 1926, p.61; 1927 - 28, p.113. Reports of Inspectress L. C. Elton, Port Elizabeth.

36) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28, p.42.

37) Ibid., p.p.9, 23.

situated in Cape Town, Kimberley and Port Elizabeth, and a denominational secondary department had been established in Wynberg.[38] The smaller urban and rural centres remained without secondary facilities. The Coloured Education Commission expected that, as more pupils in these areas reached Standard Six, the need for further secondary schools would arise. It recommended to the Administration that, as the demands made themselves felt, additional schools should be established in the country towns, especially in the more densely populated Western and South-Western areas.[39] In the ten years thereafter Livingstone Secondary at Claremont, Cape, Karoo Secondary at Beaufort West, Oudtshoorn Secondary, and Luckhoff Secondary at Stellenbosch were established, and the number of Undenominational schools offering secondary facilities was further increased by the establishment of such schools at Riversdale and East London.[40]

Denominational Secondary Departments.

The proposal in 1924 to institute an optional, advanced teacher-training course with Junior Certificate as the entrance qualification, which was implemented in 1926,[41] clearly pre-supposed, as the Inspectress at Port Elizabeth pointed out, the provision of more secondary schools at the larger centres.[42] The prospect of a higher teaching qualification provided a great incentive for the

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38) For the establishment of denominational secondary departments, see p.419 et seq..

39) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Report, p.10.

40) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.p.146, 149, 193.

41) Vide supra, p.378.

42) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24. Report of Inspectress L. C. Elton, Port Elizabeth, p.98.

secondary education of larger numbers of Coloured pupils. And the close connection between the limited secondary facilities available and the success of the Primary Higher courses led to a new departure in policy, which extended the Mission school system into the secondary area. Where the more advanced courses were started, the Church authorities were permitted to provide secondary facilities to the Junior Certificate stage in departments attached to the Training Schools. Such secondary departments were first commenced at the Battewood Training School in Wynberg in 1926 and soon after at the Athlone Training Institute, Paarl.[43] They were subsequently added to the other Training institutions, and by 1935, apart from the four Undenominational High schools, seven of the ten schools offering courses to the Junior Certificate stage were such departments: five attached to Training Schools, one an adjunct to a Training School, and one as part of the unaided Roman Catholic Training institution at Parow.[44] Departmental grants of two Pounds for every one Pound contributed locally were allowed towards the salaries of European teachers employed in these Mission secondary schools,[45] and towards the cost of requisites, furniture and equipment supplied for use.[46] The establishment of these secondary departments had the effect of dividing the control of secondary education up to Standard Eight between the Churches and the School Boards, but, through the additional agency,

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43) S.G.E. Report, 1925. Report of Inspector C.E.Z. Watermeyer, Cape Division No. 3, p.105; S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28, p.44; Report of Inspector J. Anders, Paarl, Wellington Worcester, p.96.

44) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.47: Cape Coloured Commission, Report, p.p.148, 149.

45) Education Amendment Ordinance No. 23 of 1925. Section 11.

46) Education Amendment Ordinance No. 25 of 1928. Section 19.

they gave a considerable impetus to the further education of the Coloured pupils in the Mission primary schools.

Financial Assistance and Increased Enrolment.

The general poverty of the Coloured people was a very real impediment to the secondary education of their children, and financial assistance to indigent parents was therefore essential. The Coloured Education Commission recommended, for example, a more liberal application of provisions for free education for promising pupils whose parents were unable to pay the fees, and of the regulations which allowed the School Boards to remit 30% of the fees in the Undenominational schools in certain circumstances.[47] The latter concession was extended in 1928 to the Mission secondary departments by an arrangement which allowed the Administration to reimburse the Churches in respect of the fees they found it necessary to remit because of indigency, to a maximum of 30% of the total fees payable in such departments.[48] The Commission also recommended that, if deserving pupils from the rural areas were to have the opportunity of a secondary education in the few available schools, the provision of boarding and transport bursaries and capitation, rent, interest and other grants for private hostels was imperative. It considered the cost in this respect would be comparatively small, since the number of pupils in Standard Six was not large and the majority were in any case in the towns and did not require this form of assistance.[49] In 1930 a system of boarding and conveyance bursaries was introduced

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47) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Report, p.10. Vide Education Amendment Ordinance No. 23 of 1925. Section 15.

48) Education Amendment Ordinance No. 25 of 1928. Section 21.

49) Coloured Education Commission, Report, p.10.

to assist promising Coloured pupils who might otherwise be precluded by distance from attending a secondary school.[50]

Around 1927 - 28 there was a strong feeling that, in order to bring more of the European children into the secondary schools, the system of free, compulsory education to the age of 16 or Standard Six should be replaced by the provision of free, compulsory education to the age of 15 years, irrespective of the Standard attained.[51] Both Viljoen and M. C. Botha were agreed that, because of the difficulties involved, the step could not be lightly taken and that an alteration in the compulsory limit should be left to a later stage. But they also concurred in the view that it was necessary to encourage at least the more deserving pupils to continue to the secondary schools, and to overcome the difficulty as soon as possible for those children who passed Standard Six before the age of 15 and were unable to continue because their parents could not afford the fees payable in the secondary schools.[52] Although the Depression was at hand, the solution was found in an arrangement, which came into force at the beginning of 1931, to provide free education to the age of 15 for all pupils, including Coloured pupils, in Undenominational schools, irrespective of the Standard they had attained.[53] And, since the payment of fees by the Coloured pupils in the denominational secondary departments was essential because the Churches were required to pay one-third of the teachers' salaries, a special concession was made for the reimbursement of the Churches by the Administration in respect

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50) S.G.E. Report, 1930, p.31; Education Amendment Ordinance No. 17 of 1930. Section 32(a)

51) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28, p.10.

52) Ibid., p.p.10, 11; S.G.E. Report, 1929, p.p.5, 6, 7.

53) S.G.E. Report, 1929, p.p.5, 6; Education Amendment Ordinance No. 17 of 1930. Section 1.

of the fees payable by pupils in the appropriate age group.[54]

These financial provisions ushered in a period of fairly rapid expansion in the total secondary enrolment. In 1930 there were seven Undenominational schools and denominational departments which provided secondary education, and they had a total enrolment of 332 pupils. By 1936, when the number of such schools and departments had doubled, the secondary enrolment had increased to 1,862 pupils.[55] The increases reflected also the improvement in the holding power of the primary schools, which showed a steady increase in the number of pupils reaching Standard Six: from 2,142 in 1931 to 2,845 in 1935. And the percentage of those who proceeded from Standard Six at least to Standard Seven was raised from 22% in 1932 to 31% in 1935.[56] The trend of the development was well illustrated in the increasing number of candidates for the Junior Certificate Examination, as shown in the following Table:[57]

Year	No. of Candidates	Increase over Previous Year.
1930	90	-
1931	176	86
1932	210	34
1933	310	100
1934	383	73
1935	434	51
1936	572	138

54) S.G.E. Report, 1930, p.31; Education Amendment Ordinance No. 17 of 1930. Section 5(a)

55) S.G.E. Report, 1936, p.34.

56) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.150.

57) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.150; S.G.E. Report, 1936, p.24. The percentage of passes in the Junior Certificate Examination was not very high. In 1930, for example, 59 of the 90 candidates passed and 259 of the 434 candidates passed in 1935. Vide Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.150.

By the time the decision was taken to raise the minimum entrance Standard to the Training Schools to Junior Certificate in 1936,[58] an "almost unparalleled awakening" to the advantages of educating their children had developed among the Coloured people. Often at the greatest sacrifices to themselves, they were keeping their children at school beyond the age at which they might have become wage-earners and the S.G.E. considered the further extension of secondary facilities was therefore necessary.[59] Applications for the establishment of secondary schools were coming in "from all sides", due in a large measure to the higher entrance Standard to the Training Schools.[60] The greater majority of the Managers of schools and others concerned in the education of the Coloured pupils were not satisfied with the available facilities beyond the primary stage.[61] And the Cape Coloured Commission found that, although facilities up to the Junior Certificate level were fairly well distributed, especially in the southern part of the Province, additional schools were required to serve areas such as Caledon, Bredasdorp, Graaff Reinet or Cradock, Umtata or Kokstad, Upington and the north-western areas.[62] The need for these schools in the country districts was reinforced by the necessity to overcome the shortage of female teachers.[63] For the parents were naturally hesitant to send their young daughters away from home for the four years required to complete the Junior

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58) Vide supra, p. 397 et seq.

59) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.55.

60) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.p.4, 69.

61) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Summary of Replies. Report, p.164. Approximately one-third were satisfied with the available facilities.

62) Ibid., Report, p.193.

63) Vide supra, p. 402.

Certificate and the Training School course, and the establishment of local secondary schools would have the advantage that they would need to be away for only two years and at a more mature age.[64]

Advancements to High School Status.

While this expansion of secondary facilities to the Junior Certificate stage was proceeding, there was a further significant development. As with so many of the schools for European pupils, the full primary course was also offered at the Trafalgar Secondary school in Cape Town, and it was in fact a primary school with an ad hoc secondary department. In accordance with the policy laid down in 1920 for the recognition of independent secondary schools, the Circuit Inspector suggested that the primary Standards at the school should be gradually excluded, and in 1921 no pupils were admitted to the sub-Standards of the school. He hoped to increase the secondary accommodation by following this policy step by step in consecutive years. But the removal of all the primary classes was hastened by the centralisation of the upper primary Standards in the area in 1925.[65]

With its recognition in July, 1925 as a fully-fledged High school with only secondary classes, Trafalgar became the first High school for Coloured pupils in the Cape Province. It was equipped with facilities for the teaching of Domestic Science and Manual Training and laboratories for Science, and was thus able to offer a variety of courses and a range of secondary work comparable to the best

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64) S.G.E. Report, 1938, p.24.

65) S.G.E. Report, 1921, p.56; 1925, p.74. Reports of Inspector A. L. Charles, Cape Division No. 1. Vide supra, p.238.

equipped High school for European pupils. It had a large immediate constituency afforded by the Undenominational and many Mission schools in the Cape Division and, with only 671 Coloured pupils who had reached Standard Six in 1924 in all the schools in the Province, the enrolment of nearly 100 pupils in Standards Seven to Ten at the end of 1925 fully justified the enhanced status of the school. The S.G.E. took great pride in "this special distinction" achieved by the school.[66]

Until 1933 this remained the only secondary school offering a complete secondary education to the Senior Certificate level. At the beginning of 1934 three further secondary schools, William Pescod in Kimberley, Paterson in Port Elizabeth, and Livingstone in Claremont (Cape), were granted High school status.[67] In 1935, however, there were altogether only 63 Senior Certificate candidates,[68] which represented only 3% of the pupils who had reached Standard Six in 1931.[69] De Vos Malan realised that the extension of secondary education, particularly to the Senior Certificate level, to meet needs other than those of the teaching profession, was not merely an educational and financial problem, but was bound up with the larger question of the social and economic future of the Coloured people and the avenues of employment open to them.[70]

The flow of pupils from Standard Eight to Standard Nine was directly affected by the fact that a large percentage of the

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66) S.G.E. Report, 1925, p.p.23, 24.

67) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 33, p.47.

68) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.31.

69) Cape Coloured Commission, 1927, Report, p.150.

70) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.55.

secondary pupils were intending primary teachers, for whom the incentive to proceed to Senior Certificate was largely absent. Beyond the chance of a university education for the few whose parents were able to afford it, there were no particular additional vocational incentives to stimulate any large increase in the number of pupils proceeding beyond Standard Eight. But the motivation could, as had happened at the Junior Certificate level, be provided, in part, at least, by raising the entrance Standard to the Training institutions to Standard Ten, which would necessitate an increase in the number of High schools.[71] And a further incentive could be provided by arrangements to train more Coloured secondary school teachers to replace the European teachers.[72] The Cape Coloured Commission, however, considered the four High schools were adequate to meet the demand and, in view of their small enrolments in Standards Nine and Ten, considered it wise not to add to their number until their enrolments had increased sufficiently to allow them to expand the restricted curricula they offered.[73] The increase in enrolment thereafter was steady but slow. In 1945 there were 128 candidates for the Senior Certificate Examination, and this small number had taken practically ten years to double itself.[74]

The Subsidy.

A major factor which limited the further expansion was the inadequate Subsidy provided by the Central Government.[75] Its

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71) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.193.

72) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.55. Vide supra, p.408, 409.

73) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.193.

74) S.G.E. Report, 1941 - 45, p.49.

75) Vide supra, p.281 et seq..

restrictive effect in the secondary area applied, if not to the same degree, to both European and Coloured pupils. From the commencement of the new Subsidy system in 1925, the Department publicly and repeatedly stated its view that in respect of the European pupils the Subsidy was insufficient,[76] and no important public speech on education omitted mention of the financial disadvantage which hampered extension and reorganisation.[77] This applied particularly to the secondary area, in which the attainment of the ideal of secondary education for all European pupils depended on whether money would be available.[78] The system drew no distinction between primary and secondary pupils, but, whereas the cost of primary education was roughly £14 per pupil and therefore more or less equal to the Subsidy for European pupils, the cost of educating a European secondary pupil was £28, and the need for expansion was in the secondary area.[79]

This "unscientific" basis[80] for the calculation of the Subsidy affected the expansion of secondary facilities for Coloured pupils even more adversely. The Subsidy of Five Guineas per pupil had proved inadequate for primary education; a fortiori it could not possibly meet the expenditure in the secondary area,[81] where the cost per Coloured pupil was more than three times as great.[82] The increase in the provisions for secondary education before 1937 had already consumed a goodly share of the annual Subsidy and had affected

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76) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28, p.p.52, 53.

77) S.G.E. Report, 1929, p.p.29, 30.

78) S.G.E. Report, 1932 - 34, p.16.

79) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.11.

80) Ibid., p.11.

81) Ibid., p.65.

82) S.G.E. Report, 1938, p.24.

progress in other spheres.[83] In the circumstances, the Executive Committee of the Provincial Administration in 1937 postponed the consideration of further secondary schools until more satisfactory arrangements with regard to the Subsidy were made.[84]

The secondary enrolment increased from 2,293 pupils in 1938[85] to only 2,444 in 1941.[86] And the effect of the restriction on development was fully reflected in the decline in the annual rate of increase in the number of Junior Certificate candidates, revealed in the following Table:[87]

Year	No. of Candidates	Increase over Previous Year.
1937	702	130
1938	784	82
1939	800	16
1940	817	17

At the outbreak of the Second World War negotiations for an increased Subsidy had not succeeded. And it remained to be seen whether the events after the War, arising from the changes in the system for the calculation of the Subsidy and the decisions of the Provincial Council[88] would lead to a more rapid expansion in the secondary education of Coloured pupils.

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83) Vide supra, p.281.

84) S.G.E. Report, 1937, p.65.

85) S.G.E. Report, 1938, p.24.

86) S.G.E. Report, 1941 - 45, p.37.

87) The Table was compiled from information obtained from the following sources: S.G.E. Reports, 1937, p.33, 34; 1938, p.67; 1939, p.74; 1940, p.20.

88) Vide supra, p.286 et seq.

Curricula, Syllabuses and Examinations.

When the new Primary School Curriculum, intended for European pupils, was issued in 1919,[89] the S.G.E. was convinced that the secondary schools could not be making the best use of their pupils by taking them indiscriminately through the same curriculum prescribed by the Joint Matriculation Board.[90] The curriculum was unsparingly criticised as being too theoretical, and adapted more to the needs of the minority of the pupils.[91] The S.G.E. felt that the "rigid uniformity" had been tolerated too long, and that the time had arrived for the introduction of differentiated secondary school courses.[92] As part of the planned expansion of secondary education for European pupils after the War, the Department introduced its own Secondary School Courses and Examinations,[93] which provided differentiated curricula allowing greater flexibility in the choice of subjects, and was less dominated by university requirements.[94] The first Departmental Junior Certificate and Senior Certificate Examinations were held in 1921 and 1923 respectively.[95]

In the early years of its application there were several difficulties in the adaption of the schools to the purpose behind the new curriculum. The S.G.E. considered that for the majority of the European pupils the academic course was considerably overweighted on the linguistic side - it was almost too bookish, to the exclusion of manual training, domestic science, handicrafts and vocational subjects.

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89) Vide supra, p.348.

90) S.G.E. Report, 1918, p.9.

91) S.G.E. Report, 1922, p.37.

92) S.G.E. Report, 1918, p.9.

93) The Education Gazette, 10th February, 1921, p.771 et seq., 17th December, 1921, p.442 et seq..

94) S.G.E. Report, 1922, p.37.

95) S.G.E. Reports, 1921, p.23; 1923 - 24, p.34.

On a liberal estimate only 15% of the European pupils who entered a secondary school proceeded to a university, and the greatest initial weakness was thus that the bulk of the pupils were still being educated in entire disregard of this fact. Their parents were conservative; the teachers were hesitant to recommend a departure from the traditional; and false pride and blind prejudice, rather than the future needs of the pupils, were too often the determinants in the choice of curriculum.[96]

The extent to which particular schools were able to offer the differentiated curricula was further limited by the available staff, for the quota of teachers was based on the enrolment and not on the courses offered. The smaller schools were therefore at a disadvantage and, able to offer only a single course, they often clung to the academic course. Although keen that the schools should break away from the bonds of tradition and base their curricula on the needs of the majority of their pupils, the Department was also hampered during the early years of the new Secondary Courses, which coincided with the period of the Depression, by the large initial outlay for equipment and the heavy recurrent expenditure for apparatus and materials required for the introduction of practical subjects.[97] Bookish education was cheap and practical education expensive,[98] and there was thus an irreconcilable incompatibility in any demand for more practical education and any attempt at economy.[99] Nevertheless, from the beginning, there were signs, despite the obstacles, of an awakening to the value of the practical subjects, such as

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96) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24, p.35.

97) Ibid., p.35.

98) S.G.E. Report, 1922, p.37.

99) S.G.E. Report, 1923 - 24, p.35.

Woodwork, Metalwork, Needlework, Gardening, Agriculture, Drawing, Music and Cookery.[100]

When these changes were being arranged, Watermayer found that the leading European and Coloured educationists and others qualified to express an opinion considered that, though the curricula and syllabuses in the schools for European and Coloured pupils should be identical in their essential features, the majority of the intermediate and secondary schools for Coloured pupils should provide an industrial or agricultural bias in their courses.[101] From their inception the Departmental Secondary School Courses and examination requirements were made applicable also to the few schools for Coloured pupils in existence at the time. But, after the gradual advances in enrolment, the Coloured Education Commission considered the question whether there should be any differentiation between the curricula for European and Coloured pupils and, if so, the directions in which they should differ.[102]

A Circuit Inspector maintained that very few Coloured pupils in the country areas could follow the Secondary School Course, and that a secondary curriculum for Coloured pupils should provide for thorough instruction in the two official languages, simple courses of Mathematics, History and Geography, and a fairly extensive course of Industrial training.[103] But, on the whole, no evidence was submitted to the Commission to justify any differentiation between the actual syllabuses for European and Coloured pupils: on the

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100) Ibid., p.p.35, 36.

101) Watermeyer, Report, "Coloured Education", 15th March, 1920.

102) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Department of Public Education, Cape Town. Circular, 21st September, 1925. Question II.

103) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector P.D. Rousseau, Tulbagh.

one hand, the variety of the courses in the existing curriculum allowed the introduction of sufficient practical subjects; and, on the other hand, it was felt that there should be no barrier in the way of those pupils who wished to pursue an academic course.[104] The Commission itself was strongly of the opinion that there should be no formal differentiation in the curriculum for secondary schools.[105] But there was a strong feeling that the actual courses offered in the schools, at least for the average Coloured pupils, should definitely be orientated towards the practical side.[106] And the Commission expected that, within the range of courses provided, the Coloured pupils would normally take one of the more practical courses, but that the few pupils who desired to take an academic course should have the opportunity to do so.[107]

The difference in approach from that followed in the primary schools[108] was therefore occasioned largely by the wide option of subjects provided by the secondary curriculum, which was also the determinant in not providing a separate secondary curriculum for Native pupils in 1921.[109] The Coloured Education Commission accepted that an education which was entirely too bookish was not calculated to meet the requirements of the majority of the Coloured pupils, bearing in mind their preparation for future employment and their duties in their community and their homes. And to cater for the special needs of the

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104) Ibid. Report, p.5.

105) Ibid. Report, p.8.

106) Ibid. Summary of Replies to Questionnaire, Inspector P. D. Rousseau, Tulbagh; Rev. E. Earp Jones, E.C.B. School, Paarl; Very Rev. Dean Thos C. Robson, Hon. Cor. Perseverance Training School, Kimberley; Rev. W. H. Lloyd, Congregational B. Schools, Paarl; Rev. W. Holzapfel, Tulbagh; Sister M. Lucy, St. John's R.C. Coloured School, Kingwilliam's Town.

107) Ibid. Report, p.5.

108) Vide supra, p. 352 et seq.

109) S.G.E. Report, 1927 - 28. Report of W.G. Bennie, Chief Inspector for Native Education, p.62.

pupils and preserve the correlation of aim in primary and secondary education what was required, therefore, was not a separate secondary curriculum per se, but the provision of equipment and facilities, especially in the larger urban areas, for instruction in subjects such as manual training and housecraft in accordance with the prescribed syllabuses.[110]

The extent to which these could be provided was greatly limited by financial considerations, for practical education was expensive. But by 1935 there was marked progress in the introduction of practical subjects to the Junior Certificate level. For the 399 examination candidates in that year the practical subjects for boys were Woodwork major, Woodwork minor, Metalwork and Agriculture minor, for which the number of entries were respectively 78, 97, 13 and 3; while a form of Domestic Science was offered by 111 girls and Needlework by 65 girls. But at the Senior Certificate stage the curriculum offered was restricted by the small enrolments: of the 66 candidates in 1935 for the Senior Certificate Examination only 4 offered Cookery, Housewifery and Laundrywork, 3 offered Needlework and 18 Manual training.[111]

In its investigation the Cape Coloured Commission discovered that the view of the organised Coloured teachers at the time was that, in a curriculum which postulated an identity of aim in the education of European and Coloured pupils, the secondary schools should extend the work of the primary schools through differentiated courses, to allow all pupils capable of profiting from the instruction "a reasonable measure of freedom of choice" in preparation for their future. The curriculum in use, while not ideal, appeared to them

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110) Coloured Education Commission, 1927. Report, p.10.

111) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.149.

to be the best possible under the prevailing circumstances.[112] The Managers of schools and others stressed in the main that the chief aim should be more practical instruction with a vocational bias, and they emphasised intellectual development, training for good citizenship and leadership, and moral and religious training less frequently. About two-thirds of them considered the aims they had in mind were realised by the existing curriculum.[113] The Commission recommended no alteration.[114] However, the S.G.E. was of the opinion in 1939 that the education of the Coloured pupils was "in danger of being too bookish" and was greatly in need of opportunities for practical instruction: European pupils had better facilities and equipment for the practical subjects, because insufficient money was available for their provision in the schools for Coloured pupils.[115]

As in the primary schools,[116] the instruction in the secondary schools was from the beginning strongly biased towards English. In 1935 only 58 of the 399 Junior Certificate candidates entered for Afrikaans Higher, and the Senior Certificate candidates entered exclusively for English Higher.[117] The S.G.E. considered the medium of instruction used in the secondary schools was a matter which required attention,[118] and it was amongst the subjects discussed at a Conference of Inspectors and Instructors held in March,

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112) Ibid. Views and Recommendations of the Teachers' League of South Africa in connection with the education section of the Commission's questionnaire. Appendix 45. Report, p.p.317, 318.

113) Ibid. Summary of Replies. Report, p.162.

114) For the views of the Commission on the general aims in the education of Coloured pupils, see p.358 et seq..

115) S.G.E. Report, 1939, p.50.

116) Vide supra, p. 43 et seq ; p. 333 et seq.

117) Cape Coloured Commission, 1937. Report, p.149.

118) S.G.E. Report, 1934 - 35, p.55.

1935.[119] But it was clear that any policy which required the extension of the principle of home language instruction to the secondary area required, amongst other things, an expansion of facilities, particularly through the provision of additional schools in the country areas, and the training of secondary teachers equipped for the change. In essence, therefore, all future developments were dependent on the solution of the problem of the Subsidy, which had shown itself to be the radix malorum in all aspects of the education of Coloured pupils.

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119) Ibid., p.26.

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUSION.

The record of the period under review has revealed undoubted progress in the primary and secondary education of Coloured pupils. It is unnecessary to re-state the facts in any detail. Broadly speaking, with the passage of time, increasing numbers were enrolled in schools and higher proportions of the pupils received a more extended education. There developed a greater acceptance by the State of financial responsibility for their education, and a progressive improvement in the nature and extent to which the agencies entrusted with the establishment of schools were assisted. This led not only to an increase in the number of schools, but to an improvement in the standard of the accommodation that became available. The Coloured parents also received increasing financial aid, in several forms, which helped them greatly to overcome the handicap of poverty in the education of their children.

Among the developments, the emergence of Undenominational schools, even if gradual, and the attempts to develop agencies to co-ordinate and promote the education of Coloured pupils, laid the foundation upon which could be built a later system of full State responsibility, which showed the first signs of taking shape after the Second World War. The controversies which ranged around the question of the content of education were finally settled in a way which gave satisfaction to everybody concerned. And the period was characterised by significant progress in the certification and qualification of the teachers in the schools, because of the advances that were made in the system of teacher-training. This led inevitably to an increasingly higher quality and standard of teaching in the schools, even though the pupils were sometimes denied the advantage of the services of the better qualified European teachers, and the problem of the shortage of female teachers was not solved. Finally, there was, throughout,

an awareness of the needs of the Coloured pupils and a desire to meet in some measure the requests made on behalf of the community for improvements in the system of education.

Since the purpose of this study has been to delineate and reveal the background, motivations and effects of policy, it is pertinent to add that this general advancement in the education of Coloured pupils was accompanied by the pursuit of specific policies, which gave rise to certain very definite features. In the main, however much these policies might have contributed to the promotion of their education, one of the major effects of their application was increasingly to draw the distinction between the provisions for European pupils and for Coloured pupils, and to maintain a gap between the progress made by the two groups. In this respect, judgments are, therefore, dependent on whether they are based on absolute or relative standards. The Education Department, for example, always based its assessment on a combination of both. The Coloured leaders, and many others, on the other hand, founded their conclusions almost wholly on comparisons with the policy and progress in the case of European pupils. Their sights were turned not so much, if at all, on what had been achieved, as on what remained to be done to attain their ideals for the Coloured pupils.

The chief instrument of policy was the application of the colour bar in education, which manifested itself in the enforced separation of the pupils into different schools administered in separate systems. It was not a division per se. For it was never calculated to, and never did, achieve equality within a parallel system, and its overriding purpose and result was to give to the European pupils an education superior to that of the Coloured pupils. It is true that the educational ideals often bore a certain similarity, and the Coloured pupils were not always excluded from their ambit. They were, for example, never entirely excluded from some provision for an

Undenominational system of schools, and the need for their compulsory education certainly did not escape attention and consideration. But, both in the legislative prescription of the objectives and the administrative system for their achievement, there were important differences: and these led in the course of time to the situation which existed in 1940.

In some aspects of policy, such as the provision of free education after 1920, the ideal of similarity of treatment was simultaneously achieved, though the extent to which the two sections benefitted differed greatly. But, generally, the hiatus between the aims of policy and their realisation revealed a far greater time-lag in the case of the Coloured pupils. Thus, within twenty years of the School Board Act, the problems in the primary education of European pupils were solved in a system of Undenominational schools, and compulsory education had become a reality; but after the lapse of forty years the system of primary education for Coloured pupils still left much to be achieved, and the comparable provision of Undenominational schools and compulsory education remained legislative ideals. When the European pupils were moving towards the threshold of compulsion to the Junior Certificate level, the system of secondary education for Coloured pupils was still in its infancy. And twelve years after the training of all European teachers had been raised to the post-Senior Certificate level of admission, the first steps were taken towards the provision of a similar system for Coloured teachers.

In the narrative three distinct stages may be discerned. The first, in which some Coloured pupils sometimes enjoyed advantages over European pupils, ended with the passing of the School Board Act. It witnessed the attempts which were made to overcome the neglect by the State of the education of European pupils, and the nascent efforts of the emerging Coloured leaders to advance the claims of their community to at least a measure of equality. The second, created

by the policy and terms of the Act, saw the development of the clear advantages given to European pupils, and the gradual evolution of an educational system for Coloured pupils. The third, commencing at the end of the First World War, initiated and evolved the concept of "Coloured Education" in the modern sense of the term: of schools restricted to Coloured pupils; financed in a particular way; employing Coloured teachers; following curricula and syllabuses specially devised and adapted to meet the needs of Coloured pupils as distinct from those of European and Native pupils; and administered by a separate section of the Education Department and different local controlling agencies, in which the Churches were officially accepted as indispensable.

Of all the factors which had influenced the nature of their education the influence of the Churches was perhaps predominant. They were able to maintain their position for a variety of reasons. Apart from the impelling force of the historical process in earlier times, they derived considerable status from the leadership they were able to offer, and the close attachment of large sections of the Coloured people. But, throughout, they owed their pervading hegemony to the support they received from official quarters. However, the years had shown without doubt that, apart from other considerations, the denominational agency was not only inadequate, but that its continued widespread use was incompatible with any successful attempt to solve the problems in the education of Coloured pupils. To exclude or diminish the dependence on the agency of the Churches had, of necessity, to be a major objective of policy.

To those whose aspirations were in the direction of equality with the Europeans, the main features of "Coloured Education" offered little satisfaction. In so far, however, as it was the by-product of the colour bar in education, the policy that created it had become so deeply embedded that requests on behalf of the Coloured

people came to contain an implicit assumption that any schools established would be restricted to Coloured pupils and would employ Coloured teachers. In this approach there was no small element of self-interest. But within this limitation, there was a constant struggle to attain greater equality of educational opportunities: for more liberal financial assistance from the State, for better-trained and better-paid teachers, and for a quality of education which did not differ from that available to European pupils.

In a very large measure the burden of this struggle came in the course of time to be accepted by the Coloured teachers themselves. By 1940 they had grown into a coherent and articulate body, organised in the Teachers' League of South Africa. The official policy had opened an avenue of employment which had brought into being a professional class of some proportions, which enjoyed a high status in the Coloured community and, by virtue of the circumstances, naturally assumed the role of leadership. In their situation they became acutely aware of the problems that faced them: in particular, the inferior position of the Coloured people in the social fabric, and the manner in which the educational system for Coloured pupils tended towards its perpetuation. And it is significant that the period ushered in by the Second World War was to see among them a new orientation of outlook, which sought to grapple with the consequences of the basic truth: that educational systems are so closely related to the polity of which they form a part that they cannot be divorced from the social systems which generated them for their service.

At the stage at which this study ends, the directions in which improvements in the education of the Coloured pupils were needed were clear enough. Within the framework of official policy and the legal enactments and administrative arrangements, the specific questions to be answered in the decade ahead were quite simple: whether the financial provisions of the State and Provincial Administration would

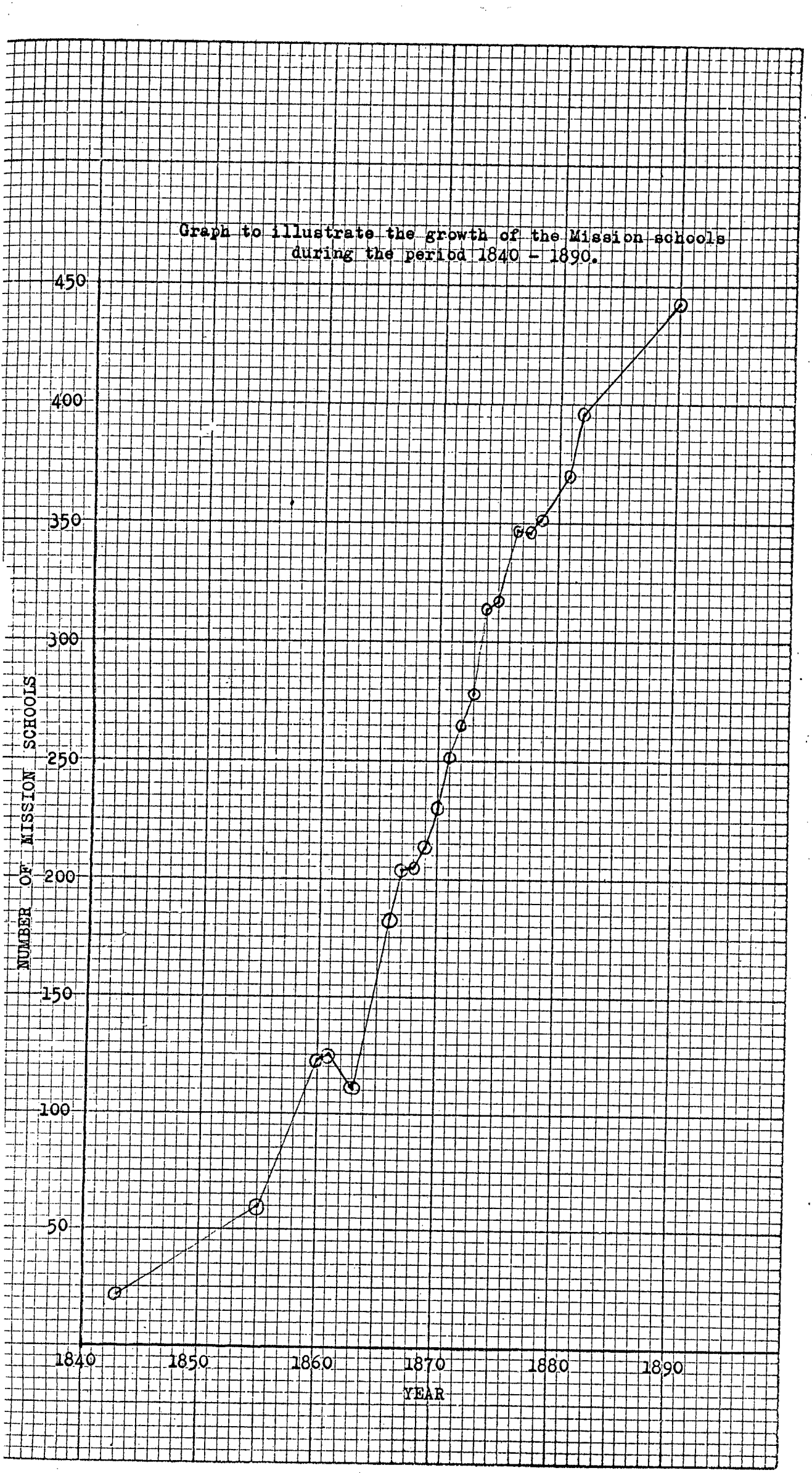
prove adequate for all that was required; whether the School Boards would co-operate and, if not, whether the proposed system of Coloured Education Committees would operate successfully; whether compulsory primary education would become an accomplished fact; whether the number of secondary schools would be extended and increasingly be raised to High School status; whether the more advanced training of teachers just initiated, would become more widespread; and whether the principle of uniform curricula and syllabuses for European and Coloured pupils would be maintained and would have the effect of providing a similarity of content in their education. In a very real sense the answers depended on State policy. For, in the wider context, they were directly related to the social and economic position the Coloured people were to occupy in the body politic, and clearly involved their whole future status. Upon that issue the trends in other spheres had caused a steady decline in their position. But the questions had by no means been altogether resolved, and a defined policy had not completely crystallised. The Second World War, like all similar upheavals, could provide the impetus and the climate for rapid social change. And the events that were to follow provide an interesting field of study for future historians.

APPENDIX A.

The graph overleaf has been constructed from information obtained from the following sources:

1. Memorandum of the S G E, 1844
2. Education Commission, 1863. Report, page xli.
3. Ibid. Minutes of Evidence, Dale pp. 26,32.
4. Education Commission, 1879 - 80. Appendix II.
5. Ibid. Report, p. 5.
6. Education Commission, 1891. First Report. Minutes of Evidence, Dale, p. 4.
7. Government Gazette, 20 February, 1891.
8. Various Reports of the S G E.

Graph to illustrate the growth of the Mission schools during the period 1840 - 1890.



APPENDIX B.

Return showing the number of white and coloured children attending Mission Schools in the following towns in 1890:

	White	Coloured
1. Cape Town	2955	4283
2. Graham's Town	710	377
3. King William's Town	640	75
4. Paarl	113	1038
5. Port Elizabeth	1118	1180
6. Stellenbosch	38	676
7. Worcester	33	668

Extracted from Education Commission, 1891. Appendices to First Report and Proceedings, page 213.

APPENDIX C.

List of District Mission Schools in Cape Town into which white children are admitted; and the number of white children reported to attend each Mission School, 1890.

				Number of Children
Cape Town,	District	No 1	S. Andrew's (Scotch Church)	52
Do	do	No 2	S. Stephen's (Dutch Church)	14
Do	do	No 3	South African Mission	25
Do	Sub-do	No 3	Lutheran Mission, Buitengracht Street	122
Do	do	No 4	School of Industry, New Street	172
Do	Sub-do	No 4	S. Michael's (English Church) Keerom Street	98
Do	do	No 5	S. George's Orphanage Mission	30
Do	do	No 6	Congregational Church Mission, Barrack St.	22
Do	do	No 7	Dutch Church, Bree Street	80
Do	do	No 9	Wesleyan Mission, Sydney Street	141
Do	do	No10	S. John's English Church, Rogge Bay	87
Do	do	No11	Boys' Trinity, Harrington Street	50
Do	do	No11	Girls' do do	199
Do	do	No12	S. Mark's (English Church)	172
Do	do	No13	Dutch Church, Hanover Street	182
Do	do	No14	(English Church) S. Philip's	234
Do	do	No15	S. Aloysius' (Roman Catholic)	404
Do	do	No15	Girls' S. Bridget's (Roman Catholic)	324
Do	do	No16	(English Church) S. Paul's	23
Do	do	No17	(Roman Catholic) Sir Lowry Road	163
Do	do	No18	do Somerset Road	271
Do	do	No19	Ebenezer Mission, Rose Street	63
Do	do	No20	Dutch Church, Rogge Bay	12
Do	do	No21	Moravian Mission, Frere Street	5
Deaf and Dumb Institution (Additional)				10
			Total	2955

(Extracted from Education Commission 1891. Appendices to First Report and Proceedings, page 214)

APPENDIX D.

Particulars relating to Mission Schools aided by Grants from the Education Department and worked by Religious Denominations, based on Schools actually in existence during the year 1890:-

MISSION SCHOOLS	Total amount received by each Denomination in aid of its Mission Schools:-			Amount raised by each Religious Body in Fees, Contributions, &c:-		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
English Church	5131	0	0	6098	2	3
Wesleyan Society	3942	19	2	2550	1	1
Dutch Reformed Church	2225	0	0	4430	13	8
Independent or Congregational	1714	10	0	1207	16	10
Moravian Society	990	0	0	600	9	1
Berlin Society	723	15	0	1090	4	6
Roman Catholic Church	1655	0	0	4388	17	7
Free Church (Scotch)	884	0	0	566	16	1
Rhenish Society	791	5	0	655	15	11
Lutheran Church	120	0	0	144	10	0
French Protestant	70	10	0	7	18	3
United Presbyterian	65	0	0	31	17	6
Miscellaneous	343	0	0	257	3	9

(Extracted from Education Commission 1891. Appendices to First Report and Proceedings, page 213)

APPENDIX E

A Note on Abdurahman and the A.P.O.

The history of the A.P.O. and the biography of its leader, Dr. A. Abdurahman, still remain to be written. The Organisation was formed in 1902 by a small group of Coloured men in Cape Town, motivated by the desire to obtain for the Coloured people in the Northern Republics the political rights accorded to the non-Europeans in the Cape Colony. It soon extended its scope, and at its Conference in Somerset East in April, 1905 it adopted a comprehensive Constitution for the regulation of its affairs. Its aims were to promote unity among the Coloured people of South Africa, to secure better and more advanced education for their children, the registration of all Coloured voters, and the defence and general promotion of the social, political and civic rights of the Coloured people. These objects remained substantially unchanged during the whole of the period in which Abdurahman was associated with the Organisation.

Abdurahman, born in 1872 (?) in Wellington, Cape, was the eldest son of a large family. His grandparents were manumitted slaves by purchase. He was educated at a Mission school in Wellington, and at Marist Brothers and S.A.C.S. in Cape Town. He graduated as a Medical Doctor at the University of Glasgow in 1893 and, after two years in London, returned to Cape Town in 1895 and began his own practice, with both European and non-European patients.

In April 1905 Abdurahman became President of the A.P.O. He served the Organisation in that capacity until his death in 1940. Under his leadership it maintained its position as the most powerful and influential Organisation amongst the Coloured people for approximately thirty years. Although centred in Cape Town, and receiving its main impetus from the urban areas, the A.P.O. was by no means representative only of the advanced sections of the Coloured people. In 1909 it had about 100 branches. It built up a large and enthusiastic constituency of support, particularly in the Cape Province. It was represented organisationally in many towns and villages, and

held its Conferences at various places throughout the country. In 1909 it started its fortnightly Journal, the A.P.O. (edited by Abdurahman, and not inaptly referred to sometimes as Abdurahman's Political Opinion), which remained, except for a period during the War, in continuous publication until 1923. Frequently cited in the documentation of the thesis, the A.P.O. Journal is an invaluable repository of the political and social outlook of the Coloured leaders of the time, of their reactions to policies and events, and of the support they received in their manifold attempts to promote the interests of the Coloured people.

The original political policy of the A.P.O. was geared to the constitutional framework of the Cape Colony. The early strategy of its struggle for the social rights of the Coloured people was devised in the period of the non-racial, qualified franchise, and advancement was therefore closely related to educational and economic progress. Its great interest in the education of the Coloured pupils is therefore easily understandable. And for the same reason, there is a strong correlation between subsequent events affecting the political status of the Coloured people and the activities of the Organisation. As President of the A.P.O., Abdurahman led a deputation of Coloured leaders to England in 1906 to seek the enfranchisement of Coloured persons in the Northern ex-Republics. And in 1909, after many protests and petitions to the National Convention and the Colonial Parliaments by the A.P.O. and other organisations, Abdurahman was a member of a deputation which tried to persuade the British Government to exclude the colour bar provisions from the Act of Union.

After Union, the A.P.O. increasingly prosecuted its struggle against the diminution of the rights of Coloured people. It continued its chief technique of offering the support of the Coloured vote to one or other of the European political Parties, and in this way to attempt to influence policy in favour of the Coloured people. In this context its position was unsuccessfully challenged by the Africander National Bond, formed in 1924 by dissident elements to

support the Pact Government. But the existence of the Bond was short-lived. To its activities at election time the A.P.O. added frequent deputations and protests to the authorities whenever the rights of Coloured people were affected. After 1930, when the enfranchisement of European women and the effects of other legislation reduced the importance of the Coloured vote, these tactics were severely criticised by a younger generation of Coloured leaders. The emergence of a new political outlook, after a short and bitter struggle with the old, led to the demise of the A.P.O. as a political force.

Through his leadership of the Coloured people Abdurahman became a prominent public figure. He was elected to the Cape Town City Council in 1904 and, except for two years (1913-15), he remained a Councillor until his death. During this lengthy period of office he was elected Chairman of several Committees, and was Chairman of the Streets and Drainage Committee for the period 1923-37. He became an influential person in civic affairs, and it was generally acknowledged, even by his opponents, that, but for the colour of his skin, he would have become Mayor of the Mother City of South Africa. He was elected to the Cape Provincial Council in 1914 and retained his seat throughout his life. As the Provincial Council was entrusted with the administration of primary and secondary education, Abdurahman used his position to promote the educational interests of Coloured pupils. He was a member of the Committee of the Council which allocated the funds for Coloured pupils granted by the Government after the post-War Depression, and of the Coloured Education Commission appointed in 1926, from which, however, he resigned. He was appointed by the Government in 1934 as a member of the Cape Coloured Commission which, after a thorough and exhaustive investigation, presented a very valuable report on all facets of the lives of the Coloured people.

It is necessary to add only two further points to this brief note. In the first place, apart from the high level of political

consciousness it brought to them, the A.P.O. did much constructive work among the Coloured people. Many institutions in the community owe their origin and growth to the enterprise and endeavour of the Organisation. In the field of education, the Teachers' League of South Africa, large numbers of schools and, above all, the deep and self-sacrificing devotion of Coloured parents to the education of their children are among its legacies. In the second place, the A.P.O. was never nationalistically-orientated, and in its organisation of the Coloured people it did not aspire to their achievement of political power as a national or racial entity. It regarded the Coloured people as an appendage of the Europeans and, while it did make attempts to co-operate with other non-European groups, it never dissociated itself from the European section. In the main, therefore, it imbued Coloured people with the desire to aspire to equality with the Europeans, and left them the heritage of unremitting labours in this direction.

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I. UNPUBLISHED THESES.

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