

**A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF FORMAL EDUCATION FOR
BLACK PEOPLE IN THE RURAL AREAS OF SOUTH AFRICA WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SCHOOLS IN THE NORTHERN
PROVINCE**

by

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submitted in the fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

in the subject

HISTORY OF EDUCATION

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

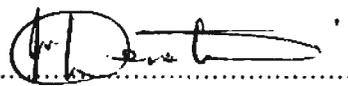
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DECEMBER 1999

DECLARATION

I declare that "**A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF FORMAL EDUCATION FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN THE RURAL AREAS OF SOUTH AFRICA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SCHOOLS IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCE**"

is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



JOHANNES SEROTO

31. 03. 2000

DATE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- ◆ I wish to extend my sincere gratitude, first and foremost to God, through Jesus Christ, whose guidance, mercies and compassion made the completion of this research possible.

- ◆ I also gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness and wholehearted appreciation to my supervisor, Dr A Lewis, for his keen commitment, encouragement, suggestions and patience throughout the course of this research.

- ◆ I hereby also thank Professor Richard Lemmer for the editing of the manuscript. His critical reading of the content also enhanced the quality of my dissertation.

- ◆ My gratitude is extended to Unisa Librarian, Danisile Motsatsi for the professional service she has rendered to facilitate this research.

- ◆ Special thanks to my super wife Hellen, my children Berlina and Puseletso, for their support and patience and for putting up with, an often preoccupied, husband and father.

- ◆ The financial assistance of the Centre for Science Development (HSRC, South Africa) towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the Centre for Science Development.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my late mother, Berlina Mmanoko Seroto, who not only brought me into this life, but who laid the foundation of my interest in education. Her continuous encouragement drove me on.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL ORIENTATION TO STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

South Africa has undergone, and is currently still undergoing a profound political transformation at all levels of government and other societal structures (eg economy). These profound changes had their inception on 2 February 1990, when the then State President of South Africa, Mr F W De Klerk made major political announcements, among others, the release of Nelson Mandela. On 27 April 1994, the new democracy in South Africa was born; and later the new constitution of South Africa was accepted in Parliament (Schneider 1997:63-65; Mbeki 1998:68-78).

Education is also an integral part of the transformation process. However, it would be naive to think that the education system has changed just because there has been change in Government. The history of neglect, of instilling inferiority, inequality and discrimination in education, continues to exist. The inequalities and the neglect are experienced and reflected, mostly in the rural areas of South Africa (*Sunday Times* 1998:22). Fact is, a change in Government will not necessarily change the hard realities and circumstances of rural life and the inadequacies of education in these areas. According to Hartshorne (1992:111):

Most people in the rural areas are where they are and what they are because of *state policies* in which they had little or no say, and because of fundamental economic and political structures that govern their lives, their opportunities for employment, the social conditions under which they live, their lack of political power to change things, and the kind of education which is available to them, if any [italics mine].

There can be little gainsay, that historically, the rural sector of South Africa has been seriously neglected in terms of development and most significantly, in the area of education. Graaff and Gordon (1992:208) support this and point out, that of all the Black children in South Africa who have been subjected to the notorious Bantu Education System, rural children are the most disadvantaged and the most ignored. The manifestation of *apartheid*

policy resulted in Black people being demarcated to live as separate entities. The previous Governments wanted Black people to remain in their "own" territories, which were usually rural and poorer than other regions (Hartshorne 1992:121).

According to Moulder (1991:37), the most difficult task in a post-apartheid education system is not to create non-racial schools, but to see that Black rural pupils get a much better deal than they did in the past. One of the challenges facing the South African Government, since the 1994 elections, is to redress the educational inequalities among those sectors of people who have suffered particular disadvantages for numerous decades.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The Northern Province especially, a province identified as rural (Scott 1995:10), is at present suffering from the political, economical, social and educational imbalances of the past. Educational imbalances in this area are reflected in numerous ways:

- ◆ In a media report in the *The Argus*, the then Minister of Education, Professor Sibusiso Bengu (Seale 1995:4) indicated that provinces with a large portion of its population falling within the rural category, are worse off when it comes to the end of the year matric examinations. According to Edusource (1994[b]:12), 43 percent of the pupils in secondary schools of the Northern Province, failed their final examinations at the end of 1994. The Northern Province was the worst affected when it came to 1996 Matriculation Examination results, with a pass rate of only 38 percent (Edusource 1997[a]:6). Professor Sibusiso Bengu further mentioned that it seemed that the rural provinces had lower pass rates; however, surprisingly enough, Kwa-Zulu Natal (also characterised as rural) obtained a higher pass percentage than the Gauteng Province (Seale 1995:4). In some schools of the Northern Province, in 1996 there was even a 100 percent Matriculation failure rate (Beeld 1996:4).

- ◆ The Northern Province education system has a high repetition rate¹ of 44 percent (Scott 1995:44). This does not compare favourably with other provinces. Substantial numbers of Matriculation pupils, according to Youngusband (1995:12), are repeating their final examinations for the sixth, seventh and even eighth times. The repetition rates are a matter of grave concern, not only due to the educational implications, but because of the impact they have on the cost of providing education. The Department of National Education (1993:29) maintains that increasing repetition of failure rates lead to ever-growing backlogs in school-buildings, and furthermore makes funding of education even more difficult.

- ◆ Schools, situated in the rural areas are characterised by severe lack of physical facilities and other resources. Shortages of classrooms are more critical in rural primary and secondary schools, with almost all the pupils in these schools experiencing a pupil-classroom ratio as high as 80:1 (Scott 1995:41). The shortage of classrooms in the Province in 1997, was 35 000. This constituted 58 percent of the country 's classroom shortage (*City Press* 1997:2). For the past five years the little that has been done to curb the problem of facilities, is negligible.

- ◆ It is well-accepted that rural areas are being poor, and that there is little in the way of reading material in homes, which can assist in the advancement of literacy. Illiteracy rates according to the *National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) Report* (1993:70), are significantly higher in rural areas than in urban areas. The Northern Province has the country's lowest literacy rate of 65 percent (Klein 1996:2). Given the observation by Suttner and Chronin (1986:183), that illiteracy may create an impediment of democracy and in the participation of people to control their lives, the prevalence of this phenomenon is indeed problematic with regard to effective nation building.

¹ When pupils repeat a standard one or more times, occupying the same space, this limits the number of students that an educational system can cope with (Scott 1995:44).

- ◆ Black teacher qualifications in the Province are also depressing. According to Scott (1995:53), 79 percent of underqualified and 11 percent of unqualified² teachers are found in the rural areas of this Province. The problem with rural education seems to be, that most qualified teachers are streaming to urban areas because these areas are better resourced than rural areas. According to the *NEPI* Report, the upgrading of unqualified and underqualified teachers, especially in rural areas, is regarded as an urgent priority.

- ◆ Another problem experienced in rural areas are the disposition of parents toward the education of their children. According to Hartshorne (1992:119), parental perceptions towards education are two-fold and conflicting. On the one hand, education is perceived as failing to contribute to the satisfaction of the local economic and other needs of the community; on the other hand, it has failed to provide access to higher knowledge and more status, that would enable young people to move out of the rural situation and into a world of greater opportunities.

- ◆ In many instances, parents were also, previously *not directly involved* in the education of their children. The management councils that were established by the former Department of Education and Training (DET), and the respective former Homeland Education Department could not attract the attention and interest of parents and hence, parents did not realise the importance of being involved in the education of their children. Ironically and tragically, many of these parents who did serve on school councils could themselves not read nor write.

Factors referred to above, together accumulate and converge towards the deterioration in performance, at all levels in the education system, in the rural areas of the Northern Province. Evidently, there is a serious need for the *reassessment of education* in the rural areas, especially in the Northern Province and also to solve this serious imperative situation in rural education.

² *Qualified* teachers should have a professional qualification of at least three years of appropriate teacher training. *Unqualified* teachers have *no* teacher qualification and may, or may not, have a Standard 10 Certificate (Scott 1995:53).

Emanating from the aforementioned scenario, answers to the following questions should be sought:

- ◆ What characterises rural education in South Africa, and especially the Northern Province?
- ◆ What historical developments have led to this Province's education being neglected up until 1953?
- ◆ Did the introduction of mass education after 1953, contribute to the education crisis that this Province is currently in?
- ◆ What possible recommendations and guidelines can be made to the educational authorities to try and rectify or alleviate the problem that the province is currently in?

1.3 AIM AND OBJECTIVES

From the previous section, it appears that the rural education in the Northern Province has, and is, experiencing major problems. Therefore the aim of this research is to, by means of an historical-educational study, trace the development as well as *factors responsible for the neglect* in the provision of formal education in the rural areas of South Africa, particularly in the Northern Province.

The following objectives are identified, which can contribute to the achievement of this aim. These are:

- ◆ to highlight the general characteristics of rural education in South Africa;
- ◆ to trace the historical roots of rural education for Black people in the Northern Province up until 1953;
- ◆ to establish the effect that the 1953 Bantu Education Act and subsequent Acts and historical events, had on rural education in the Northern Province;

- ◆ to evaluate rural education in the Northern Province, and to be able to present recommendations and guidelines according to which future rural education in this Province may be structured in order to serve the interest of the people living in those areas .

1.4 THE IMPERATIVE NATURE OF THIS PROJECT

Very little has been written on the historical development of education for Black people in the rural areas of the former homelands, that is, the so-called "Self-Governing" and the "independent" states. What has been written on rural education in the homelands, is fragmentary³ (Graaff 1988:20).

The research focuses on the principal educational realities and problems facing the rural areas of South Africa, particularly in the Northern Province, with the view of investigating the root of the problem. Its significance could therefore be delineated as follows:

The African National Congress (ANC) published a document, prior to the first democratic elections in South Africa in January 1994, entitled *A Policy Framework for Education and Training* that sets out proposals for ANC policy on education. This document aimed at redressing education in the rural areas (ANC 1995:12). After the 1994 general elections, the Government's *Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)*, also aimed at addressing the marginalised rural people (RDP 1994:5). It was, therefore, the intention of the Government of National Unity to look at the inequalities that were created by the former Government, and the redressing of rural education was one of the priorities identified by the Government.

In its endeavour to formally redress the inequalities of the past, in education, the Government of National Unity introduced the *Education White Paper No 2 on Organisation, Governance and Funding of Schools*, in 1996 (South Africa [R] 1996:9) which aims at achieving the following:

³ Most of the work that has been written concentrates on Black schools in "White" rural areas; these are schools on farms (Graaff 1988:20).

The distribution of resources for education provision must address the fact that almost half of South African families live in poverty, mainly in rural areas. A primary objective of the new strategy for schools must be to achieve an equitable distribution of education provision throughout the nation, in such a way that the quality of provision in underresourced areas [rural areas] is raised,...

In February 1997, the then Minister of Education, Professor Sibusiso Bengu, announced a new curriculum initiative called *Curriculum 2005* which is to be hopefully fully implemented by the year 2005. This new curriculum emphasises that learners acquire knowledge, skills, values and attitudes in an attempt to make education more relevant (Department of Education 1997). Since *relevance* is an important aspect of ensuring quality education, it is imperative that the learners in rural surroundings learn not only knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that are relevant to their local community, but also for broader society. This research will be of importance to assist with the evaluation of the new curricula of South Africa. It is hoped that the viewpoints and recommendations about (rural) education, contributed by this study, will encourage and enable any person involved in curriculum development to be better informed and as a result, be able to formulate better curricula for South African citizens in rural societies. It is envisaged that this research will contribute towards the better understanding of the considerable problems in rural education, with the aim of expediting education reform and development of those people in rural areas.

This study also envisages contribution to historical knowledge about the education of Black people, especially in the rural areas of the Northern Province. The study will significantly encourage South African society to sensitively and critically look at their education, and to seek out ways in bringing about fundamental changes, which will provide quality education to all people in the country, irrespective of whether they are residents in urban or in rural areas.

Finally, there are other provinces in South Africa with areas that are categorised as rural, for example Kwa-Zulu Natal. This research can contribute towards alleviating of problems surrounding rural education since they appear across the whole of South Africa, and even, in other African countries.

1.5 EXPLANATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

It is essential to define and to delimit and "standardise" certain concepts for this study.

1.5.1 Education

There is no conclusive definition of the concept *education*, in this research, it could be described as follows:

According to Venter (1979:32), education is a universal phenomenon that is limited to the human being and it must be accepted as an original reality. Education should be perceived as a continuous process. According to Lengrand (1970:44-45), education must fulfil the following responsibilities:

First, the setting into place of structures and methods that will assist a human being throughout his life span to maintain the continuity of his apprenticeship and training.

Second, to equip each individual to become in the highest and truest degree both the object and the instrument of his own development through the many forms of self-education.

The definition of Lengrand characterises education as a lifelong process and continuous, from the earliest years of life, to the final phase. Education as a lifelong process should not only aim at equipping children with cultural baggage, but rather aim to facilitate each one to develop attitudes and capacities, which will enable him/her to cope successfully with the challenges they will have to face in life (Lengrand 1986:11). This definition by Lengrand forms the basis for the understanding of *education* in this study.

1.5.2 Formal education

Formal education, according to Vos and Brits (1987:64), is education that takes place in a planned way, at recognised institutions, such as in schools, colleges, technikons and universities.

1.5.3 Rural (education)

The term *rural* generally refers to isolated, poor, or traditionally administered areas (Smith 1984:11-12). These areas tend to be characterised by poverty and geographical isolation. Facilities and essential services are usually non-existent or poor; population density is low, and there is a limited range of employment possibilities (Hartshorne 1985:150; South Africa [R] 1995[d]:13).

Different terms for the term *rural* have been used during different historical periods in South Africa. The terms, *reserve*, *bantustans*, *homelands* and *national states* were often synonymous, even though in essence they were not similar. The term *reserve* was used during the Union Government to denote areas which were excluded from the areas demarcated as White, and the Black people could stay in those areas, and operate from there as labourers (cf 2.4.1). Later on during the National Party Government in 1948, *bantustan* or *homelands* were used to denote the same areas used during the Union Government period through the enactment of a series of racial legislative laws.

In the early 1960's, the National Party Government sought a way to harness the independence of Black people, in order to preserve White power in South Africa. The bantustans or homelands were transformed into national states or territorial governments or self-governing states, in which the Black people could exercise full political rights (*Readers Digest* 1988:424). According to Welsh (1998:449), the self-governing territories, or the national states, were more than scattered parcels of indifferent land that no Whites wanted.

The self-governing states could become independent national states after they had indicated to the Government of the day, that they wanted to take the whole responsibility of running a homeland with a constitution of their own (South Africa [R] 1986:204). During the 1980's, national states were divided into independent states (or TBVC states: Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei), and other self-governing territories (SGTs) – (KwaZulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Qwaqwa, Gazankulu and Lebowa) (Graaff 1995:184).

There are two categories of schools that qualify as rural in the South African context. According to Graaff and Gordon (1992:208), they are schools on the predominantly White-owned commercial farming areas, and schools in the former homelands. This study will focus on the latter.

1.6 METHODOLOGY

According to Best and Kahn (1993:20), research may be defined as "the systematic and objective analysis and recording of controlled observation that may lead to the development of generalisations, principles, or theories, resulting in prediction and possible ultimate control of events." In order for research to thus possess an element of validity – it needs to deal with accurate interpretability of the results and the generalisation of the results. Research must also be reliable, in that it must be consistent throughout (Wiersma 1991:6-7).

It is in this light, that the historical-educational research method will be used to contribute to these research aims (cf 1.3).

1.6.1 Historical-educational research method

According to Meier as quoted by Lewis (1999:21), the historical-educational research method

encapsulates the basic scientific research method (Meier 1996:33) and investigates the phenomenon of education by taking the **present** as a point of departure, traversing into the **past** with the aim of enlightening the present, and finally making recommendations for the **future**, based on the findings and the conclusions.

According to Venter (1992:4) History of Education

is a historical-systematic field which examines, interprets and describes the structural relatedness of the education phenomenon or educational reality as a historical premise (in its situatedness in the *past* and in time) with the aim of illuminating the *present* and providing guidelines for the *future* [italics mine].

Therefore the purpose of historical-educational research is to arrive at conclusions concerning causes, effects, and trends of past occurrences, which may help to explain present events and anticipate future events (Gay 1987:9).

The value of historical-educational research covers a wide spectrum. It ranges from: providing an understanding of the past; by means of accurate description; to providing perspectives for present decision-making; policy formation and providing future recommendations and guidelines. Kruger (1992:16), remarks that "the future would not be the future without the past, and, the future is the future only because there is a past." According to Wiersma (1991:206), the historical-educational research method involves the following four steps; the

- (i) identification of the research problem;
- (ii) collection and evaluation of source material;
- (iii) synthesis of information from source material, and the
- (iv) analysis, classification, integration, interpretation and formulation of conclusions.

The research undertaken in this dissertation was guided by the these steps:

Chapter One will constitute step (i), while Chapters Two to Five will focus on steps (ii) and (iii). There is an overlapping of these two steps throughout the chapters. The final chapter (Chapter Six) constitutes the last step (step [iv]).

1.6.2 Research approach

In doing research, a research project has to follow a specific approach when being conducted. This approach presupposes a particular attitude towards that field which is to be investigated.

Cognisance is taken that one's approach to research does not stand isolated from the specific methods and techniques adopted, but are intertwined (Lewis 1999:24). This study will be approached from a metabletic and hermeneutical disposition.

1.6.2.1 *The metabletic disposition*

The term "metabletic" is derived from the Greek word *metaballein* which means *change* (Meier 1996:32). According to Van Rensburg and Landman (1988, sv "Metabletics") man is a historic being, who in the course of time has undergone changes; not any fundamental or radical change, but a gradual change of circumstances. This change can also manifest itself in the area of education (Lewis 1999:22). By applying the metabletic approach in this research, attempts will be made to understand the changing educative phenomenon as a human occurrence in the context of *time* and *space*.

1.6.2.2 *Hermeneutic disposition*

According to Danner (1995:223) the concept "hermeneutic" is derived from the Greek verb *hermeneúein*, which has three meanings: to make something explicit (to express), to unfold something (to explain) and to translate (to interpret). Hermeneutics should be understood as an "art of interpretation". Danner (1995:223) further points out that hermeneutics cannot be reduced to interpretation of texts only, but should also take cognisance of the text's real and full content. In order for the historians of education to assess any educative occurrence and still maintain a proper balance between the positive and negative aspects of the education system concerned, they need to follow a set of hermeneutical procedures (cf Van der Walt 1992). According to Van der Walt (1992:221),

a more acceptable procedure in historiography is to regard and assess historical data in their own historical context, and not the context of later periods with different social and other backgrounds.

In this research cognisance is taken that the educative occurrences under discussion took place in a different social setting and world-view as that of the researcher (that is the late twentieth century) and historical data will therefore, be interpreted from a dynamic point of view, taking into consideration changes that took place over time. Since the research problem and the research methodology have already been identified, the collection and evaluation of source material will now be dealt with.

1.6.3 Collection and evaluation of source material

1.6.3.1 Types of sources

(a) **Primary sources:** Primary sources are eyewitness accounts. According to Venter and Van Heerden (1989:114), primary sources are written documents or published commentary by people who, participated in or, were eyewitnesses of certain events.

The following types of primary sources were consulted in this research: original reports, journals and periodical articles, documents in archives, newspaper clippings and minutes of meetings.

(b) **Secondary sources:** Secondary sources are accounts of those events which were not actually witnessed by a reporter (Borg & Gall 1989:814). Such literature that is relevant to this topic has been consulted. Types of secondary sources that were consulted included textbooks, encyclopaedias, dissertations and theses.

1.6.3.2 Means of evaluation

(a) **External criticism:** External criticism in historical research evaluates the validity of the document – that is where, when, and by whom, it was produced (Wiersma 1991:209). According to Best and Kahn (1993:95) external criticism evaluates the authenticity or genuineness of data. External criticism was applied to determine validity and authenticity of the documents used.

(b) **Internal criticism:** According to Borg and Gall (1989:822), "internal criticism involves evaluating the accuracy and worth of the statements contained in a historical document." Internal criticism was used to evaluate the meaning, accuracy, and reliability of the statements contained in the content of the documents used in this dissertation.

1.7 DELIMITATION OF RESEARCH

This researcher will refer to, and predominantly concentrate on, community-based schools, since 80 percent of schools in the Northern Province are community schools, which enrol 87 percent of all pupils (Scott 1995:vi). Community schools were mainly primary but included secondary schools too. They are managed by statutory school boards and school committees (Ruperti 1976:66). Farm schools, although they have been well-documented, constitute a very low percentage of the schools in the Province, and will not fall within the confines of this study.

1.7.1 The geographical area

The study concerns education in the rural areas of the Northern Province. The problem in dealing with this area, is that prior to 1994, it was made up of the different homelands: Gazankulu, Lebowa and Venda (see **Map 1.1**). The three homelands were amalgamated after the 1994 national elections and presently they constitute the Northern Province. Since these areas are vast, it was necessary to reduce this investigation to that of an exemplary analysis of rural education amongst Black people in this area.

1.7.2 The period

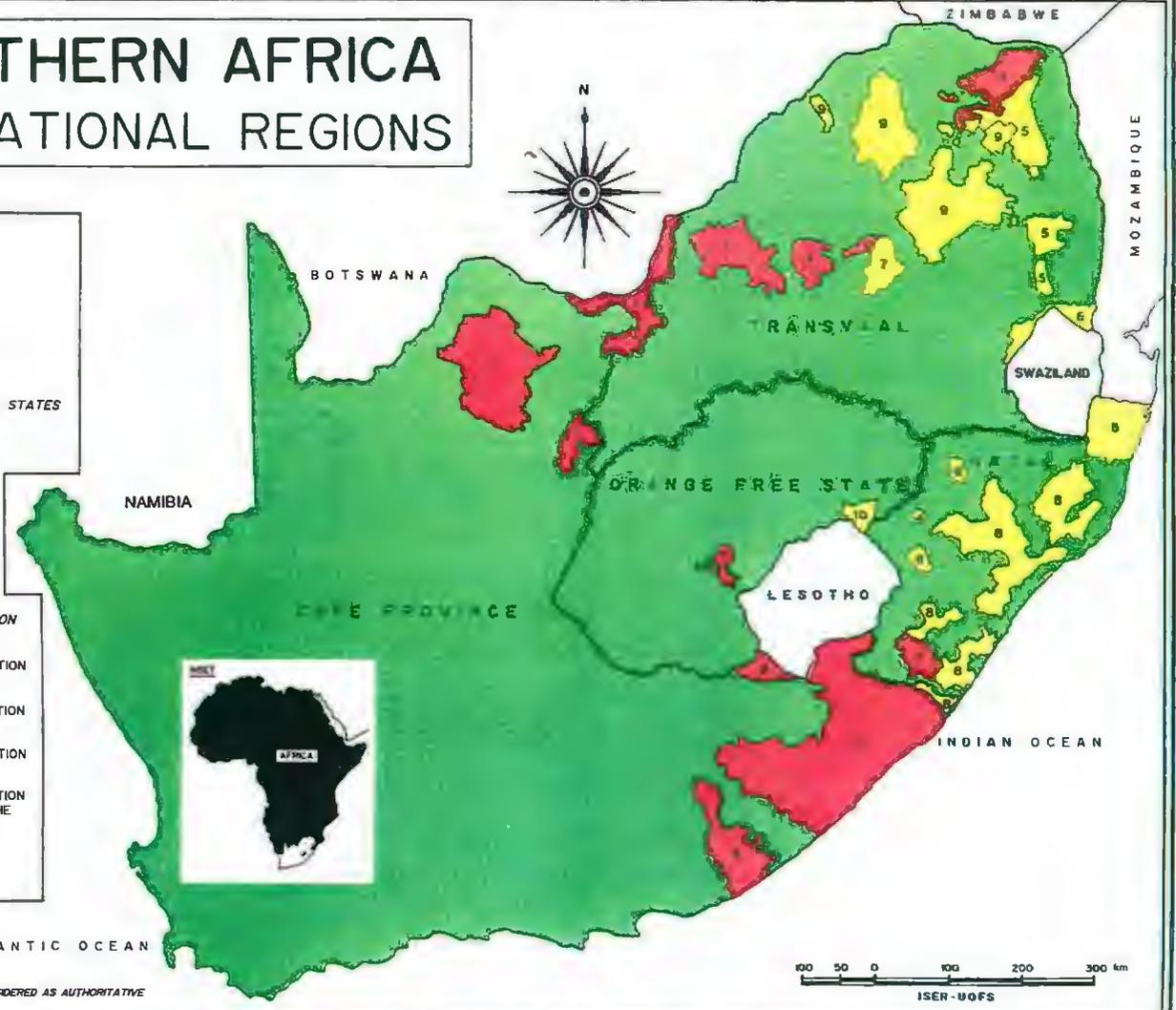
The period under discussion ranges from 1652 until 1994. The reason being, that it is of prime importance to trace the evolution of rural education in South Africa from a wider perspective. The influence of State and Government policies on Black education could be better understood, if it is studied over a number of historical periods.

1.7.3 The people

The Northern Province is constituted by the former homelands, of Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda (cf 1.7.1), comprising mainly the Pedi, Tsonga and Venda-speaking people. The majority of Black people are found in the former Lebowa homeland. For the purpose of this dissertation, the focus will be on the three cultural groups who are mainly found in the rural homelands which constitute the present Northern Province.

SOUTHERN AFRICA EDUCATIONAL REGIONS

- **INDEPENDENT STATES**
 - 1 BOPHUTHATSWANA
 - 2 TRANSKEI
 - 3 VENDA
 - 4 CISKEI
- **SELF-GOVERNING NATIONAL STATES**
 - 5 GAZANKULU
 - 6 KANGWANE
 - 7 KWANDEBELE
 - 8 KWAZULU
 - 9 LEBOWA
 - 10 QWAQWA
- **DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION FUNCTIONING IN THIS AREA:**
 - ★ DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION FOR WHITES
 - ★ DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION FOR ASIANS
 - ★ DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION FOR COLOURED
 - ★ DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION FOR BLACKS OUTSIDE THE SELF-GOVERNING AND INDEPENDENT STATES



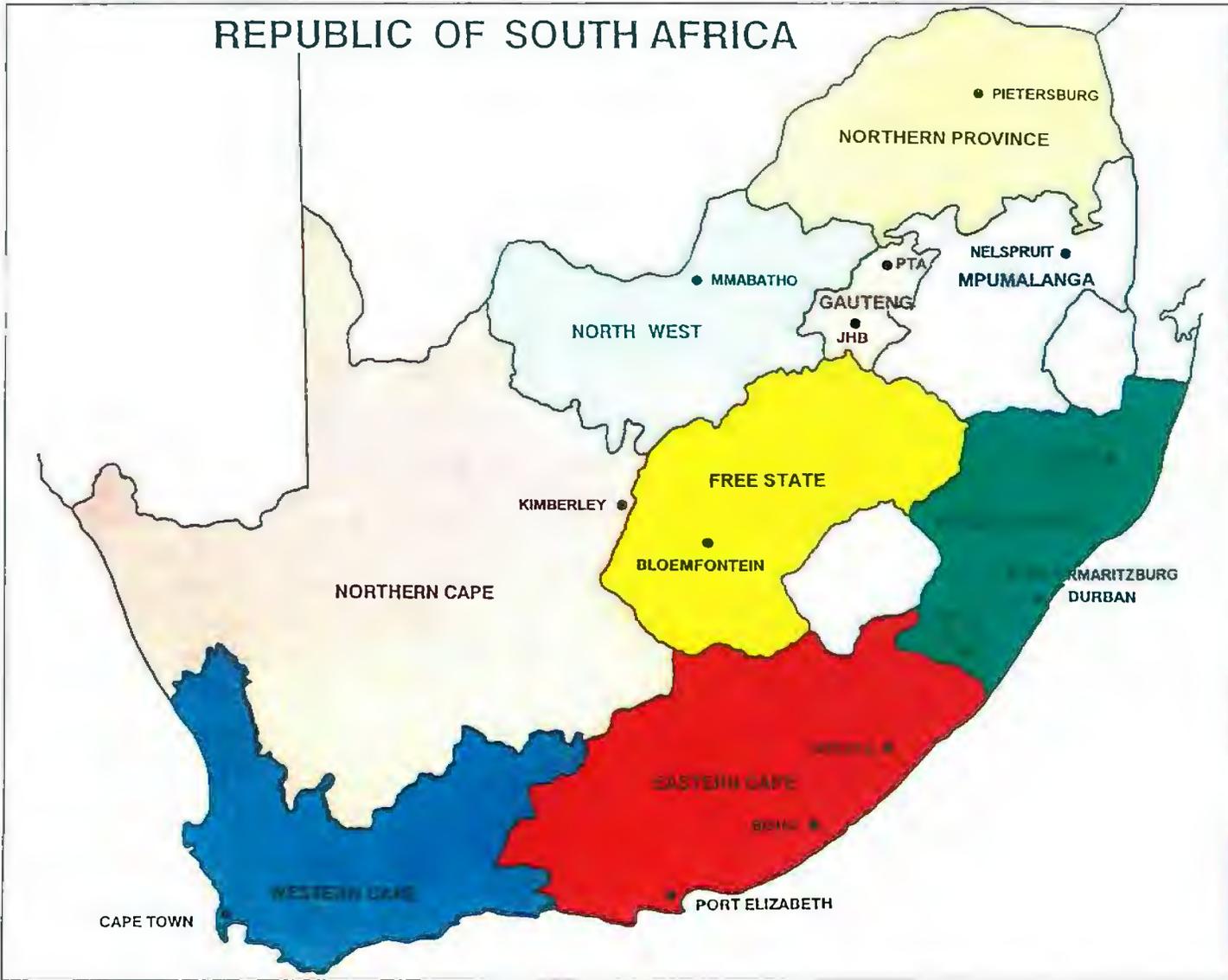
BOUNDARIES MUST NOT BE CONSIDERED AS AUTHORITATIVE

0 50 100 200 300 km
ISER-UOFS

Former homelands and independent states before 1994

Map 1.1

Strauss et al/1991:1



The New Provinces and capitals of South Africa after 1994

Map 1.2

1.8 PROGRAMME OF STUDY

Chapter One provides a general orientation which includes the statement of the research problem, the aim of the research, the research methodology, explanation of key concepts, delimitation of research and the programme of the study, as is done in the above.

Chapter Two presents a general historical overview of rural education in South Africa from 1652 until 1994.

In order to delimit this research to a meaningful investigation, two samples of mission schools operating in this area will be dealt with. Chapters Three and Four, therefore, present education during the missionary era; education at Lemana College and Botšhabelo Institution respectively up until 1953.

Chapter Five will investigate further rural education from the 1953 Bantu Education Act, up until 1994 in the former homelands, which now constitute the present Northern Province.

Chapter Six will be an evaluation chapter, focusing on findings, conclusions and recommendations with the view of finding possible solutions to the present dilemma of rural education in South Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF RURAL EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA: 1652 to 1994

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Up until 1994 the South African education system was largely characterised by racial segregation and unequal provision. Molteno (1984:46) observes that racial segregation and educational inequalities dates back to the period of Dutch colonial rule, right through British rule, up until the Nationalist Party reign. Black education in the rural areas was also affected by these patterns of racial segregation, with the underpinning rationale being largely based on *political ideologies* that emerged during various historical periods.

Thus the aim of this chapter is to give a survey of the genesis and development of rural education for Black people in a temporal perspective: 1652 to 1994. The chapter will present a synoptic overview of background information for a more detailed discussion later, on rural education in South Africa and specifically, the Northern Province. The objectives developing from this aim are therefore:

- ◆ to give a historical overview of rural education for Black people in South Africa during various time periods up until 1994;
- ◆ to look at legislative Acts that influenced education in rural areas in South Africa, and
- ◆ to critically analyse the influence state policies had on the development of education in the rural areas.

Initially it was in the Cape where education for Black people started. Education in the former Transvaal is also of prime importance, because it is in the former Transvaal where the present Northern Province is situated. The education for Black people shall be traced from the time of the early Dutch colonists in Cape of Good Hope, and the Voortrekkers in the former Transvaal.

2.2 EDUCATION FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN THE CAPE COLONY

2.2.1 Dutch rule: 1652 to 1795

The Dutch, first settled in the Cape Colony in 1652, under the leadership of Jan Van Riebeck. The first settlers who settled in the Cape Colony were part of a trading company called the Dutch East India Company (DEIC). During this period a number of indigenous groups were found to be living in the southern tip of Africa. To the east of the Cape lived the Xhosa, to the north lived the Nguni (Omer-Cooper 1994:1). The Khoikhoi (Hottentot) herders, and San (Bushmen) hunters, also lived in the Cape Colony (*Readers Digest* 1988:20).

Another highly significant group in the Cape Colony, were the slaves. Slaves were imported from such places as Madagascar and the east coast of Africa, Indonesia, Bengal, Southern India and Sri Lanka, to work as unskilled labourers on White farms and, in rare instances, as artisans on farms or in towns (Armstrong 1979:77-78).

Behr (1988:13) points out that almost from the day of Van Riebeck's landing at the Cape, sets of conflicting forces had been in continuous operation, some tending to draw the various races apart. Loram (1917:2) further supports this fact, by pointing out that "the history of South Africa has been largely a matter of race conflict." Even in those early days, it had been the policy of the South African Government that races should be kept apart (cf 2.4; 2.5).

Houghton (1967:20) maintains that the aim of the Dutch Government since its establishment in the Cape in 1652 until 1795, concentrated on containing the White settlement together and to keep the races apart. According to Atmore and Westlake (1978:38) immediately after the arrival of the colonists in the Cape Colony, which was predominated by the indigenous people, the colonists regarded Black people as barbaric, and equated the notion of barbarism with certain "obvious" physical differences. These apparent cultural and physical differences were the cause and the justification of colonial domination.

The issue of the relationship between Black people and the White people during the Dutch rule, was reflected in many ways. In 1774 Governor Van Plettenberg found that the relationship between the White people and the Black people co-existed peacefully in one undivided society. However, he subsequently planted a beacon near the side of Colesberg to demarcate the north-eastern limit of the Colony with the aim of establishing racial division between White people and Black people (Walker 1957:98). The Black people were to remain in their remote rural areas without interacting with the White people.

Since the Dutch East India Company was interested mostly in trade, little had been done for the education of the inhabitants of the Cape Colony. The first school in Cape Colony was established in 1658, and this focused mainly on the slaves' intellectual and moral welfare (Du Plessis 1965:29-30). The second school was established in 1663 and was aimed at providing primary education for children of colonists (Molteno 1984:46).

In 1799 the first school for Black people was established near what is now called King Williams Town, by Dr J T Van Der Kemp of the London Missionary Society (SA [U] 1936:9). It is in these rural areas of what is now the Eastern Cape where most Black people were found. A few mission schools provided for the education of the Black population, which indicated the important role missionaries were to play in Black education for centuries to follow (Horrel 1963:1).

2.2.2 British rule: 1806 to 1880

In 1792 Britain was engaged in a war against France during the French Revolution and this led to the British occupation of the Cape in 1795 – First British occupation. In 1803, the British handed the Cape back to Holland, but occupied it again in 1806 – Second British occupation (South Africa [R] 1986:37).

Though sporadic attempts to educate Black people during Dutch rule had been made, it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that concerted efforts were made by various mission societies to educate the Black people of South Africa. Horrel (1963:1) points out that the dedicated

work of the early missionaries, serving in remote rural areas began to equip Black people to play a worthy part along with members of other races.

In 1839 J Rose-Innes was appointed as the Superintendent General of Education of the Cape, and the mission schools came under the control of the Education Department with limited financial aid. Missionaries carried on for many years with the education of Black people in the rural areas of the Cape, without much financial aid. The only schools that received substantial financial aid were those belonging to White people, to Coloureds⁴ and to emancipated slaves (SA [U] 1936:9). The only Black schools which were catered for by the Government were those in the urban areas of the Cape where the majority of pupils came from the Coloured communities (SA [U] 1936:10).

A turning point in the education of Black people came when Sir George Grey was appointed Governor of Cape in 1854. Grey regarded education as an important factor in the *subjugation of the Black people*, and persuaded the British Government to subsidise missionary institutions so that they could train the Black youth to act as interpreters, evangelists and schoolmasters amongst their own people, which were largely in the rural areas (SA [U] 1936:10). The education of Black people was to be in accordance to the roles they were to play in the rural areas.

In 1863 Sir Langham Dale, the then Superintendent General of Education, further advocated this policy of "peaceful subjugation" by urging the British Government that the spreading of civilisation, by school instruction and the encouragement of industrial habits among the Black people in the rural border districts, were of primary importance to political security and social progress of the Colony (SA [U] 1936:12). The British Government used schooling for Black people as an instrument to maintain peace and stability in the border districts.

⁴ Until 1907 the Black people and Coloured people were classified as "Coloured" for educational reasons. Thereafter, until 1910 Coloured people were classified with White people, whereafter they received separate education from White people and Black people (Behr 1984:175; 236).

The British Government introduced racial segregation in the Cape Colony even before it became an official policy. Segregation trends in the education of Black people in the Cape Colony was evident during the reign of Sir George Grey and Sir Langham Dale (Molteno 1984:52). Educational institutions were negatively affected by these segregation tendencies introduced by the government. These institutions were largely concentrated in the rural areas because these were the areas where the majority of the Black people were found.

2.3 EDUCATION FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN THE FORMER TRANSVAAL

2.3.1 The period 1854 to 1881

As early as 1836, some of the citizens of the Cape Colony who were not in favour of the policies of the British Government decided to move further into the interior of South Africa. These citizens became known as the *Voortrekkers*⁵. Among others, they revolted, against the British policy of regarding White people and Black people as equals. Independent states were established in Natal, the Orange Free State, and the former Transvaal (Christie 1986:39). According to Chonco (1987:106), the *Boers* in the former Transvaal permitted no equality between Coloured people, including Black people, and White citizens; neither in the State nor in the church.

Between 1886 and 1903, the missionaries in the former Transvaal administered, controlled and financed their schools. As long as these missionaries financed their schools in Black education, the State did not interfere in the policies of curricula and administration of the schools. It was the policy of the former Transvaal Government to allow missionary societies to continue with their endeavours, as long as they did not interfere with the education of the White colonists. Though the Government did not assist mission schools in former Transvaal, the general attitude of the *Volksraad*⁶

⁵ This was a group of many White settlers, who left the Cape Colony due to, among others, dissatisfaction with the British authorities (Behr 1988:13).

⁶ It was a legislative chamber that controlled the Republic of Transvaal and the furtherance of religion and education was, according to the Transvaal constitution, to be a matter for the *Volksraad* (McKerron 1934:36-41).

and the former Transvaal citizens towards mission schools, was that they wanted to have complete control of the activities of any mission society, working within their borders (SA [U] 1936:22).

The principle of separate schools for White people and Black people, became entrenched after 1903 when the first Education Ordinance of 1903 was implemented (SA [U] 1936:24). The passing of the Education Act of 1907, empowered the former Transvaal Government to establish, maintain and aid institutions belonging to Coloured people, but Section 29 of this Act prohibited Black people to have access to schools for White people (South Africa [U] 1907:Sec 29). Many Black people in the former Transvaal could not attend schools, since strict segregational policies were followed. Pells (1938:141) observes that until the Union of South Africa was established in 1910, there was scarcely any schooling for Black people in the former Transvaal.

2.4 THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA: 1910 to 1961

It was in 1910 that the *Boer* Generals in Transvaal, the Orange Free State, Natal and the Cape surrendered their Republics to the British Empire. General Louis Botha became the first Prime Minister of a united, but not democratic South Africa. According to the South African Act of 1910, it was stipulated that Parliament would be an all-White institution, and that there would be no franchise for Black people in the then Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State. Thus South Africa took its place as a self-governing dominion within the British Empire, alongside the dominions of Canada, New Zealand and Australia (South Africa [R] 1986:43).

The period of existence of the Union of South Africa was characterised by segregational policies in the form of a series of legislative Acts which removed and restricted the rights of Black people in every possible sphere. Before an attempt is made to present a historical background of Black education during this period, the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts shall be dealt with in broad terms, as examples of certain prevalent legislation which kept Black people in rural areas.

2.4.1 The Native Land Act No 27 of 1913

Three years later after the inauguration of the Union Government, Louis Botha, who was both Prime Minister and the leader of the South African Party, established the 1913 Land Act. This legislation adopted the principle that certain portions of land should be reserved for the exclusive occupation of Black people. The 1913 Land Act not only set aside areas as reserves, but also prohibited Black people from buying land outside the defined territories. On the whole 13,7 percent of the total land area of South Africa was demarcated as reserved land for occupational use by Black people only (SA [U] 1955[a]:44-46).

One of the aims of this legislation, according to Hartshorne (1992:124-125), was the removal of Black squatters from the farm areas. Davenport (1977:259) points out that this Act aimed specifically at ridding African land ownership which White farmers found undesirable since it posed competition to White farmers. Enlarged Black reserves eased urban congestion and facilitated the recruiting of labour for the mines.

The portions of land (reserves) as specified by this legislation, were to be treated as the homelands of Black inhabitants of South Africa, during the second half of the nineteenth century. These areas were scattered all over the remote parts of South Africa. Malan and Hattingh (1976:7) point out that it was the conviction of White Government, when introducing the Native Land Act of 1913, not to accept integration with the Black people, and that the principle of White supremacy in White areas should be maintained.

Cassandra (1992:73) maintains that the Native Land Act of 1913 meant that the small size of the reserves underlined the fact that White people had the power to dictate to Black people where and how they were to live. Black people were to be confined to fixed zones, isolated from opportunities and resources of the wider society.

The essence of the Act, according to Atmore and Westlake (1978:20), was that White people and Black people were to become geographically and socially segregated within the total sphere of domination by the ruling colonial group, while economic intermingling was to take on varied forms, depending

on the particular needs of the more politically influential sectors within the dominant White group.

2.4.2 The Development Trust and Land Act of 1936 (Act 18 of 1936)

The area designated as reserves by means of the 1913 Land Act was later found to be too small and more land for African settlement was made available through the promulgation of the Development Trust and Land Act of 1936.

This Act envisaged the acquisition of an additional 6,2 million hectares for incorporation into what would later on be called the "bantustans". All the state-owned land in the proclaimed African areas were vested in the Development and Land Trust. This Trust had to acquire land for Black people and had to develop it for the benefit of the Black people in those specific areas (SA [U] 1936:98).

2.4.3 Provision of education to Black people: 1910 to 1948

With the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, education, except higher education, came under the control of Provincial Councils for a period of five years and thereafter till parliament otherwise provided (SA [U] 1936:52). Black education during the period of the Union of South Africa was in an appalling state. The result of this state of affairs was reflected in the Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-1936 under the chairmanship of Senator (then Mr) W T Welsh (Horrel 1963:32).

Having outlined various legislative Acts that had a bearing on the education of Black people in general terms, it is imperative to reflect on specific aspects that had a bearing on the provision of education for Black people who predominantly lived in the rural areas.

2.4.3.1 *Aim of education*

Any educational enterprise has an aim which reflects the life and the world-view of that particular society. The aim of education, as a human phenomenon, essentially means leading a child to a particular goal or destination (Van Rensburg & Landman 1988, sv "education"). The aim of

education for Black people was also tailored for a specific direction. This was reflected by the Welsh Commission (SA [U] 1936:87), when it reported that:

The education of the White child prepares him for life in a dominant society and the education of the Black child for a subordinate society. There are for the White child no limits, in or out of school For the Black child there are limits which affect him chiefly out of schools.

The aim of education for Black people, according to the Welsh Commission's Report, meant that Black people, who were predominantly in the rural areas received a fixed pattern of education which limited and disadvantaged the potential of Black society as a whole. This education system was aimed at producing people who were not equipped for the realities of life.

According to Molteno (1984:65), schooling for Black people provided inferior schooling and helped to prepare Black student for the places of inferiority which they would occupy in society. In this case, Black people received education which was suitable for life in the remote rural areas. These areas were generally poor and geographically isolated.

2.4.3.2 *Control and administration*

In all the four Provinces (the Cape Colony, Orange Free State, Natal and Transvaal), the administration of the schools fell under the Heads of Provincial Education Departments. Each department was assisted by Black inspectors. Natal, Orange Free State and the Transvaal Provincial Councils had separate departments for Black education, each with a separate *ad hoc* inspectorate (SA [U] 1936:53).

Individual schools were generally under the charge of various missionary societies. The Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education (Welsh Commission) proposed to transfer the control of Black education from the provinces to the Union Government because "it merits the consideration of the largest and most influential unit of Government in the sub-continent, namely the Union Government" (SA [U] 1936:65). However, until the passage of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, Black education remained in the hands of Provincial Administrations rather than in the hands of Central Government.

The Welsh Commission proposed that Black Education would fall under the Minister for Education, working through a special Union Director of Native Education, four provincial superintendents of native education, and four provincial administrative boards. The Committee maintained that it was illogical to separate one branch of educational activity, namely Black education from the Department of Education, which should deal with all education.

The nature of Black administration in schools differed from province to province. A common feature in the administration of Black education was that Black schools were segregated from those of Whites. Charles Loram (1917:5), advisor to the Union Government on Black education, indicated that Black learners should have been placed under the administrative control of a Union Department of Native Education. His position rested on the principle that White people would rule, and Black people would be ruled and that Black people were a rural people and their future lay in the countryside. Loram further argued that Black people needed an education differentiated from that for White people, and that therefore their school system should have been administered separately from that of the White people (Loram 1917:80-83).

2.4.3.3 *Financing*

The funding of schools, which operated under missionary auspices, was controlled by the Native Taxation and Development Act of 1925, which later on was called South African Native Trust. Into this Trust £340 000 a year was paid. This amount was transferred from the Consolidated Revenue Fund and it remained constant until 1944 (Horrel 1963:31).

The annual costs of education per pupil between 1930 and 1945 indicate the disparities that existed for many years. **Table 2.1** provides an overall picture of financing of Black education over fifteen years.

Table 2.1 Annual costs of education per pupil

	White people	Black people
1930	£ 22. 12. 10	£ 2. 2. 8
1935	£ 23. 17. 2	£ 1. 18. 6
1940	£ 25. 14. 2	£ 2. 4. 4
1945	£ 38. 5. 10	£ 3. 17. 10

Horrel 1963:32

The Government contribution per pupil for the education of White people was ten times larger than that for the education of Black people. The contribution per head of White population was over forty times as much as per head of Black population (SA [U] 1936:60). The per-capita expenditure on Black children remained minimal throughout 1930 to 1940 (Horrel 1968:23).

Wolheim (1943:39) points out that the expenditure on education alone would have to be multiplied by 36 to place Black education on the same level as White education. Statements such as these gave a clear indication that Black education was based on an unequal racist ideology. In general, Black education was starved for funds, and therefore it could achieve very little of what a proper well-financed system of education would achieve.

2.4.3.4 *Other educational elements*

There were a number of other disparities between Black and White education highlighted by the Welsh Commission. These included the fact that less than 30 percent of the total Black child population of school-going age received any schooling at all. Less than 2 percent of these pupils advanced to the post-primary stage of schooling. The majority could not get farther than Standard One (SA [U] 1936:105).

The Welsh Committee further indicated that greater maturity of the Black pupils, especially those in Standard Six were actually two Standards behind the average attainment of White children in their corresponding standards (SA [U] 1936:104).

Many Black schools which were predominantly missionary schools that were aided and inspected by the Provincial Education Departments, were "hopelessly overcrowded and understaffed" (SA [U] 1936:59). In unaided schools, conditions were even worse than in the aided schools. For White children education was both compulsory and free, whereas education for Black learners was not. The Black pupil had to buy his/her own books and pay school fees, irrespective of the poor socio-economic standing.

Black education during the Union of South Africa experienced serious deficiencies. Wolheim (1943:39) in his report on learning conditions for Black children, highlighted the serious inadequacies in Black education by reporting the following:

Native education has been in an appalling condition....Buildings in most cases consist of tin shanties or wattle and daub huts into which are crammed two or three times the number of pupils which the room should hold. The equipment is correspondingly pitiful, and teachers are expected to educate children without adequate maps, pictures, books, desks, or blackboards.

Black education, during this period, was not up to standard. Shingler (1973:294) indicates that the educational policies and ideas of the Union Government was directed at reinforcement of an overall structure of differentiation and domination. Rural education, which was mainly under the missionaries, depreciated extensively due to various state policies influencing the education of Black people.

2.4.4 The approach of National Party Government to Black education

In 1948 the National Party, under the leadership of Dr D F Malan, triumphed at the polls by appealing to the electorate with a programme based on colour policy called "separate development" or *apartheid*. According to Tabata (1959:1-2), apartheid was a policy of *baasskap* literally meaning "boss-ship" which prescribed a rigid demarcation between White people and Black people, and set a ceiling for the development of Black population.

According to Thompson (1990:190), *apartheid* embraced the following ideas:

- ◆ The population of South Africa comprised four racial groups – White people, Coloured people, Indians and Black people;
- ◆ White people as a civilised race, were entitled to have absolute control over the state;
- ◆ White people's interests were to prevail over Black people's interests, the state was not obliged to provide equal facilities for the subordinate racial groups;
- ◆ And the White racial group consisted of a single nation, whereas Black people belonged to several (eventually ten) distinct nations.

The National Party Government immediately began to implement its policy of separate development by establishing a series of segregational legislative Acts. For the sake of establishing background information on rural education during the period under review, the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959, and the Bantu Education Act of 1953 need to be discussed.

2.4.4.1 The Bantu Authorities Act No 68 of 1951 and the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act No 46 of 1959

The National Party Government introduced one of many laws that impoverished the masses of Black people in the rural areas. The primary aim of the Bantu Authorities Act was the establishment of a hierarchy of authority in Black areas, as a precursor to self-government in the areas as demarcated in the 1913 Land Act, and 1936 Development Trust and Land Act (cf 2.4). The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 was to create a machinery for enabling Black people in certain specified areas to gain expertise in self-rule during a series of stages.

The Bantu Authorities Act provided that each of the established Black territories was to develop a territorial (legislative and executive) authority at the top of an infrastructure of tribal and regional administrations (South Africa [R] 1986:202). The Government aimed at eventual establishment of a three-

tier, (tribal, regional and territorial) structure of administration in the Black reserves (*SA Homelands* 1978:5).

According to Moltano (1984:93), the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 was designed for indirect, but rigid rule by means of government-recognised or government-created chiefs and herdsmen. Since chiefs were appointed by the Government the increase in their powers was widely resented and the implementation of the legislation led to very serious rural resistance.

The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, was further extended by the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act No 46 of 1959. According to the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 (SA [U] 1959:514), it was declared that "the Bantu people of the Union of South Africa do not constitute a homogeneous people but form separate national units on the basis of language and culture." Beinart (1994:156) points out that White people from very diverse backgrounds were to be one group with one territory, while Black people with similar histories were to become a series of separate minority nations. The national units were later to become the basis of the establishment of bantustans.

In 1951, the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr H F Verwoerd, appointed a Commission under Professor Frederik Tomlinson to conduct an exhaustive enquiry into, and to report on a comprehensive scheme for, the rehabilitation of the native areas with a view to develop within them a social structure in keeping with the culture of the Black person, based on effective socio-economic planning (Davenport 1977:375). The Tomlinson Commission was based on the bantustan viewpoint that the then existing reserves (as promulgated by the Promotion of the Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959) would amount to deficient land provision for Black occupation.

According to Welsh (1998:451), it was assumed that in these (rural) areas a new generation of Black entrepreneurs could develop industrial estates which over ten years would provide new jobs. According to the Report (SA [U] 1955[a]:194), White people would never voluntarily abdicate their power and accept government by Black majority. The Commission (SA [U] 1955[a]:131) further recommended that there should be direct investment by White-owned firms in the bantustans. However, the Government did not accept this

recommendation, because it was the policy of the Government that Black people should develop separately and at their own pace.

The past policies that propagated the ideology that different races should develop along different lines, in accordance with their inherent cultural propensities, implied that different races, with separated territories, required different types of education. It is thus necessary to briefly outline Black education during this period and how the political ideologies were reflected in it.

2.4.4.2 *The Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953*

A comprehensive picture of the education for Black people during the period under review, is reflected in the Report of the Commission on Native Education under the chairmanship of Dr W W M Eiselen. The Eiselen Report of 1951, provides valuable information of the ideology surrounding Black education and the main recommendations of the Report were embodied in the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953 (Horrel 1968:5), and shall herewith feature together with the Eiselen Report.

(a) Aim of education: Black education was regarded as being different from other education systems. According to the Eiselen Report (SA [U] 1951[b]:132), Black education had a separate existence just as, for example, French education, Chinese education or even White education in South Africa, because it existed and could function only in and for a particular social setting, namely, Black society. Dr H F Verwoerd, the then minister of Native Affairs explained that the purpose of Black education was to prevent Black people being given an education which would lead Black people to aspire positions which they would not be allowed to hold in the White society (Hansard 1954, col 2599).

According to the recommendations made by the Eiselen Commission (SA [U] 1951[b]:130), the aim of Bantu Education was expressed in terms of "social purpose", that school education was to be seen as the only "one of the many educational agencies and processes which will lead the Bantu to better and fuller living." Professor Murray, one of the commissioners, strongly opposed this concept and argued that "education is not there to prepare the individual

for some preconceived form of society. Society follows the natural temper of man, who does not come into being for society 's sake" (SA [U] 1951[b]:170).

Verwoerd (Hansard 1954, col 2619), further advocated that it was the policy of his Department that Black education should have its roots entirely in the "native areas and in the native environment and in the native community." There was no place for Black people in the White community above the level of certain forms of labour (Hansard 1954 , col 2619)

The Bantu Education Act was aimed at educating the Black child so that he/she would not want to be placed on a *par* with the White child, but would want to remain essentially Black and be confined to remote rural areas (Horrel 1968:136).

(b) Control and administration: Education of Black people was to be brought under State control. Although this recommendation had been long made by the 1936 Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education (Welsh Report), it was not adopted by the previous Government. The Eiselen Commission recommended that Black education should be transferred from the Provincial Administration to the Union Government and this was provided for by the Bantu Education Act of 1953 (SA [U] 1951[b]:135).

The Government wanted Black education to conform to the policy of the State, which was that Black people should receive an educational programme designed specifically to provide Black people with skills necessary to serve their own people in the bantustans, and to perform a labour role which might be required of them by White people (Molteno 1984:172; Omer-Cooper 1994:201).

The main provisions of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, were that a central State department, the Department of Bantu Education, would take over the education of the Black people from the provinces. The Department of Bantu Education would be divided into six regional units, each with its own Regional Director and Educational Advisory Council. The Regional Authorities would control and administer secondary education of all types, and teacher training. Local control, in particular, primary education would

be under the control of the Bantu Local Authority as introduced by the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 (Rupert 1976:65).

All Black educational institutions had to be registered with the Government. Mission schools had three options to choose from, namely, whether they would remain private; keep control of schools, or rent or sell buildings to the Black community organisations (Horrel 1964:21).

This measure would enable the Government to close any educational programmes which did not support its aims. The National Party Government realised that they would have to gain control over mission education if they were to succeed in implementing its segregational policies (Christie & Collins 1984:172).

(c) Financing: The Eiselen Commission (SA [U] 1951[b]:159), considered proposing educational developments or expansions over a ten year period. It was pointed out that the "Commission does not hold out the view that the Bantu should be solely responsible for the financing of their education but it does feel that the Bantu should play a direct part in the funding of a certain proportion of the funds used for the purpose." The Black people, the poorest society, were expected to contribute financially to the education of their children, irrespective of whether they could afford it or not.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953, made provision for the setting up of elected school committees and school boards. The Government of the day felt that Black education was too costly, and as a result it looked for ways in which savings could be made with regard to Black education. It was decided that a larger share of the financial contribution towards Black education should be made by the Black communities themselves. School feeding schemes were abolished by the Government, because part of the school feeding scheme funds was to be used for the erection of new classrooms (Horrel 1964:14). School funds and school fees were introduced to "supplement" the cost for Black education.

Black education was financed from the General Revenue Account, from the general tax paid by Black people and from Black communities themselves. The building of schools were subsidised on a rand-for-rand basis. The

standard of Black education continued to deteriorate further and further (Horrel 1968:29).

The rural areas were the most affected by these financial policies introduced in the 1953 Bantu Education Act. By the early seventies, only 52 percent of the budget for Black education went to the rural areas of the former bantustans which composed 70 percent of Black pupils (SAIRR 1972). Pupil enrolment in Black schools continued to increase whereas funding decreased. Schools were more overcrowded in rural areas than urban areas. This was due to, amongst other things, state legislation which restricted Black people into certain financially deficient areas.

(d) **Curriculum:** The 1953 Bantu Education Act made provision for the introduction of new syllabi and curricula which were rooted in the pupils' background and experiences. Syllabi were ethnic-oriented, since emphasis was placed on special courses such as ethnic studies, civics and bantustan geography (SA [U] 1951[b]:140). The curricula placed undue emphasis on rural conditions with the aim of making Black education relevant to Black culture (Horrel 1968:58).

Mother tongue, as a means of instruction at primary level, was introduced in Black schools. Bantu Education in Black primary schools simply meant the three R's, learnt through the medium of mother tongue, together with a knowledge of English, Afrikaans and cardinal principles of the Christian Religion (SA [U] 1951[b]:146). The introduction of mother tongue at primary schools meant that Black youth could end up discriminated against at secondary school level and in the labour market, where the English language was regarded as an essential prerequisite for entering the world of work.

(e) **Other aspects of education:** According to the Eiselen Report, mission schools, mainly situated in the rural areas, reflected the following weaknesses: The education programme was not part of a socio-economic development plan; the *involvement* of the Black parents in the control of education was minimal; the inspection and supervision of schools was inadequate; people did not stay long enough at school, and funding was inappropriate (SA [U] 1951[b]:129). Black people were still to receive their

education in the rural areas, irrespective of the inadequacies that had been identified by the Eiselen Commission (Horrel 1964:67-68).

Black Education was, as far as possible, to take place within the bantustans as a means of territorial separation. The introduction of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, prepared a way for a new system of education in the bantustans to take place. The education of Black people during the *apartheid era* was widely perceived as inferior, and resistance to this type of education gradually escalated.

2.5 EDUCATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA: 1961 to 1994

On 31 May 1961, the Union of South Africa became the Republic of South Africa (Republic of South Africa Constitution Act 32 of 1961, Section 1). It was during this period that the National Party's policy of *separate development* was accelerated (Welsh 1998:456).

Dr H F Verwoerd, the then South African Prime Minister, announced in January 1961 in the House of Assembly that self-government would be introduced in the Black reserves (bantustans). This was actualised by the approval of an amount of R490 million in the National Party Government's second five-year plan for the establishment and development of the bantustans (Muller 1975:456).

The first major step towards the constitutional development of bantustans came in 1963, when the Transkei was granted a limited measure of self-government. Subsequently the setting up of Transkei as a self-governing territory, initiated a course of events in the history of South Africa, which indicates the role that the policy of separate development played in the general development of the Black people (South Africa [R] 1986:203).

At the beginning of 1970, Parliament passed several new Acts to accelerate the political and constitutional development of the emergent Black national states. In 1971 the Black State Constitution Act, (Act 21 of 1971) was enacted. This Act, mainly aimed at the dissolution of the territorial authorities to be replaced by a legislative assembly and an executive council, both with limited powers. After considerable experience had been gained in

administration and governance, the national states would be proclaimed a self-governing territory⁷ (South Africa [R] 1986:203).

Following the implementation of the Black States Constitution Act of 1971 (Act 21 Of 1971), seven more emergent Black National States followed in the footsteps of Transkei. They were Ciskei, KwaZulu, Lebowa, Venda, Gazankulu, Qwaqwa and Bophuthatswana. By 1977 all seven Black states were declared self-governing territories within South Africa (South Africa [R] 1986:204). Later KaNgwane and KwaNdebele were also declared self-governing territories. By 1981 there were four sovereign independent states. They were Transkei (1976), Bophuthatswana (1977), Venda (1979) and Ciskei (1981) (Graaff 1995:184).

By 1981 there were four independent states and six self-governing bantustans, of which each bantustan had its own separate education department. Until each bantustan attained its own independence, the education system was to remain under the provision of Bantu Education Act of 1953, and from 1979 the Department of Education and Training Act (Act 90 of 1979) (Behr 1988:17). The basic objective of this Act was to consolidate and supersede the Bantu Education Act of 1953.

The department of education was also racially divided. By 1993 the education system was fragmented into eighteen education departments and each department exercised control and administrative duties within their own designated areas (DNE 1993:5). The self-governing states (Lebowa, Gazankulu, Qwaqwa and KwaZulu) enjoyed considerable powers such as the passing of laws on matters of education, which were applicable in their state. The Independent States could also pass laws on education within their jurisdiction. Hartshorne (1992:127) maintains that the "independent" bantustans' Acts which were passed, were very similar in character to the parent Education and Training Act. Christie (1992:143) points out that in

⁷ Black people in self-governing territories were to become citizens of their state of origin, where they would exercise their political rights, but they would continue to enjoy the protection of the Republic of South Africa. They were also given wider powers, including the right to amend or repeal any Act of Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, as it affected citizens of its territory (South Africa [R] 1986:203).

theory, bantustans had control over their own education system, but in reality they were closely tied to that of the South African system.

In 1990, at least 70 percent of Black school children were being schooled in both the rural areas of the Black National States, and those in the independent bantustans (Lawrence & Paterson 1991:2). Education provision in these bantustans was characterised by a number of inequalities and inadequacies. The following are just a few of inequalities that emanated from the State policies which eventually led rural education to lag further and further behind that of the urban areas.

2.5.1 Per capita cost 1987

In 1987 there were 1,9 million Black pupils in the White designated areas under the control of the Department of Education and Training (DET). In the independent and non-independent bantustans there were 4,7 million pupils (SAIRR 1987: 265). The majority of the Black pupils were found in the former bantustans. Still in 1987 Black pupils who comprised 1,9 million in the DET schools received R1,2 billion whereas 4,7 million of Black people in the bantustans also only received the same amount, namely R1,2 billion (DNE 1987:18,121), clearly reflecting the imbalance and inequality between Black education in the rural areas and that in the urban areas.

2.5.2 Teacher-pupil ratios

Teacher-pupil ratios for Black people had been found to be higher than that of the White people. From 1970 to 1982, the teacher-pupil ratio of Black people was approximately two times higher than that of the White people (Pillay 1984:14) mainly due to a shortage of teachers. The shortage of teachers was most serious in the primary schools of the former bantustans. In 1993 the worst shortages were experienced in the former bantustans of Gazankulu, Lebowa, KaNgwane, Transkei, and Kwa-Zulu (SAIRR 1993:605; SAIRR 1994:711). To Pillay (1984:16), the primary schools of the former bantustans that were worse off than many Black states experienced chronic teacher shortages.

2.5.3 Teacher qualifications

The percentage of underqualified teachers in the former bantustans was very high. In 1984 Black teachers, who were underqualified, constituted 85 percent (Pillay 1984:17). The degree of underqualified teachers in the bantustans is noted by Pillay (1984:17):

95 percent of primary school teachers in Gazankulu, for an example, did not have sufficient qualifications in 1980. 92 percent of primary school teachers in the Transkei had a qualification lower than matriculation (1978). In Venda 60 percent of all teachers had only a standard eight or lower qualification (1982), in Bophuthatswana this was 72,8 percent (1981) and in Lebowa 73,6 percent (1979).

Historically the National Party Government gave Black teachers the latitude to teach with low qualifications, because it was the intention of the government that teachers should remain underqualified because if they were more qualified they could provide better education to their Black children (Molteno 1984:90). It was only after 1980 that this position was reviewed and the minimum qualifications were a matriculation certificate and a three-year teaching diploma as it had been the case in White education.

2.5.4 Provision of facilities

According to the School Register of Needs⁸ (Edusource 1997[b]:2), roughly one out of twenty schools in South Africa is not suitable for education, while an additional one out of ten schools is in need of major repairs. Gordon (1997:13) further supports this fact by pointing out that most shortages of school facilities and major repairs are extremely high in rural schools. Provinces that are affected the most are the Northern Province and the Eastern Cape.

⁸ The School Register of Needs Survey, was conducted by the HSRC; the Education Foundation, and the Research Institute of Education Planning during 1996, with the intention of looking at the provision of certain facilities in schools, Province by Province (Edusource 1997[b]:1).

2.6 IN SUMMARY

What has transpired from this cursory glimpse at rural education in South Africa in general terms, is that the colonial governments were not very concerned with the education of the Black people, especially during the early days of the colonisation in South Africa. Control of Black education was mainly in the hands of the various mission schools which were predominantly situated in the rural areas. The Colonial Government later introduced a system of subsidisation to missionary education which meant that the state could easily intervene and decide over matters related to the general welfare of the schools. This also meant that in case the missionary schools deviated from the Government policies and interests, the state could interfere.

Various Commissions (eg the Welsh Commission) during the twentieth century pointed out to the Government of the day, the bad state of affairs prevailing in Black education, yet nothing was done to remedy this state of affairs.

With the introduction of the Bantu Education Act in 1953, an attempt was made by the National Party Government to educate Black people with the aim of serving his/her community, which was, in most cases in the remote rural areas. This type of education was to prevail well into the latter part of the twentieth century, and was characterised by neglect and inequality.

It is also evident from this chapter that the question of politics, that is who was and is in power, had a direct bearing on provision of education for Black people who were predominantly residing in the rural areas. Education was used by those who were more influential and had a greater say and political power to further their interests. The result was that those whose voices could not be heard just because they have been territorially isolated, were seriously disadvantaged. x

Since this research concentrates on education in the rural areas of the present Northern Province, it is therefore imperative to study the contributions the missionaries made towards the Black people, who were predominantly citizens in the these areas, and the effect that state policies had on their provision for education. The following two chapters will reflect these aspects.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SWISS MISSION: LEMANA TRAINING INSTITUTION (1800 to 1953)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

It was noted in the previous chapter that the education of Black people in South Africa up until the middle of the twentieth century was largely initiated and conducted by missionaries, therefore it is imperative, in the light of the central theme, to make a study of the development and contributions made by missionary bodies particularly in the present Northern Province.

It was only during the latter half of the nineteenth century that mission education took off in the area that is presently referred to as the Northern Province. This work of the missionaries was concentrated largely in the remote rural areas (Horrel 1963:1), with several mission societies functioning in these areas in an attempt to provide education to Black South Africans.

This chapter, and the following, should not be considered an exhaustive account of the history of missionary education in South Africa. In discussing rural education in South Africa, in general, and the Northern Province in particular, one needs to focus on the inestimable role that the various mission societies played in developing rural education. This chapter and the next further examine specific issues with regard to missionary education in the present Northern Province until 1953. Since there were many different missionary societies which operated in the area, two will be dealt with as examples, namely the Swiss Mission and the Berlin Mission. The objectives flowing from this aim, are the following:

- ◆ To provide a historical perspective on the background of the missionary enterprise, as the basis of educational development in the present Northern Province.
- ◆ To critically investigate the state of education for Black people during the missionary period (1800-1953) in the rural areas of the present Northern Province, by means of examples.

3.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SWISS MISSION SOCIETY

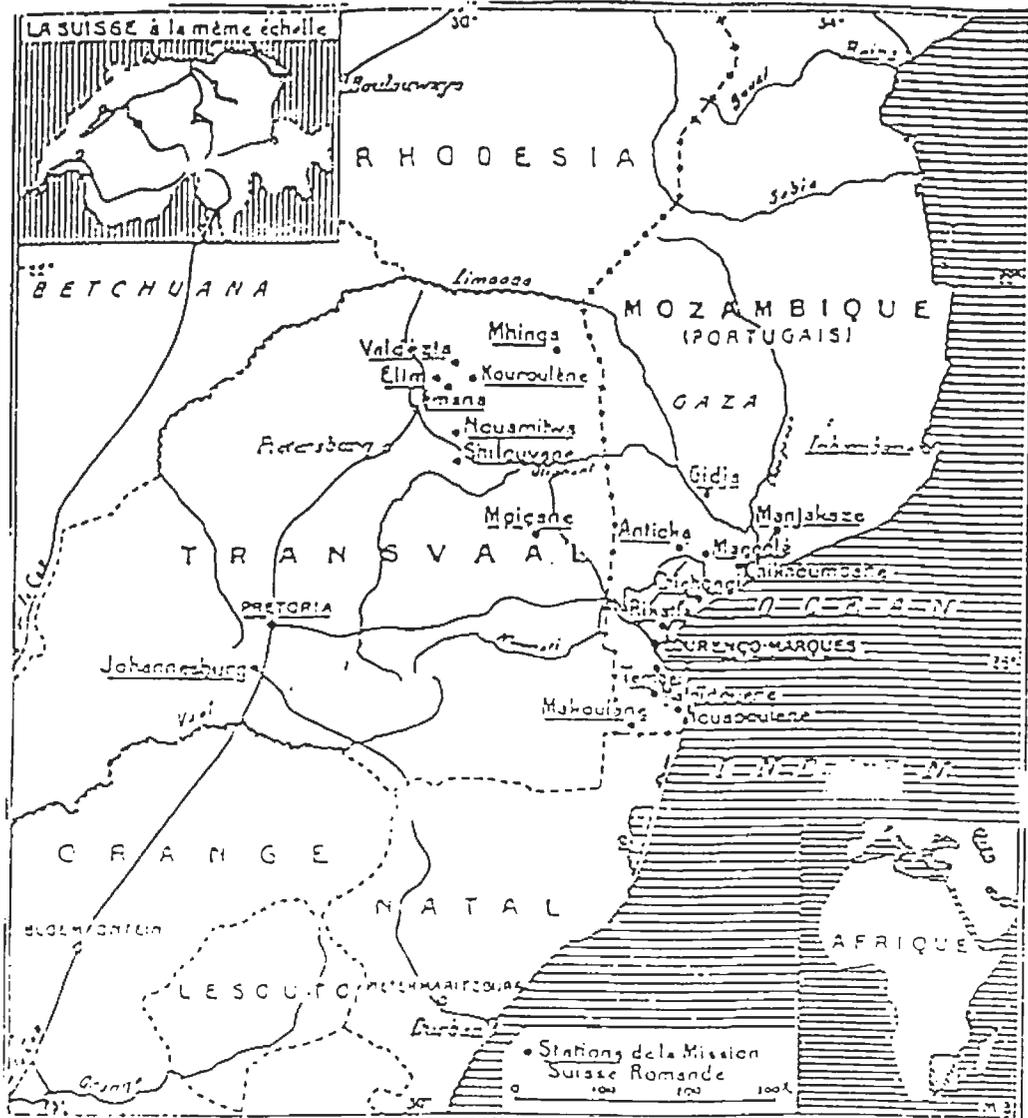
The genesis of Swiss Mission Society activities in South Africa, dates back to 1869, when Ernest Creux and Paul Berthoud offered themselves to do missionary work for their church, the Free Church of *Canton de Vaud*⁹ (Brookes 1925:6). Creux and Berthoud were theological students in Switzerland, and they shared the common ideal that after they have completed their theological training, they will offer their services as missionaries in South Africa (*The Tsonga Messenger* 1949:2-3).

Creux and Berthoud came to South Africa in 1872 and stayed at Morija, a Paris Mission station situated in Lesotho. Their stay at Morija afforded them an opportunity to experience and explore special problems of the Black Mission field, and to decide what was beneficial and practicable in their missionary endeavour (Brookes 1925:6).

In February 1872, Ernest Creux was sent to Lesotho by the Synod of the Free Church of the *Canton de Vaud*. It was in 1873 when Berthoud, together with Adolph Mabile, already working for the Paris Evangelical Mission Society, explored the northern part of the Transvaal. The two missionaries came into contact with the Sesuthu-speaking people, but instead of evangelising amongst these people, they decided to establish a mission station in the northern-eastern area of the Transvaal, where the Tsonga or Shangaan tribe lived. The reason why the two missionaries decided to start missionary work among the Tsonga people, was that there was no missionary work yet established among this group of people.

⁹ By 1821, the first missionary society of the Free Church of *Canton de Vaud* was formed, but it had a very short life-span. In 1826, the Evangelical Missionary Society of Lausanne was formed and its main function was the publication of missionary bulletins. In 1860, a number of missionaries from *Vaud* were sent out by the Evangelical Missionary Society of Lausanne to places such as North America, and among others, Adolphe Mabile, was sent to Lesotho to work under the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (Maluleke 1995:6-7; Du Plessis 1965:330).

Map 3.1 The Swiss Mission in South Africa and Mozambique



Brookes 1925:22

The Swiss Mission established a number of schools among the Tsonga tribe. In 1879 a mission station was founded (next to the present Elim Hospital, Louis Trichardt) under Rev and Mrs De Meuron (Brookes 1925:12). In 1886 another missionary station, under the Rev and Mrs Eugene Thomas was established at Shiluvane, in the district of Tzaneen. Most of the Swiss Mission Stations were established in the rural areas where the former Gazankulu homeland was situated (cf **Map 1.1**). In 1906 Lemana Training Institution was established on the slopes of the Klein Splonken range, and until 1910 it was the only institution in the northern part of the Union of South Africa which educated Black people above Standard Six. Its primary function was to train Black teachers.

Having outlined the historical genesis of the Swiss Mission Society in South Africa in broad terms, an in-depth investigation of educational activities of one of the Swiss Mission schools, namely Lemana Training Institution (College), shall follow. Lemana College is chosen as an example of the many Swiss Mission schools, because it was found in the middle of the large rural area of the former Gazankulu homeland, which is one of the homelands which constitute the present Northern Province. According to Mabunda (1995:5), it was at Lemana College where the Swiss Mission Society's educational activities became the most prosperous and successful.

3.3 THE FOUNDING OF LEMANA

In 1899 the Swiss Mission established Shiluvane Evangelical School, since there was a dire need for the training of teachers and evangelists who came from the former Transvaal and Mozambique (Mabunda 1995:61). This Evangelical School was aimed at fulfilling the principal aim of the mission schools, that is, *evangelisation* of the Black population (Dahwa 1986:56).

The Shiluvane Evangelical School area was hugely affected by malaria, sleeping-sickness and typhoid and this caused the Mission Board in Switzerland to close the school. The Board decided to open the Normal Training Institution next to Elim, and it was named Lemana. The name *Lemana* was chosen by the Board, because most of the Swiss Mission Society's missionaries and friends were then living around Lake Geneva, which is called *Lac Lemman* in French (Cuendet 1966:1).

The Swiss Mission initially wanted the Training College to be established at the hillside of the Elim Farm, but due to the fact that four farms (including the farm called Rossbach) were on sale, it was decided that those farms should be purchased instead. Lemana was then established at Rossbach, the farm which was the residence of the British Captain, Schiel (*Zoutpansberg Review* 1906:1). Lemana, which was situated on the slopes of the Letaba Valley was about five miles to the south of Elim Hospital (*Lemana Training College Magazine* 1934:1). On 8 January 1906 Lemana opened its doors for Black people. On 27 May 1906 it was officially inaugurated (Cuendet 1966:1).

The site at which Lemana was situated until 1921, was not suitable according to both the Transvaal Education Department and the Swiss Mission, due to among other factors, the unfavourable health conditions and lack of space for future development (Grandjean 1921:3). It was then decided by the Swiss Mission that the existing Lemana should be transferred to a better site. Of the three sites that were identified as the possible places where Lemana could be established, the Department of Education was in favour of the hillside at Elim. In a letter written to the Swiss Mission, the Inspector of Native Schools, J C Johns (1920:1), pointed out the following, in support of the idea of establishing this College at the hillside of Elim:

- ◆ There is ample space to build now and plenty of room for expansion later.
- ◆ There is excellent soil for the school gardens which must be made to meet the requirements of the new code.
- ◆ It is isolated, and so makes it easy for the Principal to preserve discipline.
- ◆ It is a very healthy situation.¹⁰
- ◆ It is the centre of the farm, and a practising school¹¹ here should meet the requirements of all farm tenants.

¹⁰ The Lemana College at the Rossbach site, was highly infested with malaria and the establishment of Lemana at the hillside of Elim was believed to be able to alleviate this health hazard (Mabunda1995:79).

The financial burden of transferring Lemana from the old site to the new site, was immense for the Swiss Mission. The cost of the new building, including transport and labour, was estimated at £900 (Grandjean 1921:1). Financial assistance for the transfer of Lemana from Rossbach to the hillside of Elim was requested from both the Transvaal Education Department, and the Department of Native Affairs but unfortunately to no avail (Transvaal Education Department 1913:1; Department of Native Affairs 1921:1). This was a clear indication that both the Department of Education, and the Union Government neglected the education of Black people, which was mainly provided in the rural areas.

In 1920 the Swiss Mission experienced a breakthrough after they managed selling the four farms (Rossbach included) at a profit. With the loan the Swiss Mission received from Mission Romande Building Society (*Société Immobilière de la Mission Romande*) in Switzerland, they managed to build Lemana and its hostels at the new site, without requesting financial assistance from the Transvaal Education Department (Mabunda 1995:80). In December 1921 the Lemana Institution at Rossbach officially closed and in January 1922 it finally moved to the hillside of Elim. On 11 June 1922 the new building was officially inaugurated (Cuendet 1966:1).

3.4 SCHOOL BUILDINGS AND EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

When Lemana was officially opened at Rossbach in 1906, it consisted of an old building which was previously used as soldiers' barracks during the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). The building consisted of four rooms which were used as classrooms. Two of the classrooms were used as a dormitory and a refectory. There was also a central hall, which was divided into classrooms by means of a sliding partition. The hall was used for general lessons and devotional purposes. To provide for manual work, a small workshop with two carpenter's benches which were mainly intended for current work and repairs existed (Lenoir 1906:1).

¹¹ Lemana Practising School was attached to Lemana Institution. It was a small primary school with a low pupil enrolment. Students from Lemana normally did their practice teaching at this School (Mabunda 1995:103).

Lemana educational facilities remained limited and of poor quality. In a response to a questionnaire which was sent to Lemana, it was stated that even though the Government made financial grants to mission schools, those grants were not sufficient to provide for proper apparatus for each student (Questionnaire on Native Education 1949:1). Both the supply and the determinants of schooling at Lemana remained poor. The missionaries were the only ones who seemed committed to the education of Black people, but unfortunately their limited resources became inadequate.

The main financial burden of the mission schools was the provision of buildings and equipment. The old dilapidated buildings at Rossbach were renovated by the proprietors of the farm, the Mission Romande Building Society (*Zoutpansberg Review* 1906:1). The Swiss Mission fulfilled its obligation of repairing and maintaining the buildings. The Government did not regard the development of educational facilities in Black schools not as one of its top priorities thus reflecting an attitude of non-involvement in schools for Black people in rural areas.

Despite the lack of government funding towards this rural school, D C Marivate (1934:1), one of the former students and a teacher at Lemana, in the *Lemana College Magazine* explains the surroundings of Lemana in the following way:

The roads and surroundings were always kept nice and clean. The whole place was encircled by groves of oranges and naartjies....The place was quiet, cool and comfortable.

This state of affairs was in direct contrast to many schools at mission stations in South Africa. Most missionary schools remained in an appalling state since the Government subsidy on mission schools was not adequate enough. The Swiss missionaries provided the best environment to be educated in despite the financial constraints they experienced in the rural schools. Specialised rooms like laboratories, libraries and domestic science rooms were normally not well-equipped and not up to standard. It is confirmed by the Interdepartmental Commission (Welsh Report) that the type of accommodation at most missionary schools situated predominantly in the rural areas of South Africa, left much to be desired (SA [U] 1936:74).

3.5 AIM OF EDUCATION

A study of the missionary enterprise throughout the world shows that the fundamental aim of missionary education universally was similar. The missionaries came to (South) Africa with the aim of spreading the Gospel of Jesus to a heathen population. Dahwa (1986:56) in this regard, maintains that:

The missionaries have left their countries because they felt that Africans had the same right as any other race to share the good news from God. The primary motive then, for missionaries in coming to Africa was to convert Africans to Christianity.

The Commission on Native Education (SA [U] 1951[b]:42) came to the same conclusion that:

The chief purpose of the church in founding and supporting schools has been to use education as an ancillary to evangelization of the Bantu. This purpose has been constant throughout the history of the Bantu Education.

The aim of education for Swiss Mission at Lemana was the same as other mission societies, namely evangelisation. Lemana aimed at spreading the Gospel of Jesus to a heathen Black nation. The missionaries came to the realisation that in order to achieve this aim, education had to take place. In a letter which was written to, the then Inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal, Mr H Liebenberg, by Rev F A Cuenod, Superintendent of the Swiss Mission, it was stated that the ultimate aim of the Swiss Mission was to help in developing a Black community, to Christianise and civilise it. Rev Cuenod further outlined what he meant in the letter by pointing out that:

By Christian we mean having accepted in theory and putting in practice the religious and moral standards set by Jesus Christ....By civilised we mean having reached a stage of development in which the barbaric customs of the Bantu people's ancestors have been replaced by a culture comparable to those of the modern civilised nations (Cuenod 1932:1).

This Swiss Mission missionary supported Loram (1917:74), the prominent South African liberal educationist referred to, when he asserted that the

Black people were just emerging from barbarism and Whites were the heirs of two thousands years of civilisation. Missionaries, in rural settings, thus saw it as their aim to convert the "heathen" Black people to Christianity, using the Western Culture as their vehicle to achieve this aim. This process would mean the negating of the Black person's culture.

The process of evangelisation was intrinsically linked with Western values and customs. Various Swiss missionaries invariably wanted the Black people to adopt Western culture. Initiation ceremonies, polygamy, respect for ancestral spirits and magical powers, among others, were regarded as unacceptable and heathen. Mabunda (1995:123) argues that the Swiss missionaries failed to realise that education should not be considered in isolation from its cultural background, because it is in culture that education receives its significance. According to Saayman (1991:30), mission schools were generally viewed as "beachheads of Christian civilisation in pagan territory which had to help in vanquishing pagan culture, not propagating it." It is worth pointing out that not all practices that came out of Black culture were barbaric, however, there were certain aspects in Black customs that were not wrong altogether, but only needed modification. This reflects a sense of cultural chauvinism seen especially from a European point of view.

There was little correlation between the education that was provided at schools and the culture of the general populace of the Black people. There was little interrelation between social structures such as the home and the school. The teachers at home and at school did not always share similar views about the aim of education. As a result, Black people in the rural areas did not regard education as a process that took their culture and aspirations into account. The education of Black people therefore was regarded as not "relevant" – in the sense that it did not integrate the child into the community. This might have been a possible reason why many parents in the rural areas did not find it a worthy cause for their children to be formally educated.

The aim of education for Black people (in the rural areas), should be placed within the broader context of South Africa's political and socio-economic processes during the period under review. The case in point being the differentiation between education of White people and Black people. It has been pointed out that segregational trends in the education of Black people

was reflected as early as the arrival of the White colonists in South Africa (cf 2.2.1). Atmore and Westlake (1978:38) support this fact by indicating that among the colonial schools which practised racial segregation, the mission schools could not be excluded. The Swiss propagated the same ideas of differentiated and inferior education for Black people, long before it had become official policy. In response to a questionnaire that was conducted by the Department of Native Education (sent to Lemana also), in 1949, the Swiss Mission mentioned the following:

The primary school syllabi should bear in mind (that) the background of the Native child is very different from that of the European (Questionnaire on Native Education 1949:1).

This was in line with the Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education (SA [U] 1936:21), when it consistently argued that:

The education of the white child prepares him for life in the dominant society and the education of the Black child for a subordinate society. There are for a white child no limits, in or out of school...to his development through his education as far as he desires and in whatever direction he likes, if he has the necessary capacity. For the Black child there are limits which affects him chiefly out of school.

Black people, according to the Swiss Missionaries, were not only different from White people on the basis of cultural orientations, but also with regard to mental abilities. A letter which was addressed to the Superintendent of Education, Rev H A Junod (1902:2-3), made mention that although the Black people and White children were both human, they were different from each other with regard to character, heredity and mental ability.

From the aforesaid, it can be argued that the Swiss missionaries supported a racially different education system that prepared Black people and White people for their respective sub- and super-ordinate positions. The fact that racial segregation was part of the social and political arena in South Africa, implied that the Swiss Mission and the education that they provided, was enhancing the social and racial inequalities within the South African society. The young Black minds were moulded in the direction of accepting subordination and inferiority as something natural. The most affected people

were those in the rural areas such as the Lemana Training Institution, which was found in the middle of the large rural area, in which the former Gazankulu homeland was situated (Lemana Training Institution Pamphlet 1935:1). According to Mugomba and Nyaggah (1980:1), the Western school system was introduced by the missionaries in a way which was subordinated and relegated to a peripheral (rural) role.

The Swiss Mission also advocated the idea that Black people were a rural people and therefore their future lay in the rural areas. Nwandula (1987:31), argues that the Swiss Mission seemed to have played a role in providing a suitable base for the promotion of ethnicity in South Africa, and also a strong foundation for the establishment of the former "national states" and the homelands. The aim of the Lemana Training Institution for Black teachers was that, after completion of their courses, they should in turn be able to educate other fellow Black people in fever stricken parts (rural areas) of the country (*Zoutpansberg Review* 1906:1).

The education provided by Swiss Missionaries reflected similar sentiments as the *apartheid* ideology, even before it became an official policy after 1948. These missionaries were further in line with the Promotion of the Bantu Self-Government Act No 46 of 1959 that postulates that Black people do not constitute a homogeneous, but separate "national units" which were believed to be in rural areas (cf 2.4.4.1). The Swiss Mission was further propagating the same ideology which the then Minister of Native Affairs, Dr H F Verwoerd, announced in his policy speech before the Senate in 1954, that Black education "should stand with both feet in the reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society..." (Verwoerd 1954:23).

3.6 CURRICULUM OF COURSES

3.6.1 Introduction

The educational content of any institution, is dictated by the aims of education as conceived by the authorities concerned. It is important to indicate that there was a cordial understanding between the Government of the day and the Swiss Mission with regard to content of education (curriculum) for Black people. In a letter written in 1906 to the Inspector of Native Education (Pietersburg area), Rev Clarke, and the Superintendent of

the Transvaal Education Department, Fabian Ware, the Superintendent of the Swiss Mission in South Africa at that time, Rev H. A. Junod, affirms this aspect when he states that:

it is of greatest importance that both, government and the missions, should agree regarding the aims followed and the means adopted (Junod 1906:1).

For Lemana Institution, the content of education largely reflected a religious nature, since the Swiss Mission Society's principal aim remained that of evangelism (cf 3.5) yet cognisance should also be taken of other factors which determined the content of the curriculum. In this light it is important to give a comprehensive view of courses that were offered by the Lemana Institution, in order to reflect this principal aim, as well as, the curriculum followed by the teacher training courses:

3.6.2 Courses presented at Lemana

Before 1929 Lemana Institution was offering a three-year professional teacher certificate, called a "Third Year" (Nwandula 1987:41). After successful completion, before a teacher could assume duty, the Inspector of Education Department had to approve such a candidate and thereafter a permanent certificate was issued. After 1929, the following teacher-certificates were also offered at Lemana:

3.6.2.1 *Native Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate (NTL)*

The Lower Teacher's Certificate was a two-year course. Applicants for this course were required to have passed Standard Six (SA [U] 1936:122). Teachers who managed to complete this course were allowed to teach up to Standard Two. Professional subjects such as blackboard work and drawing were included in the curriculum.

3.6.2.2 *Native Higher Primary Certificate (NTH)*

The Higher Certificate was also a two-year course but applicants were expected to have passed Standard Eight (Form III), with the following subjects in their curriculum: a Black language, English, Afrikaans, arithmetic, geography or history. Professional training included blackboard

work, and drawing (SA [U] 1936:38-39). These inferior courses were aimed at producing teachers who would serve a particular region, in this case, a rural region.

3.6.3 Religious Instruction

Religious instruction was regarded as one of the other most important subjects of the curriculum of these two above-mentioned courses. Besides the 3R's (reading, writing and arithmetic) one of the subjects taught at Lemana was Scripture, which included singing of hymns and reading of catechism. According to Christie (1986:29) the reason being, that it was easier for a person who has attained basic skills to comprehend religious ideas by reading the Bible and by taking part in the hymn singing than merely listening to the spoken word. Mphahlele (1972:98), argues that the process of conversion and evangelisation would not be complete, if the converts could not read the Bible on their own.

In Swiss Mission schools, Lemana Institution included, religious instruction was conducted on a daily basis up to Standard Six. Pupils from Standard Four were expected to answer a few specific questions on religious education on a daily basis (Questionnaire on Native Education 1945:1). Between 1922 and 1942 the aims of religious instruction at Lemana (and other Swiss Mission schools) were the following:

- ◆ To teach the contents of the Bible, to explain this book. It is the book of the church, the book of the Christian, he must therefore know and understand it. The teacher must understand it himself and prepare his lessons in a conscious way.
- ◆ This teaching must form the character of the child, show him what is good and bad, help him to live a righteous, useful and pure life, in the family, in the village, in the town or anywhere. It must bring him, and the teacher, first of all, to live a moral life.
- ◆ The most part of this teaching is to bring Jesus Christ to the heart of the child. A Christian is one who knows, who obeys, who serves his Lord and Master, i.e. who is converted, and that is the final object of Scripture lessons; but for that the teacher himself must be converted (Cuendet 1922-1942).

Not all teachers were allowed to teach religious instruction. Religious education teachers were expected to be converted, faithful and committed Christians (Questionnaire on Native Education 1945:2).

Aspects closely linked to religious instruction was that of moral training (Transvaal Missionary Association 1907[a]:10). At the opening of Lemana Institution in 1906, Mr Murray (the then Sub-Native Commissioner) pointed out that it must be the primary object of the institution to raise the general morality of the Black people (*Zoutpansberg Review* 1906:1). This implied by means of the education provided at Lemana, moral training, according to the Transvaal Education Department (1912:2), embraced aspects such as:

cleanliness, obedience, punctuality, tidiness, orderliness generally, truthfulness, honesty, respect, courtesy, industry, self-dependence, self-restraint, temperance, chastity.

The teaching of religious education emphasised aspects such as obedience and authority which were meant to be practiced by converts on a continual basis. In his address, Mr Murray further pointed out what Lord Selborne, said to the Basutho people during his visit to the Paramount Chief Letsie when he declared: "fear God and honour the king" (*Zoutpansberg Review* 1906:1). The Commissioner was indirectly saying that the authorities must be accepted without question, since they were ordained by God. The Commissioner was not referring to the Black chiefs *per se*, but to the Government of the day. Obedience to God and subsequently the (White) authorities formed an integral aspect of religious education. From the above mentioned education of the Black people, was thus perceived not as a process of development of innate potential or skills of learners, but thought of as an instrument which formed passive habits of undirected obedience.

The teaching of obedience at Lemana Institution to the converts, favoured the resident White people who lived mainly in the rural areas of the Sponken District (close to the present Louis Trichardt). White people knew that the labour force that they had on their farms had to be loyal and obedient. This approach was enhanced by the policy of *apartheid* of the National Party Government which emphasised that Black people had to accept unquestioningly their lowly positions which were believed to be in the rural areas. This aim was to be further achieved by the education that Black

people received, as reflected in the 1953 Bantu Education Act, and subsequent Acts reflecting separate development.

3.6.4 Vernacular

In general the teaching of the vernacular at training colleges was not regarded as important, since more emphasis was placed on English, and later Afrikaans. However, the major problem which many missionaries faced, was the fact that they did not understand the indigenous languages. It was not until 1924 that the teaching of vernacular in the Transvaal mission schools became a serious endeavour, after the Department of Education had issued the following circular to Black Teacher Training Institutions:

The primary school syllabus lays down that the vernacular should be used in the lowest classes. As long as no provision existed for instruction in native languages in the training or examination of students this direction is unlikely to be fully effective. It is therefore, essential that provision be made in every training institution in at least one native language (Transvaal Education Department 1924:1).

The Swiss Mission had long taken a resolution that teaching at elementary level in vernacular was important (Transvaal Missionary Association 1907[b]:10). In his letter to the Superintendent of Educational Department, Fabian Ware and the Inspector of Native Schools, Rev Clarke, Rev A Junod substantiated this resolution by pointing out that:

The heathen boy coming from his kraal, not knowing a word of English, is treated just as an English born child. He is meant, from the first year, Substandard A, to read intelligently from an Easy Reading Primer....On the other hand, not a word is said about his own language. It seems however that he ought to know first of all to read it (vernacular) and to write it (Junod 1906:2).

It is worth mentioning, that Lemana was dominated by the Matshangane (Tsonga) and the Basutho (BaPedi) tribes (Transvaal Education Department Reports 1926-1930), and that even though vernacular was as an important subject which was to be a medium of instruction at elementary level of primary schools, it was taught by the least qualified (in this case Black) "teacher", since there was no qualified teacher to teach Sepedi (Northern

Sotho). The teacher called Mr Mongalo, a third-year student at Lemana, was requested to assist in teaching Standard Six at Lemana Practising School and Sepedi in particular at the College (Transvaal Education Department Report 1925:1). It was expected of this teacher (Mr Mongalo) to teach his fellow students Northern Sotho, for that matter, at a tertiary institution of which he was a student. Although the Swiss missionaries stressed the importance of introducing vernacular at elementary level as early as 1907, teachers who taught vernacular were not always adequately qualified which meant that Black people in the rural areas were taught by teachers who were inexperienced, which impacted negatively on Black education. Nevertheless, the Swiss missionaries were the main teachers of the indigenous people in the former Northern Transvaal.

3.6.5 Arithmetic

Arithmetic was another subject which was regarded as important at teacher training courses presented at Lemana. Arithmetic, after 1929 in the first-year of study, included the following: notation and numeration, simple and compound rules, addition, subtraction, multiplication, division and reduction of the more common weights and measures. In the second-year course there was extension of the first-year course with the inclusion of fractions, simple proportion, practice and making out of tradesman's bills. Black people were thus prepared in line with trades, to enable them to become good tradesmen in the field of manual work. The content of these subjects reflected not only the notion of preparing Black people for lowly positions, but also the necessity to teach Black people these skills in especially rural areas.

Decimal fractions, compound proportions, averages and easy operations involving percentages were dealt with in the third-year level (Syllabus of work for students...:1). To pass arithmetic a student was expected to obtain a minimum of 35 percent (Transvaal Education Department 1928:1).

3.6.6 History and geography

The syllabus of South African history for a three-year teachers' course, was demarcated according to the following time frames:

First-year level: 1652-1828

Second-year level: 1829-1918

Third-year level: The whole of South African history, and history of the British Empire (Transvaal Education Department 1918:2).

The history of South Africa was believed to have started in 1652, when the White settlers arrived at the Cape of Good Hope. Education planners and the missionaries of the time, undermined the historiography of Black people and regarded it as heathen. The "history" that was taught at Lemana, just like any other missionary institution, was characterised by elements of superiority and subordination. This was confirmed in what was written in *Inkundla ya Bantu* (quoted in Molteno 1984:66) and the following were mentioned:

Today, the system of African education ... is such as to prepare the African for an inferior type of citizenship. Take history. The history taught in our schools drills into the mind of the African child the idea that in all our fights with the whiteman, the whiteman was in the right and that our forefathers, who fought for their independence and their freedom, were the villains in the whole story.

Fraser (1925:516) further points out that the teaching of history was a learning of names and dates, and it depicted a life of a tribe which was in a distant epoch. The study of Black laws, customs and constitution, showing how society as a whole was preserved, was not reflected in the subject history.

The following content was prescribed for the subject, geography:

First year: shape and sizes of the Earth, the continents and oceans, Transvaal (Drawing map of South Africa from memory and marking the position of the Transvaal).

Second year: Situation of the principal countries of Africa and their capitals, British South African, surface features etc.

Third year: Situation of principal countries of the world and their capitals. (Syllabus of work for students...:3-4).

The teaching of history and geography was predominantly Euro-centred, with local South African history and geography receiving scant attention. Pupils

who came from the rural areas knew nothing about, for example, their climate; whereas they knew a lot about the climate, oceans, mountains, etc. of the European countries. Kgware (1973:14) supports this fact in the following way:

The missionaries, who were products of Western education, found it easier to teach what they already knew. African children learnt more about countries and peoples in far-away Europe than about their immediate environment, human and natural.

Missionary education, and the subjects taught thereby, played a role in alienating the Black child from his/her own society which was, and is still in many cases rural in nature.

3.6.7 Practical subjects

Black people were prepared to perform manual and agricultural work through subjects such as agriculture, woodwork, needlework and domestic science. These subjects formed an integral part of the curriculum at Lemana College.

3.6.7.1 Industrial instruction and manual labour

There was a mutual understanding between the Education Department and Mission authorities with regard to the inclusion of courses related to manual labour in the curriculum of the Black people. In a letter which was addressed to Lemana Institution, the Department of Education stated in 1905 that the

government is not likely to act harshly towards any institution that has been co-operating heartily with it in a work that is of joint advantage (Transvaal Education Department 1905:3).

The establishment of industrial classes was a precondition and a recommendation, before the Education Department could allocate quarterly grants to schools under its jurisdiction. It was also an entrance precondition before any candidate could be admitted to Lemana Training Institution. Large sums of money were approved for the exclusive use for the provision of material for industrial equipment. For example, in 1907 a grant to an amount

of £50 was appropriated for the purchasing of industrial equipment to be used at Lemana (Lenoir 1907:1).

There were several reasons for the inclusion of practical subjects in the curriculum. One was that missionaries were often accused of making Black education too literary oriented and "bookish". The liberal educationist Charles Loram (Davis 1976:91), also spoke against academic education for Black people, which he condemned as a "bookish affair", and almost entirely tinged with the White's man outlook. Rev Junod (1902:5), made similar claims by propagating that:

The head of the native is not able to sustain the strain of mental study so well as the heads of the Whites. He has not been accustomed for generations to school attendance and mental work, and would be apt very quickly to get headaches, nervous exhaustion arising from overstudy if he has not as a diversion the bodily exercise of outdoor work.

A few months after the opening of Lemana Training Institution, Rev Junod, then Superintendent of Lemana, told the Inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal in a letter that:

The necessary stress will be laid on the value of manual labour....I may add that besides, pupils are daily occupied for 2 to 3 hours with various manual occupations (Lenoir 1906:3).

Among the branches of subjects proposed for inclusion in the syllabus, was working in the field which was regarded as profitable to students of the Black population. The use of carpenters' and builders' tools were regarded as some of the most important elements of manual work. That was the reason why Mr Murray, then Sub-Native Commissioner, when officially opening Lemana Training Institution, mentioned that the Black people should both do intellectual and manual labour, for not only were books to be handled in the schools, but tools as well (*Zoutpansberg Review* 1906:1).

Industrial training at Lemana was intensively done at third-year level. Boys did carpentry work, whereas girls did needlework. In the carpentry work boys were taught how to use tools, saws, planes, rulers, gauges, and

chisels (Lemana Training Institution 1918:1). These were tools appropriate for use by the Black people in the rural areas.

According to missionaries at the Swiss Mission, Black people were to receive an education which would have suited them as a rural population. The work that was to be done by the Black people in the rural areas, according to the Swiss missionaries, did not require an emphasis on academic content, but rather an education which emphasised a practical content. There was a division of labour based on race; that is mental labour and physical labour, with people in the rural areas (predominantly Black people) being associated with physical labour. This formed a basis for what had to follow in the later years, especially after the enactment of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, that there was no place for Black people in the White community above the level of certain forms of labour (cf 2.5.2.1). In their own rural communities, Black people had the latitude to progress while in White people's communities they could not develop beyond a certain level. This level was that of performing physical labour.

In 1927 the Transvaal Education Department agreed to the establishment of a Domestic Science School at Lemana. Girls were taught the drawing of patterns, patching, darning, button holes and practice in mending clothes (Lemana Training Institution 1918:1). The syllabi which were followed in Lemana Domestic Science School, was the same as that of the Transvaal Education Department, which also included the following aspects: sewing and knitting, cleaning of rooms, washing and the care of clothes, cooking and kitchen-work and general domestic work (Transvaal Education Department 1915:43).

Although the Domestic Science School at Lemana was officially approved by the Transvaal Education Council in 1938, it had already started operating in 1934. It was renamed thereafter, and was called Lemana Industrial School (Transvaal Provincial Council 1938:1).

The Swiss missionaries brought along Western ideas that the place of a woman in society is in the home. Women were to be trained as wives, mothers or servants. Black women, residing predominantly in rural areas, could not get involved in politics or the economy of the country. According to Cock (1980:288), the education of Black women was largely aimed at

socialisation into domestic roles, both in their homes and as servants in other people's homes. Christie (1986:82) is of the opinion that the inclusion of domestic skills in the curriculum of the girls at missionary schools, encouraged sexual discrimination both directly and indirectly.

3.6.7.2 *Agriculture and woodwork*

One of the many practical subjects that was taught at missionary schools was agriculture. D D T Jabavu, a leading Black educationist, maintained that agriculture was "the most important thing in the Native life" (Brookes 1924:467). Further support of this idea, came from Loram (1917:5) who pointed out that Black people were a rural people and that their future lay in the countryside, and this necessitated to the study of agriculture.

The teaching of agriculture at Lemana was unavoidable. In a letter written to the Rev F A Cuendet, the then Superintendent of Swiss Mission, Loram (1923:1) mentioned the following with regard to agriculture:

I must confess to a little disappointment at the restricted nature of the instruction in agriculture....I shall do my best to get the government to establish an agricultural school in the district but what I have suggested above should be for the school pupils and the teachers to achieve.

The teaching of agriculture at Lemana included the following: growing of ordinary agricultural crops, cultivating with ordinary implements; planting of trees; gardening; combatting and controlling weeds, and the rotation of crops. These were ordinary components of agriculture as a subject which the Swiss Missionaries believed that the Black young people, who resided in the rural areas, needed. Both theoretical and practical aspects of this subject were taught by Mr Thomas. A total of nine hours per week was allocated to the teaching of this subject at mission institutions in the Transvaal. Woodwork also formed an integral part of the syllabi at Lemana. Woodwork comprised of basket and mat weaving and it was also allocated nine periods per week (Transvaal Education Department 1926).

It is important to note that, on the whole, education of the Black people cannot be planned in such a way as to persuade young people to stay in the rural areas by teaching them subjects such as agriculture and woodwork in

the formal school system. According to Hartshorne (1989:20-21) Black people did not require a narrow "skills and training" approach to education, determined by industrial, commercial or agricultural interests, or limited by either urban or rural environments, but an education that would enable all young people, whatever their origins, to *cope* with the problems of life and living, as individuals in the difficult and *changing* South African society.

3.6.8 Extramural activities

3.6.8.1 *Physical training and sports*

Physical training at Lemana constituted an important element in the syllabi of the institution. At Lemana, physical training was not aimed at *mens sana in corpore sano* (a sound mind in a sound body), but at producing precision and smartness of movement (Syllabus of work for Students...:5).

Sports played an important role at Lemana and in its curriculum. On arrival at Lemana, students were distributed into four groups or "houses". Students grouped into houses competed against each other. This categorisation into groups encouraged each house to compete diligently with the aim of winning at the end of the competition. To motivate a house which had won the overall competition, a floating trophy, the "Hurlimann Shield", was awarded for a period of one year. The four houses at Lemana were: the Livingstone House, Aggrey House, Washington House and Khama House.

Livingstone House was named after David Livingstone, a dedicated missionary who fought against the slave trade. This house comprised of 10 girls and 20 boys. Many of the boys in this house were young. The house chief in 1934 was Christoph Mageza and the motto was – "Praise God: Work Hard" (Mageza 1934:11).

The Aggrey House was named after Rev Aggrey, a missionary in the West African countries. Their motto was "Joyful and Useful". Mahlatjie, the House Chief observed that the young men in this house were full of zeal and courage whereas their young ladies were "up-to-date" (Mahlatjie 1934:11). In March 1934, during an Inter-House competition, the Aggrey House was awarded of the Hurlimann Shield (Lemana Training College Magazine 1934:7).

Washington House formed part of the four houses at Lemana. It was named after Booker T Washington, the famous Afro-American leader. This House was not regular at inter-house competitions since illness had disabled most of its prominent members to participate. The motto of the House was "Try Your Best". The total membership in 1934 comprised of 11 girls and 19 boys. Their House Chief was W B Fernandez (Fernandez 1934:11).

In honour of King Seretse Khama of Botswana, one of the houses at Lemana was called Khama House. Its motto was "Steady but Sure". This House had outstanding competitors in high jump and long jump. Emmy Johnson jumped four and half feet in high jump whereas Mageza did 14 feet in long jump. Its House Chief in 1934 was T D Jeleni (Jeleni 1934:12).

Lemana was not only concerned with athletics, but soccer also played an important role. In May 1934 the Lemana Football Team was beaten 6-0 by Grace Dieu. In October, of the same year, Grace Dieu Football Team drew with Lemana with two points each (Lemana Training College Magazine 1934:6).

It was felt that the benefits of sports would have a direct influence on the lives of the Black people. The missionaries also believed that for a race to grow strong and healthy in a civilised way, sports in one form or the other needed to be practised wholeheartedly. Sports also had something to do with the *morality* of the Black people. The missionaries believed that morality which was brought about by sports would instil values of courage, perseverance, patience and obedience in the lives of the Black (rural) people in the sense that it will instil the spirit of humility which would transform the Black people's practices and values which were regarded by the missionaries as barbaric.

There were also youth movements which had links with the wider community. Lemana Institution introduced Pathfinders for boys and Wayfarers for girls, which provided a well-structured organisation for the youth. These organisations were based on Christian values and principles. Girls who joined the Wayfarers were taught skills in first-aid, sewing, knitting, laundry, housework and interpreting, whereas boys in Pathfinders were involved in activities such as singing, games and drilling (Lemana Training College Magazine 1936). The emphasis of Christian principles in youth activities like

Wayfarers, is explained by Gaitskell (1975:224), these activities "reiterated Christian teaching and the social and spiritual influence of school."

The introduction of Youth Movements at Swiss Mission schools did not only extend to the spiritual and education spheres of the rural community, but provided a controlled solution to the problems of social disintegration and destruction of traditional life or tribal practices of the Black people, predominantly residing in the rural areas of the former Northern Transvaal.

3.6.8.2 *Students' Christian Association*

Lemana regarded the teaching of Jesus Christ as important and therefore the establishment of a Student Christian Movement was appropriate. Students formed the Christian Association where they could participate in Bible Studies and share the Scriptures together. Complete and detailed information about this Association is contained in an undated and unpublished manuscript entitled, "Constitution of Lemana Training Institution – Students' Christian Association". The primary objective of the Students Christian Association was the advancement of the Kingdom of God in the institution itself, the community and throughout the world.

Its membership consisted of active members and the honorary members. Active members were defined as those students who have accepted the Lord Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour, and also who desired to advance the Kingdom of God (Constitution of Lemana Training Institution[b]:1). The active members were elected by a two-third vote present at the meeting and it was only this category of members who were allowed to vote or hold office in the Association. Honorary members consisted of those whom the Association desired to honour in this way.

The officers of the Association comprised the honorary president, a president, a vice-president, a secretary, a vice-secretary and a treasurer (Constitution of Lemana Training Institution[b]:2). Office bearers were expected to hold office for six months.

The missionaries believed that for Black people to come out of their barbaric practices, they needed to spend most of their time taking part in religious activities. Thus, the Black people could not fully participate in the political,

social and economic activities within their communities, which were in most instances rural.

3.7 CONTROL AND ADMINISTRATION

3.7.1 External control

Lemana Mission Station was controlled by a body outside of South Africa namely, *Conseil directeur de la Mission Suisse dans l'Afrique du Sud* (The General Committee of the Swiss Mission in South Africa) operating from Switzerland, and it was the supreme authority responsible for Lemana College (Constitution of the Lemana Training Institution[a]:1). Although this Council controlled the Mission Station, the educational side of Lemana Institution was subject to the provincial and state authorities (cf 2.3).

3.7.2 Local administration

The General Committee of the Swiss Mission in South Africa entrusted its tasks of seeing that the work in the Swiss Mission schools proceeded well to the *Conférence missionnaire du Transvaal* (The Transvaal Missionary Conference). The Transvaal Missionary Conference consisted of an Executive Committee which was called *Commission Administrative du Transvaal* (The Transvaal Executive Committee). This Committee was responsible for the finances and other related business affairs of the Swiss Mission stations in the Transvaal. It acted also as a governing body at Lemana. It was also the responsibility of the Transvaal Executive Committee to appoint members who were to serve in the Lemana Advisory Committee whose main function it was to advise the superintendents of the Swiss Mission stations (Constitution of the Lemana Training Institution[a]:1).

3.7.3 Superintendents

Superintendents in this study refers to the principals of mission institutions with boarding facilities. The superintendent at Lemana was not only the manager, but also the principal who also acted as the clergyman. From all accounts it was clear that he discharged clerical duties – converting and evangelising the Black people. Secondly, he was an administrator of the

college. The major functions of the superintendents at Lemana included the following:

- ◆ to co-ordinate the life of the Institution and to see that all its different activities work together harmoniously to achieve the aim of Lemana;
- ◆ to represent Lemana before the Transvaal Education Department and all other public bodies;
- ◆ to be responsible for the finance and general management of the Institution;
- ◆ to handle the admittance of all new students, or the suspension or expulsion of students on account of their behaviour (Constitution of the Lemana Training Institution[a]:1).

The appointment of superintendents at Swiss Mission Schools (Lemana included) were done indiscriminately and did not require any special qualification. Some schools which were under the leadership of these superintendents, according to Mpapele (1936:2), had been lagging behind in terms of the provision of quality education for about fifty to sixty years, since many of the superintendents in the Swiss Mission schools were not education specialists – they lacked acquaintance with the theory and practice of education which, in many instances, impacted negatively on the provision of education. It goes without saying that children in the rural areas of South Africa were the most seriously affected and disadvantaged by the appointment of most of these superintendents due to the fact that their educational background was, in many instances, lacking.

The following table indicates the superintendents at Lemana from its inception until 1952.

Table 3.1 Superintendents at Lemana from 1906 to 1952

Year	Superintendent
1906-1908	D P Lenoir
1908-1909	A de Meuron
1909-1912	E Thomas
1912-1919	A Eberhardt
1919-1920	F A Cuendet
1920-1921	H Thomas ¹²
1921-1931	F A Cuendet
1931-1936	R Cuenod
1936-1937	P T Leresche
1937-1939	A A Jaques
1940-1941	F A Cuendet
1941-1946	A A Jaques
1947	F A Cuendet
1947-1948	P T Leresche
1949-1950	S G Organe
1950-1952	B Terrisse

Cuendet 1966:2

3.8 TEACHING STAFF

The staff who taught at Lemana since its establishment are divided into two historic periods – the period when it was situated at Rossbach (1906-1921), and the period after it had been transferred to the new site at Elim (1922-1953).

¹² The first six superintendents headed Lemana for fifteen years, whilst it was situated at Rossbach (1906-1921). Rev Lenoir was the first superintendent of the college, whereas Rev Thomas was the last Superintendent while Lemana was still at Rossbach.

3.8.1 Period 1906 to 1921

Rev D P Lenoir was the Principal of Lemana for two years (1906-1908). Teachers attached to Lemana during this period were Mr Jules Dentan (industrial teacher) and Mr Jules Pochard (provisional teacher). Mr Pochard, who replaced Miss J Jacot, was unqualified and he had to remain temporarily appointed until a qualified teacher could be found (Lenoir 1906:1). Rev Lenoir was Superintendent until 1908 when he was replaced by Rev A de Meuron and he worked only for a year. Between the years 1909 and 1912, Rev Eugene Thomas was the superintendent. The industrial teacher, Mr Dentan indicated that he wanted to terminate his services at Lemana and he was replaced by Mr Liengme. In 1912 Rev Eugene Thomas passed away and he was replaced by Rev A Eberhardt. D C Marivate (1934:1) defined the character of Rev Eberhardt in the following way:

He was to his student's eyes a paragon of the virtues. He represented a true example of a follower of Jesus Christ. No student noticed any weakness in him. He was firm, of one word, and never changed what he said, he could be trusted.

Cuendet (1934:5) defined Eberhardt as a man of faith, who had put all his hope in Jesus Christ; and his teachings and his advice in the whole of his life bore the mark of these sentiments and convictions. Teachers during the superintendency of Rev Eberhardt included the following members: Rev H Thomas, Miss F Fouche, Mrs S B Fleming, Mr S H Fleming and Miss I Nicholls. In 1919 Rev Eberhardt and his wife retired to their homestead, at Mountain-Rill where he served as the secretary of Elim Mission Hospital and as a teacher in the Evangelist and Pastoral Schools (Cuendet 1934:5).

In 1919 Rev Cuendet took over as the Superintendent of Lemana, but before the end of 1920 he went to Switzerland. Rev H Thomas was requested to act whilst Rev Cuendet was on leave. In 1921 Rev Cuendet returned and resumed his duties as a superintendent. In the same year, a new teacher, Miss Bory joined Lemana staff.

From the above mentioned it can be noted that most of the teachers at Lemana Training Institution were White people (cf 3.8.2). These teachers employed at this institution were not always in contact with the Black

students' needs, because of cultural differences that existed between Black people and White people. Black people residing in the rural areas were generally denied opportunities to have contact with teachers who knew their culture and traditional beliefs. Pienaar (1990:108) further points out, that in case of the few Black teachers that were present at Lemana, there were tensions between the White teachers and the Black teachers on account of segregation. These tensions mainly affected Black people coming from the rural areas, because they did not have alternative institutions to go to, when the institution experienced these negative conditions.

3.8.2 Period 1922 to 1953

Rev Cuendet was the Superintendent from 1922 to 1931. At the beginning of 1923 Mr Eadington joined the Lemana staff as an English teacher whereas Mr H Thomas went away on leave. In July 1923 Mr S H Fleming took a term of leave to Switzerland. Immediately after the departure of Rev Cuendet, Rev Cuenod who was a minister of religion at Elim Mission Station, was requested to take the post of Superintendent at Lemana. In July 1935 Mr Stegmann, a son of a missionary and a dedicated Christian, also joined the Lemana staff (Mabunda 1995:88).

Since it was customary for superintendents and teachers at Lemana to take leave to Switzerland, Rev Cuenod also did the same in 1936. Unfortunately, when he returned, his post had been permanently given to Rev A A Jaques¹³ (Mabunda 1995:89). At the beginning of the 1946 academic year, Rev L. Martin and Doctor S Jaques joined the staff of Lemana. Rev Jaques terminated his services in 1946. In 1947 Rev P T Leresche was appointed as Acting Superintendent until 1948.

According to the 1947 Annual Returns, the following teachers were attached to Lemana: Mrs Bauristhene, Mr Lowry, Mr de Klerk, Miss Jaques, Miss Bruncweiler, Mr Ntsan'wisi and Miss Guye (Quarterly Returns, 8 June 1947).

¹³ Rev P T Leresche was appointed as Acting Superintendent for the period 1936 to 1937, while Rev Cuenod was on leave to Switzerland.

Rev Leresche retired at the end of 1948. In 1949, Rev Organe took over the reigns. The teaching staff during Rev Organe's superintendency included the following: Mr D F Malan, Mr Rapson, Miss Bauristhene, Miss Hurlimann, Miss Symes, Miss du Toit, Miss Ulrich and Mr Mpai (Quarterly Returns, 17 January 1949). Rev Organe terminated his services in 1950, and Rev Terrisse replaced him until 1952. The following teachers were added to those who were recorded in January Quarterly Returns of 1949: Mr Malan, Mr Holtz, Mr Van der Walt, Miss Hurlimann, Miss Symes, Miss du Toit, Miss Ulrich, Brunschweiler, Miss Martin, Mr Mlati, Mr Mpai, Mr Mahlatjie and Ms Dziohane (Quarterly Returns, 12 December 1951).

Although the actual teacher-pupil ratios at Lemana Institution could not be established in the records to the disposal of the researcher, Behr and MacMillan (1971:394), point out that generally the teacher-pupil ratios at many mission schools were high. It has also been established by the Welsh Commission (SA [U] 1936:38) that most of the Black teachers at the rural mission schools were in many instances unqualified or underqualified.

3.9 STUDENTS

3.9.1 Admission Requirements of students at Lemana

Students admitted to Lemana College, were expected to satisfy certain conditions. The following entrance requirement conditions at Lemana Training Institution were imperative:

- (i) All candidates must have reached the age of 15 years before entering the training course and must be able to produce a certificate of character and good conduct from their missionary or other White patron.
- (ii) Before entering on the course of training intending students must either show evidence that they have passed standard three of the Native Education Code within the prescribed twelve months, or pass satisfactorily a preliminary examination of equal difficulty.
- (iii) All students on entering their course of training as Teachers must sign an undertaking to devote themselves for three years consecutively after the completion of their course of training, in Native Schools subsidised by the

Government, under penalty of refunding whatever sums may have been expended by Government on their training.

- (iv) The training course for male students will extend over a period of three years, provision being made in that time for systematic training in one industrial subject approved by the Transvaal Education Department. The course for females will extend over a period of at least three years and will include satisfactory training in Needlework or such other industrial subjects as approved by the Transvaal Education Department.
- (v) At the end of each year the departmental examination will be based on the approved syllabus of the institution and candidates must pass this test satisfactorily before proceeding to the next stage of the course.
- (vi) No certificate will be issued to any teacher who has not qualified satisfactorily in the industrial as in other subjects of instruction. Only a provisional certificate will be granted to any teacher until further notice (Swiss Mission Training Institution:1; Native Teachers Training Institution:2).

Students were not only expected to satisfy the admission requirements, but they had to satisfy the following rules and regulations, as were set out in the code of conduct of Lemana College:

- (i) Every student already engaged to be married before his entering the Institution, was to give immediate notice of the fact to the Principal.
- (ii) Students were not expected to become engaged during the time of their studies, exception might be made for students in the last year of their course of training, provided they did so with the knowledge and approval of the Principal. In such cases correspondence would not be allowed more than once a month on both sides.
- (iii) Correspondence with girls than real sisters was prohibited.
- (iv) The Principal reserved to himself the right of inspecting letters dispatched and received. This did not apply to correspondence of Missionaries or other White Patrons with students.

- (v) Students failing to observe the rules of the Institution with regard to their relations with the other sex, would be punished. Insubordination on this point, with or without serious moral fault, would lead to serious expulsion.
- (vi) Students expelled from one Institution would not be received in any other similar Institution, without special recommendation of the Principal.
- (vii) Students were not permitted to leave the boundaries of the Institution grounds, without the approval of the Principal or his substitute.
- (viii) As a rule, students were not allowed to visit their parents or relatives in the neighbourhood more than once a month except on cases of illness where authority has been given.
- (ix) Visitors to students were first to introduce themselves to the Principal.
- (x) Students were not allowed to accommodate visitors for a night, nor give nor receive food at school, without the knowledge of the Principal.
- (xi) The use of tobacco (and any other intoxicating substance) under any form was prohibited.
- (xii) English was to be spoken by the students while in the Institution exception been made on Sundays (Constitution of the Lemana Training Institution[a]:1).

From the above mentioned rules and regulations at Lemana, several inferences can be drawn. These rules and regulations were in many instances, *anti-social*. For instance, students were barred from making contact with the neighbourhood community, the relationship between the local community and students was poor and students were not allowed to visit their parents more than once per month. These rules and regulations of the Swiss Mission Society created a cultural isolation between the students and the neighbourhood which encouraged cultural discontinuity. Black students coming from the rural areas were affected by these rules and regulations in the sense that they could not easily synthesise that which they were taught at school with the everyday activity as experienced at home since they were isolated from the local people and the culture of the Black people.

The admission requirements at Lemana Institution in 1910 was Standard Six. In 1912 it was raised to Standard Seven. These low minimum requirements to the teacher institution had a negative effect to provision of Black Education in the rural areas. Students entering the teacher-training course with these low admission requirements produced many teachers at the end of each academic year who were not well-qualified. The result was that it could not be expected of poorly qualified teachers to provide quality education. Black people in the rural areas were thus disadvantaged by these low admission requirements to teacher training institutions.

The sixth condition (cf vi above) of the admission requirements for Lemana, further emphasised the importance of passing industrial instruction as a precondition, before a teacher certificate could be issued. This not only reflected the importance of manual labour as a component of the curriculum at Swiss Mission Schools (cf 3.6.7), but also the need to train teachers in subjects that would prepare learners for a specific role in society. In this instance teachers were prepared to teach pupils in subjects which would either prepare Black people to fulfil inferior jobs in White society, or else within their own society (that is, a rural one).

3.9.2 Enrolment and examinations

Since the establishment of Lemana Institution in 1906, there was a steady increase in the number of students. According to Brookes (1925:15), the Swiss Mission regarded this increase, as proof of the reputation of Lemana Institution among the Black people. Table 3.3 below shows the enrolment of students at Lemana Institution for the period 1906 until 1947. After 1945 the enrolment decreased drastically because the annual cost of education for Black people increased and the Government of the day expected parents to make substantial financial contribution towards education of their children. In most cases, parents could not afford to make that financial contribution.

Table 3.2 Enrolment at Lemana (1906 to 1947)

Year	Total enrolment
1906	8
1907	14
1916	48
1924	110
1945	400 ¹⁴
1947	95

Cuendet 1966:1; Quarterly Returns June 1935 & Quarterly Returns June 1947.

Since the Transvaal Education Department made financial grants to various mission societies, every student was expected to sit for the final examination at the end of every academic year. The examination question papers were set by the Department, according to prescribed standards in the syllabus and students were expected, after passing the relevant examination, to proceed to the next standard. Unfortunately, not all the examination question papers satisfied the standard and requirements as laid down by the syllabus (Lenoir 1907:1).

In June 1906 the first seven students sat for the final examinations for the first year course called "Third-Year" (A three-year course – cf 3.6.2). Of the seven students who sat for the examination, five passed and two failed. The two failed in dictation, writing and English Grammar and they were therefore expected to repeat their first-year course (Clarke 1906:1). Of the two students who failed their final examination, Mudzamu was given special permission to proceed to the next class since he might have failed due to the discrepancies that were experienced in the examination papers (Lenoir 1907:1). On the other hand given the fact that question papers did not satisfy the standard prescribed by the Department of Education, Black Education during the Missionary period (Lemana included) experienced major problems in terms of quality provision.

¹⁴ In 1945 there were 220 boys and 172 girls who were all boarders. There were approximately 8 students who did not use the boarding facilities (Cuendet 1966:1).

In January 1922, there were 53 students for a three-year course and by July 1923 they had increased to 70. The examination results were respectively as follows:

Table 3.3 Examination results in 1922

Class	1922				1924			
	Total	Passed	Failed	% Pass	Total	Passed	Failed	% Pass
Third year	12 ¹⁵	7	--	58	15	13 ¹⁶	2	87
Second year	16	11	5	69	15	9	6	60
First year	24	11	14	46	40	22	18	55

Bulletin Missionaire 1923:183

From **Table 3.3** it can be observed that the pass rate during the period 1922 to 1924 at Lemana was generally good, which indicated the contribution the Swiss Mission made towards Black education especially in the rural areas.

3.10 FINANCING

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the former Transvaal Government had shown little interest in the education of Black people beyond subsidising the salaries of the teachers in mission schools; Black education, especially in the rural areas, lagged behind. Mission societies and churches contributed substantial amounts of money towards the upkeep of these mission schools which were situated especially in the rural areas (Pells 1938:145).

It was only in 1903 that a system of grant-in-aid in the former Transvaal was introduced. A possible reason for this phenomenon was that the Transvaal

¹⁵ Of the twelve students who sat for the examination, 7 passed and 5 had to sit for supplementary examinations.

¹⁶ Of all the 15 students who sat for final examination on the third-year level, the 13 students who passed were boys.

Education Department required information on the number of Black children in the province (Transvaal Education Department 1904:8). The giving of grants to mission schools, thus made it easier for the authorities to acquire certain information. Governmental Grants to mission schools depended on a number of conditions as set by the Transvaal Education Department. The conditions stipulated that:

- ◆ Each Black mission school had to be under the superintendency of a White missionary or any other person recognised by the government as competent and efficient to exercise control and to act as intermediary with the government in all matters relating to the school.
- ◆ All mission schools were to register with the Transvaal Education Department by the Mission Society concerned on prescribed registration forms.

This change in approach to the Government's financial contribution to mission schools, reflected rather a need for the control of Black education, than a need to approach the education of all its citizens in a fair and equal manner.

The running of Lemana did not only depend entirely on the grants from the Transvaal Education Department, but from the Swiss Mission itself. Students also made contributions in the form of school fees. In 1908, as an example, income for Lemana for that year was distributed as follows:

Table 3.4 Financial Statement for the year ending 31 December 1908

	£	s.	d.
1. Total Government Grant December 31	338	2	8
2. School fees	54	10	-
3. Contributions from the Church Funds	502	1	6
Total	894	4	0

Transvaal Education Department Statement of Account 1908:1-5

From **Table 3.4** above is clear that the Swiss Mission made a substantial contribution towards the education of the Black people which, in 1908, was even more than the Government grants. In 1908, for example, an amount of £338.2.8 was granted to Lemana. This amount was spent mainly on teacher

remunerations (cf **Table 3.4**). It can be noticed that Black people also made a contribution towards the education of their children by means of school fees contributed. Education was never free for Black people who were situated mostly in rural areas in South Africa during this period under review.

It would be interesting, at this stage, to note the approach of the Government of the former Transvaal towards Black education, which was mainly provided to Black people situated in the rural areas. Although grants normally appropriated by missionary schools were insufficient, nevertheless, without these contributions, Black education could have been greatly handicapped.

Parents who could not pay in full the school fees at mission institutions, were expected to make arrangements by either paying after selling stock, or agricultural products. Pells (1938:149) argues that the vast majority of Black people were poor, and poverty made it impossible for them (parents) to provide the necessary funds to equip and maintain school and pay teachers' salaries. These parents were mostly found in the rural areas of South Africa.

3.11 THE TRANSFER OF LEMANA TO BANTU EDUCATION DEPARTMENT ✓

In the early 1950's Black education in South Africa was taken away from the control and management of various missionary bodies and the Provincial Administration, and placed in the hands of a state department – the Department of Native Affairs. As from 1958, the separate and autonomous Department of Bantu Education replaced the Department of Native Affairs (Horrel 1969:2). In 1965 Lemana Institution was closed down and a new Teacher Training College was opened by the Department of Bantu Education in 1969, in the district of Tzaneen, known as the Tivumbeni College of Education. The Tivumbeni College mainly trained students from the former Gazankulu homeland (cf **Map 1.1**).

With the takeover of missionary schools in 1954, Black education entered a new era. The passing of the Bantu Authorities Act No 68 of 1951, and the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953, had a serious impact on missionary education. In 1956 the Swiss Mission had to transfer the administration of Lemana to the Department of Bantu Education.¹⁷

The general aims of the Bantu Education Act were to remedy the difficulties of transforming education for the Black people into a general service which would help in the development of people in their "own" communities; rural communities. In order to achieve these aims, new schools were established in accordance with the needs of each community – the rural community. The *apartheid* ideology that Black people should develop within their own communities was actualised by the introduction of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. Education was one of the many means used to fragment the South African Society into ethnical units. The Black people were to remain in the rural areas and they could be utilised in the urban areas in the form of cheap labour force. Ironically, in both instances Black people were at the losing end. Their own rural communities were poor, thus hamstringing any form of progress and in the predominantly White urban areas they could not prosper.

The Bantu Education Act meant that unequal provision as well as unequal opportunities in education for the Black people should continue to exist. According to Hlatshwayo (1991:90), Black people were the most disadvantaged; in particular Black people who were situated in the rural areas.

3.12 IN SUMMARY

In this chapter, the genesis of education at Lemana College was portrayed. Lemana was one of the Black training institutions situated in the large rural of area of the present Northern Province and it served a rural population, contributed a lot to the educational development of Black people especially the Ba-Pedi, and the Tsonga people. The direct work of the missionaries among Tsonga people, has greatly benefited a high percentage of illiterate people. However, given these positive efforts of missionaries in the

¹⁷ The Swiss Mission still administered the buildings and the farm which they leased to the Department of Bantu Education (Nwandula1987:48).

education of Black people in rural areas, there were a number of shortcomings as well.

Although this situation contributed profoundly to the educational development of rural Blacks in the region, it has been established in this chapter that directly or indirectly Lemana Institution collaborated with the Government of the day. The Government believed that the education of the Whites and that of the Black people should be differentiated. The Swiss missionaries at Lemana were largely in agreement with this belief.

In most cases as was the case at Lemana, the school buildings, furniture and educational equipment were not up to standard. The Black pupils could not enjoy the same provision of free buildings, free equipment and free books, as their counterparts – the White pupils. This had a very serious negative impact on provision of education for Black people in the rural areas.

Religious instruction played an important role in inculcating morals at Lemana. It is probably fair to indicate that in no single case at Lemana Institution have students really been entrusted with supreme administrative responsibilities. Emphasis was placed on the obedience of authority through religious instruction. The Black rural population, in the other words, were taught to obey the authorities without question.

It has also been established in this chapter that there was no representative governance in missionary schools. Parents of students who attended Lemana were not included in governance structures. Lemana Institution, was controlled by outside (White) persons who had very little knowledge and regard for the culture and values of the Black people. No trace was found, in the documents about Lemana, of formal government educational structures which were in place to reflect the culture of the Black people of the region.

The financing of education also remained largely inadequate. The government grants were targeted only at remuneration of teachers, thereby reflecting neglect of mission schools situated predominantly in the rural areas of South Africa. Inadequate State financing placed a heavy burden on the Black rural community seeing that the Black people, being the poorest group of the wider South African society, were expected to make a financial contribution towards Black education.

However, to make general conclusions about the crisis that rural education is in, based solely on an analysis of one mission station in the Northern Province, is not scientifically justified. In the following chapter the Berlin Mission Society, which established many schools in the rural areas of the present Northern Province, will be critically investigated in order to come to a better conclusion.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE BERLIN MISSION SOCIETY: BOTŠHABELO TRAINING INSTITUTION (1865 to 1953)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The Swiss Mission Society was not the only missionary society which operated in the current Northern Province. Several others also did; amongst others the missionaries of the Berlin Missionary Society.

As a continuation of an analysis of the education provided by missionaries to Black people in the rural areas, it is necessary to focus on an example of the Berlin Missionary Society, namely that of Botšhabelo Training Institution. The aim and subsequent objectives of this Chapter are similar to those of the previous one (cf 3.1). However, before proceeding, it is necessary to discuss salient aspects of the origin of the Berlin Mission Society.

4.2 THE ORIGIN OF BERLIN MISSION SOCIETY

The establishment of Berlin Mission Society dates back to 29 February 1824 in Germany. The origin, establishment and expansion of the German Protestant world mission was a direct outflow of the Pietism of the eighteenth century, which was aimed at renewing the devotional ideal in the Protestant religion. The Berlin Mission Society wanted to fulfil this ideal by preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ all over the world (Wright 1971:3).

The first envoys of the Berlin Mission arrived in Cape Town from Germany on 18 April 1834. They were Gustav Adolf Kraut, formerly a clerk in a commercial firm; August Ferdinand Lange, a weaver from Rohrbeck; Reinhold Theodor Gregorowski, a teacher from Kaminkerfelde; Johannes Schmidt; a carpenter from Hochirch, and August Gebel, a theologian from Halle (Zöllner & Heese 1984:15).

In 1860, the Berlin Mission Society in Germany gave an instruction to the Berlin Mission Society in South Africa that mission work among the Swazi of the former Transvaal should be pursued. Rev Alexander Merensky and Rev Heinrich Grützner were designated the task of initiating missionary work

among the Swazi. The two missionaries thought it advisable to visit Lydenburg to enlist the sympathies and secure the protection of the Government of the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* (former Transvaal). From Lydenburg they proceeded to the residence of Umswazi, the paramount chief of the Swazi nation. The Berlin Society missionaries were refused permission by the chief to do missionary work amongst the Swazis (Du Plessis 1965:344). The reason for Umswazi's refusal was on account of what previous missionaries had told him several years before. James Allison, a Wesleyan missionary, had told Umswazi that God wanted to forgive the Swazi nation their sins, and this did not make any sense to Chief Umswazi (Van der Merwe 1984:27).

Seeing that the chief of the Swazi nation had denied permission to Merensky and Grützner to establish a mission school in that vicinity, the two missionaries then proceeded back to Lydenburg. They looked into the possibility of missionary work among the Shangaans and the Ba-Venda. In June 1860, permission was granted to the Berlin Mission Society by the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek*, to proceed with the establishment of mission stations among the Ba-Pedi and the Ba-Kopa tribes who were predominantly found in the rural areas of the former Northern Transvaal, an area now largely situated in the Northern Province.

Merensky and Grützner were received warmly by the Ba-Kopa. It was at Lydenburg that the first Transvaal station of the Berlin Mission Society, was established in 1860 (Van der Merwe 1984:29). The station was named Gerlachshoop, in honour of General von Gerlach, one of the Society's former Directors, whose desire it had always been that mission operations should be undertaken in the domain and under the auspices of the Lydenburg Boers (Du Plessis 1965:345).

During the second half of 1861, Merensky left Gerlachshoop to establish a second mission station in the former Transvaal which was named Kgalatlou. Merensky aimed to proclaim the gospel to the Ba-Pedi tribe who were under the leadership of Chief Sekwati. Grützner was left to continue with the missionary work among the Ba-Kopa tribe.

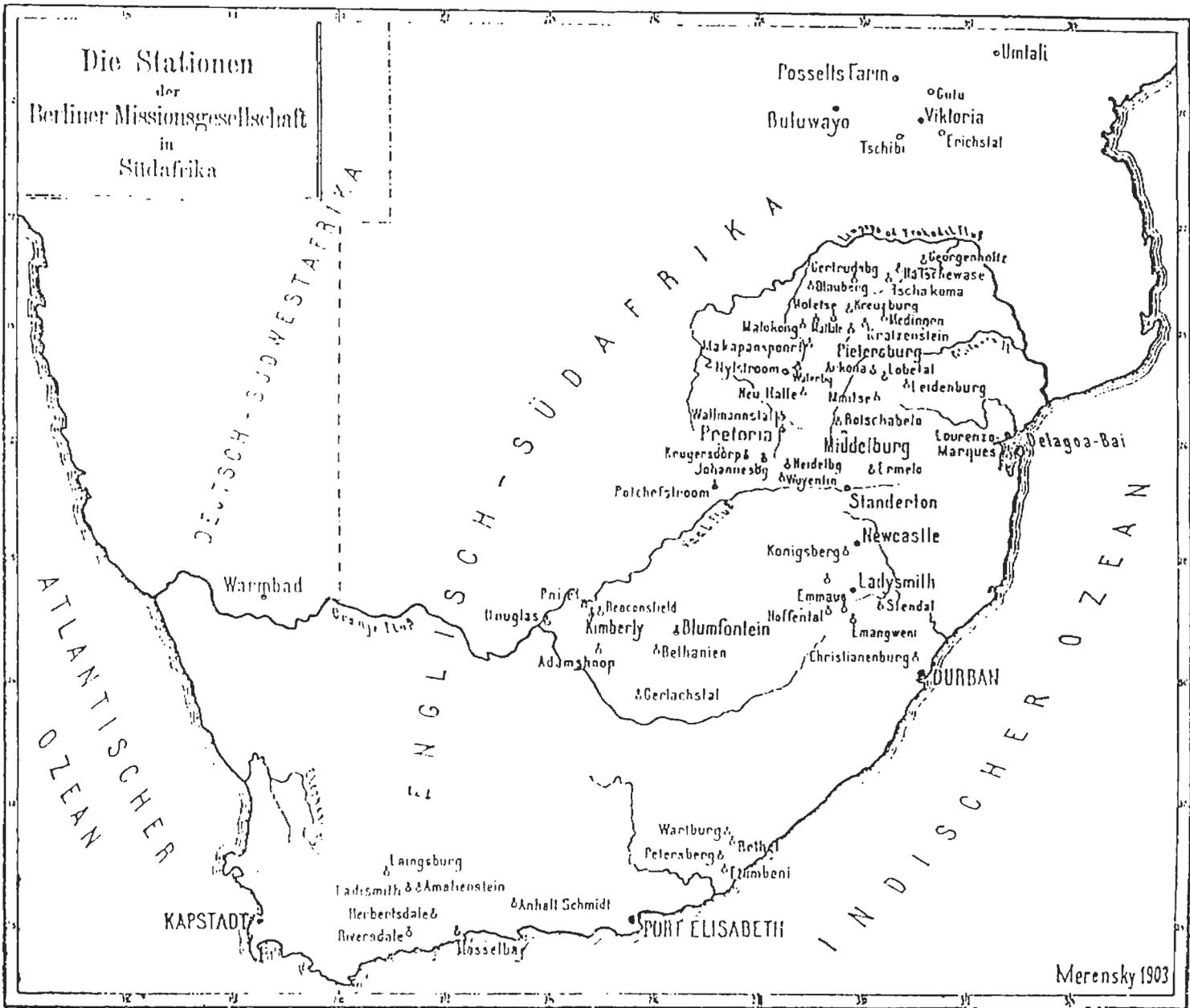
Missionary work among the Ba-Pedi resulted in difficulties and challenges. Immediately after the arrival of Merensky, the old Sekwati died and he was succeeded by his son Sekhukhuni. Sekhukhuni had a hostile attitude towards the missionaries. Du Plessis (1965:347) explained the conditions the missionaries found themselves in, among the Ba-Pedi when he observed that they were

exposed, without food or fire, to the bitter mid-winter frosts; they were beaten with rods; they were driven from Sekhukhuni's territory, and forbidden ever to return. Not content with thus maltreating and banishing his own subjects, the chief ordered the missionaries out of his country.

In 1865 the station at Gerlachshoop was eventually closed and Merensky and Grützner together with their refugees reached Middelburg – a town in the former eastern Transvaal (Engelbrecht 1963:540). Merensky decided to purchase a farm called Boschhoek. The farm was later renamed "Toevlugt" (Botšhabelo – in Northern Sotho) which literally means "A City of Refuge" (Du Plessis 1965:347). Botšhabelo was situated on the banks of the Klein Olifants River, twelve kilometres north-west of the present town of Middelburg. Botšhabelo was one of the most prosperous Berlin Mission Stations in the former Transvaal. It became the model on which the majority of the Society's stations in the rural areas of the former Transvaal was based.

4.3 THE ORIGIN OF BOTŠHABELO TRAINING INSTITUTION

Botšhabelo Mission Station was founded by the Berlin Mission Society in 1865 by Alexander Merensky and Heinrich Grützner. Just like Lemana Training College, Botšhabelo catered for many Black people in the Northern part of the former Transvaal in the area known today as the Northern Province, an area largely characterised as rural. In 1906 Botšhabelo Training College was founded, and in 1907 was registered with the Department of Education. Between 1906 and 1954, Botšhabelo College trained evangelist teachers for the former Lebowa homeland (cf **Map 1.1**) in particular, and for South Africa in general. In 1976 Botšhabelo was eventually closed down and in 1979 it was taken over by the Middelburg Town Council (Keyter 1987:38). An investigation of the educational activities that took place at Botšhabelo follows.



Map 4.1 The Berlin Mission Stations in South Africa

Van der Merwe 1980:2

4.4 THE SCHOOL BUILDINGS AND PHYSICAL FACILITIES

The first church building which was erected at Botšhabelo in 1865, was built with stones and it had a thatched roof. In 1867 it was officially opened. As the number of converts grew larger, a church, which accommodated a membership of up to 2 000, was built and officially opened in 1868. In 1870 the church was further extended to accommodate more members who were added to the church. The church building also served as a lecture room for the training of Black teachers (Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:33).

There were also other important buildings at Botšhabelo. These were the mission houses occupied by the Superintendent and the Fort¹⁸, which served as place of protection for Botšhabelo settlers, when they fled from the attack by Chief Sekhukhuni. Other important buildings which were then established were the school building and two shops. In 1875 a trade school, a book printing shop and later a book-binding shop were erected (Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:41). However, although there were several school buildings erected at Botšhabelo, there was definitely a shortage with regard to accommodation for the students, well into the twentieth century (Mphahlele 1978:185). There were also no essential buildings like a library, laboratory and centre for art and crafts. There was no sufficient space for woodwork students to allow for practical lessons. In the remarks that were made by one of the teachers in a quarterly return to the Department of Education in 1937, the following were mentioned:

The work of the school is most appalling, there is no seating accommodation for pupils. There is no accommodation for the teacher. The building is unfurnished ... the school has the poorest equipment.... (Quarterly Returns 1937:2).

The poor conditions of school buildings at Botšhabelo was due to, among others, the inadequate financing of Black Education in the rural areas. The former Transvaal Government had little interest in the education of Black people. The apathy towards mission schools, especially in the rural areas

¹⁸ The Fort was called "Fort Wilhelm" which was named after the Prussian King William I. The Fort was later known as Fort Merensky after the Simon Van der Stel Foundation made renovations to the building in 1971 (Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:38-39; Van Wyk 1987:42).

was reported by the Welsh Commission (SA [U] 1936:74), who noted that most of the mission schools were scantily furnished and in many cases they consisted of seating accommodation only. Heyneman and Loxley (1983:1162), argue that poor quality of schools to which the children are exposed to, subsequently influence the manner in which the students learn.

4.5 THE EDUCATIONAL AIM

The primary aim of education at Botšhabelo, just like any other missionary school was to evangelise and convert (cf 3.5) the Ba-Pedi tribe, who fled the wrath of chief Sekhukhuni. It was on account of this that the Berlin Mission Society wanted to strengthen the Lutheran Church among the Ba-Pedi in the Eastern Transvaal (Wright 1971:14).

Religious instruction played an important role at Botšhabelo Training College, and was a means of achieving this aim. During the centenary celebration (Jubilee) on the 7 March 1965, reference was made to "the religious traditions of the past". These traditions were carried over from generation to generation. They were explicitly explained in the following way:

Religious traditions of the past were carried on. Religious exercise everyday, morning and evening prayers, compulsory church parade and worship together with the local congregation continued as in the past (Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:69).

Both the Seminary and the College concentrated their efforts on teaching the importance of religious instruction. Even the motto of Botšhabelo which was "*Ntlhahle ke Hlahle*" which means "Lead me that I may lead", was regarded as a prayer. The religiousness at Botšhabelo was reflected even in the motto of the College (Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:69).

A Bible class was also attached to the College which reflected the ^{the crucial role} pivotal role religion played at Botšhabelo. Young teachers who qualified at the College, were expected to remain for another year to receive religious instruction. Their training was regarded incomplete without religious education (Taylor 1928:280).

The aim of education at Botšhabelo, just like at Lemana, was the evangelisation of the Black people (cf 3.5). Evangelisation was closely linked with Western norms and values. The culture of Black people mostly found in the rural areas, was not always taken into consideration because there was hardly ever any doubt among the missionaries, that those indigenous cultural elements had to be replaced by those of the White Christian culture (Gründer 1997:23).

As opposed to this general educational aim, of the Berlin Mission Society with regard to the aim of education, Dr W W M Eiselen¹⁹ (1957:114) advocated that the development of the Black population should be within their communities which are remote and rural; he commented

Die vernaamste gevolg is egter die aard van die opvoedkundige werk van die Duitse sendinggenootskappe in Suid Afrika self. Dit word gedra deur die moedertaalmedium en is daarop toegespits om ontwikkeling binne eie gemeenskap te dien.

This observation by Eiselen, himself the son of a Berlin missionary, reflects a political direction to Black people developing within their own communities, in other words – rural areas. The ideology of Black people developing in their "own" communities was long practised by the German missionaries, before it could become an official Government policy, because they believed each *Volk* or national unit had its own cultural identity. Tribes and nations, therefore, had to be kept apart from each other, so that each *Volk* could remain true to its own cultural identity (Fielder 1996:16). Education was used as a tool to achieve and actualise the ideology of development in one's own community. This affected people who were in the rural areas since they had to develop on their own in these areas.

There was a mutual understanding between the Government and the Berlin Mission Society with regard to the education of the Black people. This fact was further supported by the letter which was addressed to the Minister of Native Education by the Berlin Mission Elders and it stated:

¹⁹ The father to Dr W W Eiselen was a missionary attached to Berlin Mission Society and he (Dr W W Eiselen) was the chairperson of the 1951 Commission on Native Education.

We, the undersigned Elders, Teachers and Native Ministers of the Berlin Mission congregations in Transvaal, most respectfully beg to request the government and both Houses of Parliament of this Colony to vigorously assist us in our struggle against heathenism...by introducing and enacting laws, suitable for Christian Natives, and to interpret same in accordance with Christian principles (Berlin Mission Elders 1909:1).

The quotation above suggested the fact that the missionaries would support legislation that would make the Black people leave their "culture" and "traditions" which, according to missionaries, were barbaric and heathen. The missionaries indirectly indicated that Black people, mostly found in the rural areas, needed to be obedient to authorities.

The German missionaries further believed that:

Political independence of the natives ought not to be too highly rated. It raises many and large difficulties for the mission and it is only too frequently the vehicle of unbroken paganism working in opposition to missionaries (Wright 1971:17).

Dr Eiselen (1957:115) further pointed out ironically that the German missionaries preached the Gospel which was supposed to be unadulterated by politics. According to Fieldler (1996:17), the Government was regarded as the expression of national identity, and had a share in the metaphysical quantities of the *Volk*. Mphahlele (1978:131) indicates that Merensky, a missionary who did much work among the Ba-Pedi in the Northern Transvaal, remained friendly to the Government as long as it promised peace and tranquillity so that missionary work could prosper. That was one of the reasons why, according to Van der Merwe (1980:ii), the Society was reluctant to condemn the Government's racial policies. The aim of education for Black people residing in the rural areas, also had to be free from politics.

4.6 THE CURRICULUM

4.6.1 Religious instruction

Throughout the history of Black people in the missionary era, education has been closely linked to religious instruction (cf 3.6.3). Botšhabelo Institution, just like any other mission school, thus placed a great emphasis on religious instruction. Since religion played an important role in German Missionary schools, the Seminary which catered for the spiritual facets of Botšhabelo inhabitants, was established.

The Botšhabelo Seminary was established in 1878 by Rev Winter. He was also appointed as Principal of the Seminary. Teachers who completed their teachers' courses were expected to train, for a year, as evangelists at the Seminary (Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:58). Reverends P Mars and W Posselt, joined Rev Winter; later on Rev Winter was transferred to Sekhukhuniland. Then Rev Mars succeeded as a Principal later to be followed by Rev Trümpelmann (Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:58).

That a Seminary was established at Botšhabelo, indicated the emphasis of religious education in German Mission schools. This is further endorsed in that after completion of a three-year course which was offered at Botšhabelo, students were expected to do a one-year course in religious education at the Seminary, before they could be appointed as teachers and preachers (cf 4.3). Men who trained from this Seminary

set a high standard of integrity and devotion to duty. They represent the first professional class of men among the Africans in the Transvaal, i.e. men qualified by training and character to serve in the educational field, which at that time was inextricably bound up with preaching in the congregations and with winning converts. In the community they soon occupied well-defined and highly honoured positions (Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:58).

Religious education formed the nucleus of character formation in the lives of the students. It also embraced elements such as character building, morality and good conduct (SA [U] 1951[b]:82). The German missionaries believed that religious education would make Black people achieve this aim.

4.6.2 Vernacular

In 1936 the Welsh Committee recommended that in the Transvaal, the mother tongue be used for at least four years and that it should be extended up to and including Standard Two. The Committee further recommended that (SA [U] 1936:85):

- ◆ In multiple areas Native schools should, wherever possible, be organised on a language basis;
- ◆ Where the provision of separate schools for pupils speaking each of the main languages is impracticable, experiments should be made in re-organising Native schools to be classified as either Zulu, or Sotho- Tswana schools.

Missionaries felt that in order for their work to be more effective and easier, they needed to learn the vernacular of their local community. One of the proponents of the German Missionary Movement, Herder, pointed out that the character of a *Volk* was most clearly manifested in its language. Herder understood that human language shared, to some extent, the qualities of the Divine Word and postulated that "only in his mother tongue could man pray to God" (Fielder 1996:15). It was also believed that

effective missionary work could only be done in vernacular, not only because it could be better understood than any *lingua franca*, but more important because the language reflected the cultural identity of a *volk*... the gospel must be related to this cultural identity (Fielder 1996:16).

Missionaries played an important role in *developing* Black languages (Van der Merwe 1984:166). In 1876 Karl Endemann, one of the German missionaries, made a substantial contribution towards the development of Northern Sotho grammar (Kosch 1992:3). Rev Trümpelmann further encouraged Botšhabelo students to write articles in Northern Sotho and he himself wrote articles in Northern Sotho (Botšhabelo Magazine 1939:11). It had been the belief of the German missionaries that church services should be conducted in the national language, and that the Bible should be translated into vernacular (Fielder 1996:15). According to Mphahlele (1978:99), it is doubtful that there was any other missionary college at that time that could teach Northern Sotho more competently than Botšhabelo.

Botšhabelo was regarded as "the centre for Northern Sotho study and production of literature" (SA [U] 1936:23).

This work would have been valuable if it only meant that vernacular was stressed for the sake of development and not for the attainment of some political ideology. The introduction of vernacular, in many mission schools, had to do with each ethnic group and every ethnic group was associated with its own cultural-identity. It can be said that the German missions promoted ethnicity through stress on the study of vernacular. The ethnic groups which were mainly in the rural areas were mostly disadvantaged in the provision of education and other essential services. German missionaries, stressing the need for cultural preservation did not take the wider implications of their endeavours into consideration. This culture preservation only prepared Black people to function within their own local rural communities, and not within the wider South African context where English and Afrikaans were spoken.

4.6.3 Arithmetic

Arithmetic was one of the subjects which was regarded as important in missionary schools. However, although it was regarded as important it did not form part of the curriculum in the two-year Native Higher Primary Certificate in 1944, because the Black people were often not associated with science subjects (Transvaal Education Department 1944:1). Fortunately, in 1946 the Transvaal Education Department issued another circular in which arithmetic was included as one of the compulsory subjects (Transvaal Education Department 1946:1). At Botšhabelo it was offered in 1946 in both the Lower and the Higher Courses. It was divided into two sections, namely, mental arithmetic (20 marks) and written arithmetic (80 marks).

According to Mphahlele (1978:103), in 1940, out of twelve supplementary examinations, four were in arithmetic, and in 1941 it was the same number out of a total of only seven supplementaries. The reason why many students did not perform well in arithmetic, might be found with the teachers, or with the content itself. In 1951 arithmetic teachers were warned by the Education Department that they should guard against onesided and mechanical drill of the subject arithmetic. On the other hand it was further pointed out by the Education Department, that the content should apply to real things and should have a point of contact with the daily life and experience of the child

(SA [U] 1951[b]:84). The "daily life and experience of the (Black) child" in this instance referred to the rural setting in which Black people in South Africa lived.

Students at Botšhabelo Institution were not always taught arithmetic by means of examples which concretised the subject. Black students, largely situated in the rural areas, did not perform well in arithmetic and this created the idea that Black people were inferior as regards subjects such as arithmetic. However, in the opinion of this researcher, that cannot be scientifically proven (cf Lewis 1999:108-199).

4.6.4 Geography and history

Geography or history was a compulsory subject in both the Higher Teachers' and the Lower Teachers' Courses (cf 3.6.2.2). At Botšhabelo both were offered. In addition to these subjects "history of education" was also offered. Just like at Lemana, the history that was taught at Botšhabelo was characterised by elements of superiority and subordination (cf 3.6.6). In geography emphasis was put on outside European climate, maps, rivers, mountains and oceans. This disadvantaged most of the Black people who came from the rural areas since they could not merge what they learnt at school with everyday life and occurrences.

4.6.5 Practical subjects

The first school to be established at Botšhabelo in 1875, was an industrial school (Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:37). It was officially registered with the Department of Education in 1945, because by then it offered subjects such as agriculture, woodwork, art and crafts and domestic science, which were subsidised by the Transvaal Education Department. Merensky who was nicknamed "Phakiša" which in Northern Sotho literally means "make haste or be quick" was a hard worker when it came to manual work. He requested the Mission Society in Germany to send him artisans. The first artisans to arrive at Botšhabelo, included Lademann, Richter and Sachtleben (Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:37).

The artisans that came from Germany taught several practical subjects to the students at Botšhabelo which included: metalwork, repair-work of ox-wagons and the printing of books, as well as woodwork. From 1937, woodwork was taught by a Black teacher called Mr J Serote (Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:68).

Gardening and agriculture also had its place along with needlework. The following additional practical subjects were offered as examination subjects: penmanship, woodwork, music, mother craft, blackboard work, drawing and practice teaching (Transvaal Education Department 1936:1).

According to the Transvaal Education Department (1924:1), the development of the Black child was to be on agricultural and not on literary lines. This was in line with what Loram (Loram 1917:5) said in 1917, that Black people should be confined to the rural areas where they could graze their flocks and herds. Females were taught the importance of needlework thus reflecting the domestic role that women were to play in their rural communities.

Besides its aim of bringing the gospel to the heathens, the Berlin Mission Society, propagated that their converts had to know how to use their hands in order to do manual work. It was a principle that in case that there was no work at the mission stations, the converts were obliged to look for work on their neighbouring farms or around Lydenburg (Rules and Regulations, Berlin Mission Society:1). In some instances the Black people had to work without being paid any wages.

Training in agriculture and in the different trade occupations, reflected the place the Black teachers, after completion of their teacher training courses, found themselves teaching Black children in rural areas. The objective of training Black people, in manual and handicraft work was to supply in the cheap labour market. The rural people were expected to provide this labour. Black education had to be in line with this objective.

4.6.6 Extramural activities

4.6.6.1 *Sports*

Sports at Botšhabelo only assumed its rightful place after 1937, because generally the physical facilities at Botšhabelo were not adequate (cf 4.3). Even the sports grounds were not suitable for being used as sports fields. With the appointment of Mr W Endemann, in 1936, onto the staff of Botšhabelo, sports developed rapidly. The following sports activities formed an integral part of recreation and leisure at Botšhabelo during and after his time: football, tennis, basketball, boxing, rugby and athletics. The "house system" was also applicable at this college, and they applied it to the sport at Botšhabelo ²⁰.

There was a central committee which was the mouthpiece of the student body, and which co-ordinated the extra-mural activities of the entire institution. The committee was also in charge of the functions which were of interest to boys and girls and they were also responsible for the organisation of the inter-house competitions. The Executive Committee comprised of the chairperson, the secretary, Treasurer and three members from the girls committee²¹, who were students. The Executive Committee met every Wednesday.

This committee's main task was ensure that the sports issues in the College ran smoothly. The committee could not attend to serious administrative responsibilities that affected students generally. Black students were not exposed to managerial and administrative roles which could have been important for the welfare of other students and the (rural) community at large.

²⁰ Males were divided into four houses. Each house elected a captain and vice-captain. At the head was a committee of nine members which was later increased to eleven members.

²¹ Three girls were elected to represent the female hostel on the Central Committee (Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:68).

4.6.6.2 *Students' Christian Association*

One of the most important religious bodies at Botšhabelo was the Student Christian Association (SCA). The main aims of the SCA were stipulated by its secretary, Mr N Th Sekati (1940:18)

- ◆ to be able to preach the gospel;
- ◆ to be cultured people of the future;
- ◆ to be observant of the footsteps of the previous speakers;
- ◆ to decrease hatred and promote justice; and
- ◆ to learn the Bible properly.

The students usually assembled in the hall and special evening services were held for students and staff once a week. Staff members delivered religious lectures to students during these services.²² In this way the SCA flourished. The emphasis of Christian principles in youth activities such as the SCA emphasised the social and spiritual influence the College had on the lives of the Black people, residing in the rural areas, because the Berlin Mission Society believed that religion played a role in converting Black people from their barbaric practices.

4.7 CONTROL AND ADMINISTRATION

4.7.1 External control

Botšhabelo Mission Station was controlled by the Berlin Mission Society in Germany. The Berlin Mission Society was officially established by Neander and nine other persons, including General von Gerlach and Moritz von Bethmann-Hollweg. It was then called "*Gesellschaft zur Befroderung der evangelischen missionen unter den Heiden zur Berlin*" which means "The Society for the Promotion of Evangelical Missions among the Heathen" (Du

²² Bishop P G Pakendorf, who was usually known as "Pack and Go" used to conduct special religious services in English at the College (Trümpelmann:2).

Plessis 1965:211). Although Botšhabelo was controlled by the Berlin Mission Society in Germany, from the educational side, control and management were exercised by the Transvaal Education Department since 1902.

The Berlin Mission Society had a committee which was responsible for the management, administration and organisation of the Mission Society (Van der Merwe 1982:3). It was also responsible for the sending of trained personnel to particular mission stations. The first Chairperson of this Committee, which composed of 20 to 25 members, was General von Gerlach. This Committee was the highest body in the hierarchy of the Mission Society, and was addressed as "*Hochverehrte Herrn und Väter*", which means "Highly Honoured Lords and Fathers" (Van der Merwe 1980:8). It was also referred to as the "Berlin Mission House" (*Das Missionhaus*).

4.7.2 Local control

4.7.2.1 *The Synod of the Southern Transvaal*

Botšhabelo fell directly under the Synod of the Southern Transvaal, which was delegated powers by the Berlin Mission House to supervise activities in South Africa. The Synod of the Southern Transvaal, had a standing committee on educational work, which was comprised of Reverends Sack, Müller, Eiselen and Gottschling, who was the convenor and the chairperson. These men closely watched over the educational work which was done and they gave guidance to all who were at Botšhabelo (Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:62).

Since the workload for the Southern Synod was too heavy because it supervised an extensive area in South Africa, metropolitan areas included, it further delegated responsibilities to a control board or committee²³ to administrate Botšhabelo on its behalf.

²³ The Control Board consisted of the superintendents of the Northern and the Southern Synods of the Berlin Mission, the superintendent of Botšhabelo and the local missionary (Mphahlele 1978:112).

The Synod of the Southern Transvaal was regarded as a local body, which supervised missionary work at Botšhabelo. Local (White) missionaries were members of this body, whereas the Black people did not form part of this control body.

4.7.3 The superintendents

Another important component of local control was the superintendent. The appointment of the superintendent was approved by the Department of Education and such an official remained responsible to the Department as long as he continued to receive allowances from the Department. The main functions of the superintendents at Botšhabelo were the following:

- ◆ the appointment and accommodation of staff-members;
- ◆ the admission of students;
- ◆ the selection and discipline of the students and generally for the proper running of the institution;
- ◆ to act as a direct link between the Department of Education and the Lutheran Berlin Church (Society), and the
- ◆ maintenance of law and order (Mphahlele 1978:119).

There were also separate principals: of the training department; secondary department; primary school; the seminary and the industrial section, who supervised the activities in their respective departments during school hours. Most of the powers, however, were vested in the superintendent. Powers that were delegated to the superintendent were too many and did not make for a democratic approach to governance. There were no student representative bodies which represented the whole student body with regard to general and specific student affairs. The only student bodies present at Botšhabelo were the religious – and sports-oriented bodies. Directly or indirectly, the administrative echelons at the missionary schools, instilled a spirit of subservience to the Black people at Botšhabelo Institution. The following is a list of the superintendents who ran Botšhabelo from 1878 to 1955.

Table 4.1 Superintendents at Botšhabelo

Year	Superintendent
1878-1879	Rev J Winter
1879-1884	Rev P Mars
1884-1889	Rev G Trümpelmann
1889-1890	Rev R G Eiselen
1890-1906	Rev G Trümpelmann
1906-1911	Rev R G Eiselen
1911-1926	Rev Dr P E Schwellnus
1926-1931	Rev S Grosskopf
1931-1932	Rev F Kruger
1933-1937	Rev O Papke
1937-1952	Bishop P G Pakendorf
1952-1955	Mr H D Trümpelmann

The Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:50.

4.8 STUDENTS

The first students to be trained at Botšhabelo were those at the Seminary. In 1883 five students completed their training course and they were appointed as preachers and teachers even though they did not undergo a teacher training course (Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:58).

A three-year teacher training course was introduced at Botšhabelo in the late nineteenth century (1878). The admission requirement to this three-year course, was Standard Three (Evangelical Lutheran Church 1968:60). Since the entrance qualification to this course was low, it would invariably have an impact on the quality of education provided to Black people. This low admission requirement to the teacher institution, contributed to the high rate of underqualified and unqualified teachers which was experienced in the rural areas of South Africa in general, as well as currently in the Northern Province in particular (cf 1.2).

The observation that student teacher admission qualifications were low, is endorsed by the fact that students who could not write or read, or both, were often admitted at Botšhabelo Institution. This is reflected by Rev Eiselen in 1897 (Engelbrecht 1963:542) when he observed:

Omdat die inskrywings in die Opleidingskool in 1897 twee keer soveel was as in 1896, sal dit in die toekoms nie meer moontlik wees om alle aansoeke te aanvaar nie. Dit sal nodig wees om 'n Voorbereidingskool te stig om aan aspirant-leerlinge van die Opleidingskool die nodige voorbereiding te gee, sodat hulle later in staat sal wees om die kursus van die Opleidingskool te volg. Tans word leerlinge by die Opleidingskool aangeneem wat òf nie kan lees nie òf nie kan skryf nie òf nie een van die twee kan doen nie. Baie moet eers nog leer om in die skool te sit.

This observation may be interpreted variously. However, this clearly reflects the situation at that time regarding the level at which teacher training had to be done. It appears that the schooling level of some students accepted at this school were so low that they could not even read or write. This, obviously, led to a lower level of training of teachers, which again negatively impacted on the schooling that these teachers provided. However, the lament by Eiselen is that they needed to establish a preparatory school, to at least first train future students for the training school, since some of these could neither read nor write. They were in need of very elementary training according to Eiselen.

To my mind, this reflects an indifference by both the missionaries as well as the Transvaal Education Department, that teachers of such low level of training, could be pushed into the field of teaching.

The following Table reflects on the enrolment of students at Botšhabelo Institution from 1926 to 1933, since statistics between 1898 and 1916 were not available because the institution was closed due to, the First World War.

Table 4.2 Student enrolment at Botšabelo (1926 to 1933)

Year	Enrolment
1926	3
1927	15
1928	32
1929	31
1930	41
1931	36
1932	46
1933	51

The Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:54.

Students increased almost every year, since the admission requirements to teacher training institutions remained very low. After 1929 the admission requirements were raised. In case of a Lower Teacher Certificate, Standard Six was a minimum requirement, whereas Standard Eight (Form III) was an admission requirement to the Native Higher Primary Certificate (cf 3.6.2.2).

4.9 STAFF

The first principal of Botšabelo Institution was Mr Winter (1878-1879). Among others, the following people were also principals at Botšabelo Training Institution (Engelbrecht 1963:541): Rev G Trümpelmann (1884-1889 and 1890-1906), Rev Eiselen (1889-1890). Other teachers who were associated with this Institution were Rev G Kuhn, Rev Dr J Baumbach, Mr Brune and Rev A Serote. In most cases teachers who taught at Botšabelo were also involved at the secondary school.²⁴

²⁴ As primary education developed in Transvaal, it became clear that the establishment of a secondary school was a necessity. The secondary school was established in 1940 and in 1941 with Theo Endemann, becoming the first principal. At first students were taught as far as the Junior Certificate and then extended to matriculation (Trümpelmann:2; The Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:64).

Botšhabelo was initially dominated by the White staff members. Black teachers at this Institution were in most cases less qualified compared to their White counterparts. According to Mphahlele (1978:158), the Black staff members taught vernaculars such as Zulu, Venda and Northern Sotho. Thus Venda was taught at Botšhabelo by a Black teacher Mr E Makgabo (Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:68). Except for teaching vernacular, Black teachers also offered non-examination subjects, such as music and Scripture and extra-mural activities, the reason for this being that, in most cases, they entered teacher training institutions with low requirements and as a result they were not competent enough to teach many other subjects. The education that was provided to the Black people was inferior, resulting in most Black teachers not being as well-qualified as their White counterparts. **Table 4.3** provides a brief comparison of qualifications between the White and the Black staff members indicating the difference in qualifications.

Table 4.3 Qualifications of staff members at Botšhabelo

Teacher	Year	Qualifications
De Groot C G	October 1936-July 1964	B A; U T D; M Ed;
Makgabo E	January 1931-December 1955	T3 (TVL)
Modiba P	August 1944-December 1956	Matric; H P T C
Nkobi S	February 1944-December 1956	B.A; H P T C
Taljaard J	January 1951	B A; N T D; Agric Diploma

The Evangelical Lutheran Church 1965:51-53; Mphahlele 1978:158.

4.10 FINANCING

Up to the end of the nineteenth century, all educational services that were provided to the Black people in the former Transvaal, were largely financed and run by the churches. It was only at the beginning of the twentieth century that the state showed an interest in the education of the Black people (cf 2.4.3). Botšhabelo did not only depend on the funds from Berlin Lutheran Mission Society, but also on state-grants and subsidies; school fees paid by the students, and rents and sales accrued from tenants and farm produce. For the sake of this study only the first three financial sources will be discussed in brief.

4.10.1 The Berlin Lutheran Mission Society

Missionaries in South Africa used to appeal for financial assistance from the Berlin Mission Society in Germany. In 1875 Merensky, the founder of Botšhabelo went to Germany to raise funds and returned in 1876. Funds sent from Germany to Botšhabelo were allocated according to the following categories: the salary of the Principal, the children's allowances and special emergency grants (Mphahlele 1978:190).

The Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) had a serious financial impact on missionary education in South Africa. Mission stations were raided and destroyed by both the *Boer* and the British troops. Botšhabelo was also affected by this war. Even though Germany lost its financial sources due to the war, the Berlin Mission Society nevertheless managed to collect R160 000 in Germany for mission work in South Africa (Zöller & Heese 1984:19).

A further example of the financial constraints placed upon the mission station is illustrated when a year before the National Party took over government, the Principal of Botšhabelo, Mr P G Pakendorf, requested the Chief Inspector of Native Education to take over Botšhabelo, since the Berlin Mission Society could not afford to subsidise it any longer. Funds to provide for Black Education were not available. Botšhabelo thus had to wait until 1954 when all missionary schools were transferred to the Department of Bantu Education (Mphahlele 1978:192).

4.10.2 The State

It was only after 1902 when the State began to assist in the education of the Black people in Transvaal by means of a system of registration of schools and the payment of grants-in-aid (Horrel 1963:25). The state subsidies meant a number of things to Black education. It meant that the Government thereby acquired certain rights, that it could prescribe what was to be taught and it could also control the work done by the missionaries (teachers) by regular inspection.

According to the Transvaal Education Act of 1907, Section 28 (SA [U] 1907), Teacher Training Institutions grants-in-aid were paid out according to the following conditions:

- ◆ an initial amount of a sum not exceeding £300 per annum, for the purpose of providing equipment;
- ◆ a grant not exceeding £100 per annum on behalf of the office in charge of the boarding establishment;
- ◆ a grant not exceeding £250 per annum, for the purpose of payment of the Chief Instructor (Principal), and
- ◆ a grant not exceeding £200 on behalf of each assistant instructor.

From the above it was clear that the State played an important role towards the subsidisation of Black education, especially after 1907. The Government's contribution towards the teacher salary remuneration was high as compared to, for example, equipment grants and state bursary funds. This was also true at Botšhabelo. The following table illustrates the contribution made by the state towards teacher remuneration for the period 1948-1953.

Table 4.4 Total subsidy for teachers per quarter at Botšhabelo (1948 to 1953)

Quarter Ending	Teacher Grant (£)	Total Income (£)	% Teacher-Grant of total income
31.3.1948	1683.3.2	2737.7.5	61.5
30.6.1948	2587.3.0	3946.10.11	65.5
30.6.1950	3091.7.0	4717.11.3	65.5
31.3.1951	1789.5.6	2893.18.0	61.8
30.9.1951	2117.16.7	3939.7.9	53.7
30.6.1952	4302.6.10	6079.17.5	70.8
31.3.1953	4458.5.4	6894.17.10	64.7

Compiled from Botšhabelo Quarterly and Annual Returns 1948-1953.

From **Table 4.4** above it is clear that the Government was, to a certain extent, committed towards the development and establishment of Black education especially in the rural areas. On the other hand, it could also be indicated that the government, due to its substantial monetary contribution, had substantial control over Black education. In the case of the Berlin Mission Society, the partnership with the Government providing educational services, continued until the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was introduced.

4.10.3 School fees

Students at Botšhabelo paid school fees in spite of their poor socio-economic standing. Many students came from poor family backgrounds and they were expected to pay school fees (*Botšhabelo Magazine* 1938). The Department, on the other hand, decided to offer relatively limited bursaries to students. Bursaries were not to exceed £10 per student per annum.²⁵ Only a limited number of students benefited from this bursary allocation.

For many years the student fees at Botšhabelo remained at £10 per student (Trümpelmann:1). It was only after World War II that the Principal, Mr P G Pakendorf, decided to increase the fee from £10 to £12 per annum (Botšhabelo Annual Return 1945). In 1946 it was increased from £12 to £14, because the State financing towards the education of Black people mostly residing in the rural areas, was not adequate enough to meet most of the needs that were required to make Black education reach the accepted standard (Botšhabelo Annual Return 1946). The following table indicates school fees as one of the main sources of revenues at Botšhabelo.

Table 4.5 School fees compared to State subsidy: 1948 to 1953

Quarter Ending	State subsidy (£)	Students Fees (£)
March 1948	1683.3.2	826.10.0
June 1950	3091.7.0	1315.5.7
March 1951	1789.5.6	1028.16.9
June 1952	4302.6.10	1141.0.0
March 1953	4458.5.4	2092.3.4

Quarterly Returns 1948-1953

From the above statistics it is clear that the Black people contributed much towards the education of their children, even though they stayed in rural areas which were underdeveloped and economically disadvantaged. Muriel Horrel (1968:1) points out that until 1945, the funds for Black education were always far from adequate. This is reflected in the Welsh Commission that it

²⁵ Students who received the bursary were subject to a progress report, compiled by the authorities, and that they undertook to teach for three years after the completion of their three-year course .

was a regulation to charge school fees to students, taking courses in teacher-training institutions (SA [U] 1936:73). These fees were collected by the mission schools and were used by them to finance repairs to buildings and to purchase furniture and equipment. This concern was further raised by the Editor of *The Bantu World* (1939:4), indicating that the Black people, mostly residing in the rural areas, were the only section of the nation whose education was not taken seriously by the authorities, because they were the only people who provided for their own school buildings.

4.11 THE TRANSFER OF BOTŠHABELO TO THE DEPARTMENT OF BANTU EDUCATION

After 1953 Mission schools were transferred to the then Department of Bantu Education (cf 2.4.4.2 [b]). As it was the norm that the Berlin Mission Society co-operated with the Government of the day, a decision was accepted that Botšhabelo as an Institution, together with its hostels, would be transferred to the Department of Bantu Education (Mphahlele 1978:208).

In 1954, the Management Committee of Botšhabelo Training College, under the chairmanship of Rev M Jäckel, discussed the possibility of transferring Botšhabelo to the Department of Bantu Education (Mphahlele 1978:207). Since it was the norm that the Berlin Mission Society co-operated with the Government of the day, a decision was taken that Botšhabelo as an institution, together with its hostels, would be transferred to the Department of Bantu Education.

4.12 IN SUMMARY

From the above mentioned analysis, Botšhabelo Institution, like Lemana, also made a substantial contribution towards the development of the Black people in the rural areas of the present Northern Province. Missionaries at Botšhabelo provided basic education to the majority of Black people, residing in the rural areas of the present Northern Province. Botšhabelo training Institution also played a role in developing Black languages. It was an undisputable fact that Botšhabelo was "centre for Northern Sotho study and production of literature " (cf 4.6.2).

Many of their trainees held reputable positions in South Africa in general; particularly in the former Lebowa homeland. They occupied most of the posts in the teaching profession as inspectors of education, principals, examiners and directors of education.

However, in many instances, it was clear that, the learning conditions at Botšhabelo left much to be desired. School buildings, as was the case on many mission stations, both in the Northern Province and South Africa, were in an appalling condition. The church buildings and the Seminary were often used as classrooms. Unfortunately, these buildings could not be used as libraries, laboratories and home craft centres. Practical lessons could not be taught efficiently, since apparatus and other educational equipment were not available. This state of affairs reflected the difficult situation that missionaries were teaching under in the rural areas of the Northern Province.

In most instances, there were mutual agreement between the German missionaries and the State with regard to the aim of education for Black people. It was uncommon that the Berlin Mission Society in former Transvaal, Botšhabelo in particular, opposed the State (Department of Education) with regard to policies on the provision of education for the Black people. The aim of education by both the State and the Berlin Mission Society, for Black people to remain subservient in their own communities and their education was to be tailored in that direction.

The concept *Volk* as defined by the German Missionary Movement can be seen in the light of the concept "ethnicity" (cf 4.2). These missionaries emphasised ethnicity, and this was in line with the policy of separate development which fragmented the South African Society. As the ideology of ethnicity later on became the basis of the Bantustan or homeland policy, introduced by the National Party Government after 1948, this Mission School emphasised, to some extent, this policy.

Religious instruction was one of the major subjects at Botšhabelo Institution. The entire institution was religion-oriented. Teachers could not start teaching if they did not complete a year course in religious education, which reflected the importance it had in this mission college. The German missionaries believed that the rural Black population needed religious instruction to come out of barbarism and heathen practices.

Manual instruction, which was reflected in most of the subjects taught at Botšhabelo, was one of the many components of the syllabus regarded as a major element at Botšhabelo Institution. Even the missionaries themselves, stressed manual labour as an integral component of conversion. The introduction of manual and industrial courses for Black people, was aimed at preparing Black people to fit in with the labour requirements of the South African economy. Black people in the rural areas were the most affected by these cheap labour market requirements.

The qualifications required of Black teachers at this Institution, were low compared to their White counterparts. Many Black staff members were underqualified whereas many White teachers were better off when it came to qualifications. Since the standard of education in many instances depends on the qualifications of the teachers providing education, the tendency to incorporate unqualified Black teachers into the mission schools, inevitably affected the standard of rural education.

It also has been disclosed in this chapter, that parents and learners did not play an active participative role in the management of this Institution. In most cases the superintendents and the synods were responsible for making serious decisions with regard to the education of the Black people largely residing in the rural areas.

It is also worth mentioning that it was only after 1902 that Botšhabelo received grants-in-aid from the Department of Education. These grants were used for, among others, salaries of missionaries as well as essential improvements towards the building and the administration of the Institution. Looking back over the history of Black education, especially at Botšhabelo until 1953, it is clear that the financial contribution made by the State was still far from being adequate, since it basically concentrated on teacher remuneration. The poor funding of this Institution, by the State resulted in many educational backlogs which affected mostly the Black people in the rural areas.

A final conclusion about the state of Black education in South Africa in general, and the Northern Province in particular, is incomplete if based solely on an analysis of mission education, without taking into consideration education of the Black people in the former homelands. The following

chapter, therefore, undertakes a critical study of rural education as it was experienced by the Black people in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland, from the 1950's up until the 1990's.

CHAPTER FIVE

EDUCATION IN THE RURAL HOMELANDS: LEBOWA (1954 to 1994)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

An analysis of education provided to Black people in South Africa up until 1953, revealed a high degree of neglect. This neglect was mainly a direct result of racial laws prevalent in South African society (cf Chapter Two). This neglect was most glaring in the rural areas of South Africa, particularly in the rural areas of the former homelands and the "independent states". Given the fact that in 1990, at least 70 percent of the Black children were schooled in the rural areas of the homelands (Lawrence & Paterson 1991:2), this neglect in education manifested itself in various ways.

As a continuation of education presented in the rural areas of the Northern Province from 1953 onwards, it is necessary to focus on one of the previous homelands which forms part of the present Northern Province, namely Lebowa (cf **Map 1.1**). The former Lebowa homeland forms an important element of this research, since it is in this homeland that the majority of Black people who constitute the present Northern Province are found. The former homeland of Lebowa is classified as rural, because more than 90 percent of the Black population, in 1986, still resided in the rural areas of this homeland (Lebowa 1986[b]:13). As the former Lebowa homeland had and still has serious educational backlogs, which were among the greatest in South Africa, this example is especially relevant (*Sowetan* 1995:4).

In the light of this, the aim of this chapter is to try and understand and explain the complexities of rural education in the former Lebowa homeland, from 1954 up until 1994, to come to a clearer understanding of the central problem. The objectives flowing from this aim are as follows:

- ◆ to critically reflect on characteristics and dynamics of rural education in the former Lebowa homeland, and
- ◆ to investigate and analyse government policy issues that had a bearing on rural education in this homeland.

Since the former Lebowa homeland forms an integral part of this project, its historical evolution will be briefly discussed.

5.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE FORMER LEBOWA HOMELAND

Lebowa as a homeland has been shaped by a series of constitutional laws evident in South African society especially since the start of the twentieth century (cf Chapter Two). The development and establishment of this homeland was, however, a direct result of what became known as the policy of separate development (*apartheid*) of the South African Government (cf 2.4).

Since the period from the Union of South Africa in 1910, there were a series of legislative Acts which had a common purpose to group South African society into cultural regions (Lintvelt *et al* 1987:271). The Land Act, Act No 27 of 1913, initiated the territorial segregation between Black and White South Africans (cf 2.4.1). No person who was not Black could be granted rights on land defined as a scheduled area and, conversely, no Black person could obtain land rights outside the scheduled Black area. The areas which constituted the former homeland of Lebowa were demarcated by this Act. The creation and establishment of the national states were not only due to the Land Acts (The Development Trust and Land Act No 18, of 1936 included) but also to various Acts that were passed by the National Party Government.

According to the Bantu Authorities Act No 68 of 1951, and later the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act No 46 of 1959, provision was made for the gradual development of self-governing states to the national or ethnic units (cf 2.4.4.1). Among the ten national units which were "developed", was the Sotho-speaking tribes, called the Lebowa Territorial Authority (PHEME 1983:35).

The Northern Sotho National Unit was established in terms of the Republic of South African Government Notice R224 of 10 August 1962 (Ababio 1993:78). It was then called the Lebowa Territorial Authority. The word "Lebowa", (Northern Sotho) literally means "North". The Lebowa Territorial Authority, consisted of all members of (or representatives) of the regional authorities in

the territory concerned. Each Territorial Authority was expected to elect a Chief Executive Councillor and other executive councillors to whom portfolios were allocated (Horrel 1973:42). The constitutions of the Territorial Authorities, were revised in 1968 and in the years that followed.

The first sitting of Lebowa Territorial Authority was held on 4 September 1962 at Turfloop (Pietersburg). The following Executive Members were elected: Captain F Maserumula (Chairperson or Chief Executive Councillor), Captain M L J Chuene (Vice Chairperson); additional members were: Councillors Captain N S Phasha, Captain R S Mathebe, Captain P N Kekana, D Mamabolo, T Lebogo and M M Matlala (Lebowa 1962:2).

In 1970, the Black States Citizen Act No 26 of 1970 was promulgated and it translated the Territorial Authorities to a Black State. The Act did no longer refer to a Territorial Authority, but rather to a Black State. This Act further made provision that every Black person in the Republic of South Africa was to be a citizen of a Black State, whether he lived in such a State or not (Horrel 1973:49-50). The National Party Government reaffirmed its firm and irrevocable intention to lead the National States to self-government and ultimate "independence", when introducing this Act and the subsequent Homeland Acts.

In March 1971, the National States Constitution Act, Act No 21 of 1971, replaced the Territorial Authorities with the establishment of Legislative Assemblies and Executive Councils in what were called Black States (Lebowa 1976[b]:16). The National States were declared self-governing.

In 1972, by virtue of Proclamation R224 of 1972 (Lebowa Legislative Assembly Proclamation), the then State President of the Republic of South Africa, His Excellency J J Fouché declared the area described in Proclamation R156 of 1971, as Lebowa (South Africa [R] 1972) with effect from 2 October 1972. According to Proclamation R224 of 1972, the new Legislative Assembly would consist of 100 members. Of these members 59 would be chiefs, one would be a representative of the female Chief of the Lobedu (i e the "Rain Queen"), and 40 members of which they had to be chiefs, and any 6 members elected by the Legislative Assembly.

The first elections in Lebowa were held in April 1973. One of the elected members into the Legislative Assembly, Mr, and later Dr C N Phatudi, was elected as the first Chief Minister. The former Lebowa homeland was responsible for, among others, the running of the Department of Education, until the first democratic elections of South Africa was held in 1994. For the sake of this study, the sections below will, therefore, investigate the provision of education for Black people since the establishment of the former homeland of Lebowa, until 1994.

5.3 EDUCATION OF BLACK PEOPLE AFTER THE ENACTMENT OF THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT OF 1953

After the enactment of Bantu Education Act of 1953, the education of Black people came under the direct governance and control of the then Bantu Education Department (cf 2.5.2). It was initially exercised by the Department of Native Affairs, with effect from 1 January 1954 and in 1958 a separate Department of Bantu Education was established (Horrel 1968:128).

Policies formulated and implemented after the enactment of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, were criticised by educationists, church organisations and individuals who were against the transfer of Black education from missionary bodies to State control (SABRA 1955:39; Lewis 1992:55). Even contemporary educationists such as Christie (1992:48) criticises this Act, since it provided the White ruling class with an appropriate labour force, suited to their rapidly changing economic needs. One of the main features of the *apartheid* education since 1948, was institutionalised discrimination along racial lines. This observation is reflected in the establishment of eighteen separate Education Departments, which catered for racial groups in the "White" (urban) South Africa as well as the former (rural) homelands. The Department of Bantu Education was renamed the Department of Education and Training from 1978 onwards (Behr 1978:328).

With the promulgation of the former Lebowa Education Department in 1974 all the schools in Lebowa which were under the Department of Bantu Education, were automatically transferred to this new department. The Lebowa Education Department was created by the promulgation of Lebowa Education Act, Act No 6 of 1974, as assented to by the State President of the Republic of South Africa. The Bantu Education Act of 1953, and the

subsequent Lebowa Education Act of 1974, which affected mostly Black people in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland will now be discussed below.

5.4 THE PROVISION OF EDUCATION FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN THE FORMER LEBOWA HOMELAND

5.4.1 Facility provision

Mission schools situated in the rural areas of the present Northern Province were generally characterised by poor physical facility provision, that is: basic necessities such as furniture; classrooms; textbooks; libraries; laboratories and domestic science rooms (cf 3.4 & 4.3). This state of affairs was to continue, even after these schools had been transferred to State control in the 1950's.

In 1962, when the Lebowa Territorial Authority was established, provision of education to Black people was still in the hands of the Department of Bantu Education. It is worth mentioning that there were still serious educational backlogs in the provision of education to the majority of Black people, residing in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland (Lebowa 1971:225).

The classroom shortages in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland has been evident since its establishment as a self-governing state in 1972, so much so that in 1976 there was a shortage of 1 005 classrooms. Of the 5 220 classrooms built in Lebowa in 1976, 703 were temporary classrooms of wood and mud which indicated how rural education was neglected in the schools falling under the Lebowa Education Department. The classroom shortage in the former Lebowa did not improve even until ten years later (1986); in one of the rural Masha Community Schools, seven classes were held simultaneously in the open air, under the school's seven trees (*Sunday Times* 1986:21).

Furthermore, in 1987, Mr P M Mamogobo, the Circuit Inspector in Bohlabela Circuit reported that 32 percent of the total of primary schools in his circuit had no seats (chairs and tables) in the classrooms (Lebowa 1987:2). Also in 1987, Mr T Ramaboea, the Circuit Inspector in Mankweng

Circuit, also reported that in primary schools of his Circuit with an enrolment of 38 621, there were only 652 available classrooms. There was thus a shortage of 206 classrooms in the primary schools, and 256 classrooms in the secondary schools in the Mankweng Circuit alone. The total number of classrooms needed in his Circuit alone was 562 (Lebowa 1987:8). **Table 5.1** below depicts the seriousness of the shortage of classrooms by reflecting classroom:pupil ratios as from 1982 to 1986.

Table 5.1 Classroom:pupil ratios: 1982 to 1986

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Primary Schools	1:75	1:70	1:70	1:70	1:70
Post-Primary Schools	1:55	1:58	1:57	1:68	1:68
All Schools	1:70	1:68	1:67	1:68	1:68

Lebowa 1986[a]

Table 5.1 depicts that primary schooling for Black people in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland, had largely been neglected in terms of resources such as classroom provision. The classroom:pupil ratios from 1982 to 1986 remained high and the Department of Education in Lebowa did little to rectify this situation since eight years later (1990) it was still as high as 1:61 (Lebowa 1990:25).

Furniture and the supply of books in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland were in most cases, inadequate since 1953 (Lebowa 1990:26). In 1976, for example, 60 percent of pupils in this homeland were without desks, and textbooks were not even supplied in many cases (Lebowa 1976[b]:3-12).

Although in most schools provision was made for pupil participation in extra-mural activities such as soccer, netball and athletics, one common feature in these rural schools, was the absence of standard playgrounds (Lebowa 1990:26). Black people residing in the rural areas were denied chances to explore other kinds of sport since adequate playgrounds and apparatus were not available.

Most of the rural schools in the former Lebowa homeland, did not have special rooms such as libraries and laboratories. In instances where libraries and laboratories were available, they were used as alternative classrooms due to the classroom shortages that were experienced in this homeland (*The New Nation* 1988[b]:3). The provision of educational magazines, periodicals and other teaching aids such as maps, were in many instances also inadequate (*The New Nation* 1987:18; Lebowa 1990:26).

The provision of school buildings, furniture, special classrooms and teaching aids did not keep pace with the increasing number of pupils in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland (Lebowa 1976[b]:46). The Lebowa Education Department failed to provide resources needed as well as to maintain quality education in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland. These problems of facility provision not only hindered effective teaching in most of the schools which were situated in the rural areas, but made schooling unproductive, because the schooling system failed to hold learners in school long enough due to a high drop-out rate.

5.4.2 The aim of education

The aim of education in Lebowa homeland, as stipulated in the Lebowa Education Act No 6, of 1974, was basically similar to that of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. It was also similar to that of the Department of Education and Training in the urban areas. The Minister of Education in Lebowa, in consultation with the Advisory Board, operated within the framework of the education policy and the provision that formed the framework of education; they included the following (Lebowa 1974 Act 6, Section a-e).

- ◆ Education in Government schools shall have a Christian and non-denominational character, but the religious convictions of the parents and the pupils shall be respected in regard to religious instruction and religious ceremonies;
- ◆ education shall have a national character based on cultural, social and economic needs and aspirations of Lebowa;

- ◆ the medium of instruction shall be English except in the first four years of school training during which the home language shall be the medium of instruction. In the fifth year however, half of the subjects, as determined by the Minister, shall be taught through the medium of English;
- ◆ the establishment of the essential conditions for the introduction of compulsory and free education shall be regarded as a matter of priority. The date upon which compulsory and free education shall be introduced, the age limits within which it shall be enforced and other related matters shall be within the discretion of the Minister in consultation with the treasury after due consideration of the practicability thereof as well as the financial obligations involved; and
- ◆ education shall be provided in accordance with the ability and aptitude of and interest shown by the pupils and the needs of the homeland and appropriate guidance shall, with due regard thereto, be furnished to all pupils to enable them to make the most suitable choice of subjects and curricular.

The "cultural, social and economic needs and aspirations" that the education of Black people in the former Lebowa homeland should be based on, reflected the fact that Black people were to be confined to the limited resources of Lebowa. The provision of education to most of the Black people in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland were not based on the needs and aspirations of the wider South Africa, and this also reflected that Black people belonged to the rural areas and their education needed to be tailored in that direction.

The Lebowa Education Department, since its inception, aimed at making education of the Black people in Lebowa compulsory and free. This was a good aim, since it could have reduced the illiteracy rate in the former Lebowa homeland but, unfortunately since 1974 until 1994, the education of Black people in Lebowa was never free nor compulsory. The reason why the Lebowa Education Department failed to provide compulsory and free education to pupils in the rural areas might have been, amongst others, poor funding by the Central Government. The failure to provide compulsory and free education to Black people impacted negatively on Black pupils since there was, and still is: a high illiteracy rate; drop-out rate, and repetition rate, in the Northern Province (cf 5.4.5).

5.4.3 Types of education

The different types of education which were controlled by the Lebowa Education Department included the following: primary school education, secondary school education, teacher education and technical education. Therefore the following will briefly reflect on general trends of the curriculum for different types of education in the former Lebowa homeland.

5.4.3.1 *Primary school education*

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 made provision that primary education should be divided into lower and higher primary phases. According to Horrel (1968:57), the organisation and character of the primary schools was generally based on ethnicity, as for instance, the Sotho-speaking people receive their primary education in their own territory. These territories were mostly remote and situated on the peripheries of the homelands.

Primary education in the former Lebowa homeland was also divided into the lower primary, the higher primary and the combined lower and higher primary sections (Lebowa 1976[b]:9).

(a) The lower primary school education: The lower primary section ranged from Sub-standard A up to Standard Two (Lebowa 1977:11). Academic subjects taught at primary schools of the former Lebowa homeland were similar to those taught at schools in the urban areas of the former Department of Education and Training and they included: religious education, Afrikaans, English, home language, arithmetic, mathematics, social studies, general science and music.

Science subjects at the lower and higher primary schools did not receive the attention they deserved. Teachers who taught mathematics and general science in most of the schools in the former Lebowa homeland did not specialise in these subjects (Lebowa 1988:2). This resulted in many pupils having a negative attitude towards general science and mathematics and this in turn had a negative impact on the lives of Black people residing in the rural areas, because later on when they proceeded with their studies they could not follow science-oriented fields of study and careers.

(b) The higher primary school education: The higher primary education ranged from Standard Three up to Standard Five. Until 1975, the higher primary school-leaving examination was conducted at Standard Five level (South Africa[R] 1973:51). At the end of 1975 the pupils of both the Standard Five and Standard Six classes in the former Lebowa homeland, together with pupils of these standards from all Black schools in the Republic of South Africa, wrote their final primary school external examination.

Subjects taught at the higher primary schools were basically similar to those taught at the lower primary schools and also the same as those taught at the schools falling under the Department of Education and Training, providing education to the Black people who were predominantly residing in the urban areas. Practical subjects included, needlework, homecraft, for girls, gardening, art and crafts, and woodwork and metalwork for boys (South Africa [R] 1967:1).

Subjects such as needlework and homecraft were in line with the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which attempted to reproduce a gender segregation of labour in the education system by channelling Black girls into narrow subjects such as homecraft and needlework, and to reproduce racial divisions by denying Black girls access to "hard" subjects such as engineering, mathematics and physics (Sebakwane 1994:13). On the other hand boys were taught practical subjects such as woodwork and metalwork which indicates that Black boys were to be trained in manual work, which would contribute to the economy of the country in the form of unskilled or semi-skilled labour.

The culture of learning and teaching in most of the primary schools in Lebowa was not satisfactory. Teachers in primary schools always had to teach under conditions which were not conducive to learning, with the result that many Black pupils who came from the rural areas did not find education interesting and relevant. The educational foundation of the Black people at elementary level was not solid. This had a negative impact on the provision of education for Black people residing in the rural areas, since many Black pupils who left schooling before they could complete Standard Ten, were not equipped with basic skills which would enable them to cope in life.

5.4.3.2 *Secondary school education*

The secondary school education in the former Lebowa homeland, just like the primary education, did not basically differ with the one introduced after 1953. The secondary education in the former Lebowa homeland extended over a period of five years.

(a) Courses offered at secondary schools: The secondary schools in the former Lebowa homeland consisted of the following stages:

- ◆ a three year course leading to the junior certificate examination²⁶ of the Department of Education and Training, and
- ◆ a two year course leading to a Senior Certificate or Matriculation examination of the Department of Education and Training.

In 1976 there were 167 secondary schools in Lebowa and the enrolment was 49 067 compared to 292 857 in 1990, which reflected an increase of 16,7 percent (Lebowa 1976[b]:15; Lebowa 1990:26). The reason for this was an inflow of pupils from the primary schools and from farm labourers' children adjacent White farms close to the former Lebowa homeland. This inflow continued to create problems, such as the shortage of classroom accommodation.

(b) Subjects taught at secondary schools: Examination subjects which were taught at both the junior and secondary schools, since Lebowa homeland attained its self-governing status in 1972, covered the following groups: languages, mathematical subjects, natural sciences, commercial subjects and practical subjects (Lebowa 1981:16). In the course leading to matriculation certificate, the majority of schools in the former Lebowa Department of Education offered subjects under social sciences. Only a very few schools offered science related subjects, due to the shortage of adequately qualified teachers for the subject. The performance of pupils in

²⁶ A Standard Eight certificate was phased out by the former Department of Education and Training in 1984, and it was then left in the hands of various homelands and regions (Lebowa 1984:21).

Standard Ten in the natural sciences section remained poor, according to the Annual Reports 1974 to 1994, of the former Lebowa Education Department.

(c) **Matriculation examination results:** Matriculation examination results were a good indicator of the different qualities of education between White and Black education and urban or rural education. According to Christie (1986:123), these also indicated the differences in quality of education that existed between the homelands' Education Departments, and the Department of Education and Training (DET).

Pupils under the Lebowa Department of Education wrote examinations, set by the former Department of Education and Training. In **Table 5.2** an analysis of matriculation examination results for the period 1976-1986 is made, which reflect the state of education in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland.

Table 5.2 Matriculation examination results in percentage passes (1977 to 1982)

Year	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
% pass	61,8	64,4	69,9	46,1	29,7	49,8

Lebowa Department of Education Annual Reports 1977 to 1982.

Although there was an increase in matriculation passes until 1979, thereafter, there was a steady decline. Though there was a slight increase in the pass rate in 1982, the pass rate in 1981 remained below average. The average pass rate in 1986 was 41,8 percent (Lebowa 1987:81) and in 1990 was 28 percent of which 5 percent obtained university entrance (SAIRR 1992:208). This indicates that education in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland was in a serious crisis. In the very same year (1990) the White pupils had an average matriculation pass rate of 96 percent, of whom 45 percent received university entrance (SAIRR 1992:208).

Poor matriculation results in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland was a matter of concern to almost all stakeholders in education. At a consultative meeting which was held on 25 January 1990 and attended by

Head Office officials, inspectors of education, rectors of colleges of education, principals and representatives from among teachers, the following were some factors identified as causes of poor Standard Ten results in that homeland:

- ◆ lack of experimentation in some of the subjects;
- ◆ lack of books;
- ◆ irregular attendance by both the pupils and teachers;
- ◆ overcrowded classrooms;
- ◆ lack of physical facilities;
- ◆ lack of parental involvement;
- ◆ ineffective circuit offices; and the
- ◆ grouping of subjects and choice of grades available (Lebowa 1990:21).

5.4.3.3 *Teacher education*

In line with the policy of separate development, most of the teacher training colleges were located in the homelands, which were largely classified as rural. Teachers were to be trained in institutions designated solely for Black people and separately from the training provided for other sectors of the South African society, since the future of Black people was seen to be in the former homelands. Few or no training colleges for Black people existed in the urban areas of South Africa. For example, when Lebowa homeland was declared self-governing in 1974, there were five training colleges and in 1990 there were twelve colleges (Lebowa 1976[b]:18; Lebowa 1990:30).

Black enrolment at teacher training colleges increased by 51 percent between 1987 and 1990, whereas White enrolment to teacher training colleges, over the same period, decreased by 30 percent (SAIRR 1992:183). This indicated the fact that the majority of Black people in the rural areas followed the teaching profession, the only possible and available profession to them.

(a) Courses followed at teacher training colleges: The following courses were offered in the training colleges of the former Lebowa homeland since 1974:

- ◆ a two-year Primary Teachers Certificate (PTC); the admission requirement to this course was Standard Eight;
- ◆ a special one-year course for unqualified teachers which was offered at Mamokgalake Chuene Training College in 1973 (Lebowa 1976:19). Teachers who qualified to take this one-year course had to have three-years teaching experience as a private teacher, and at least a Standard Eight Certificate (Lebowa 1984:95).
- ◆ Special Primary Teachers Certificate Course (Junior work), which was a two-year course meant for female students only. The entrance qualification for this course was also Standard Eight and the students specialised in methods of teaching children from pre-school stage up to Standard Two (Lebowa 1977:22).
- ◆ a Homecraft Teachers Certificate Course, which was a one-year course. This was a special course for female teachers who were already in possession of the Primary Teachers' Certificate, and who have had at least two years teaching experience. Students specialising in this course had to follow the following subjects: cookery, needlework, mother craft and housewifery. After successful completion of the course, teachers were equipped to teach homecraft from primary school level up to Form III (Lebowa 1977:22).
- ◆ the Junior Secondary Teachers Certificate Course; its entrance qualification was a minimum a of recognised Senior Certificate. The duration of the course was two years. The aim of this course was to give the teacher knowledge and the ability to use the subject matter, methods and techniques that would be needed to present the material contained in the Junior Certificate syllabi, in the most effective way (Lebowa 1977:22).
- ◆ The Senior Teachers Certificate (with degree courses) which was introduced in 1978. It was aimed at training students academically and professionally, to enable them to teach two school subjects up to the Senior Certificate level. The duration of the course was three years. Students who were admitted to this course were registered with the University of South Africa, and follow the degree courses in two subjects.

Entrance qualification to the Senior Teachers Certificate was a Matriculation Exemption Certificate (Lebowa 1978:25).

- ◆ A three-year Junior Primary Teachers Diploma (JPTD), or Senior Primary Teachers Diploma (SPTD) and the Secondary Teachers Diploma (STD) were offered in the former Lebowa homeland from 1982 (Lebowa 1982:20). The admission requirement to these courses was a Standard Ten Certificate.

Until 1978, students entering teacher colleges in the former Lebowa homeland were required to have a minimum qualification of Standard Eight. In 1978 a three-year secondary course was introduced, and later after 1982, a three-year Diploma was introduced for the Black people. The minimum entrance requirements to teacher colleges (also applicable during the missionary period (cf 3.9; 4.7)), had a negative impact on the education of Black people, since many teachers who received their training in this homeland were underqualified. It was only after 1982 that the situation with regard to Black teacher qualification began to improve with the introduction of a three-year diploma and Matriculation Certificate as a minimum qualification for entrance.

(b) Teacher qualifications: Many teachers in the former homeland of Lebowa were unqualified. In 1980, for example, out of a total of 9 328 teachers employed by the Lebowa Department of Education, approximately 65 percent had obtained Standard Eight plus a two or one year professional certificate, 22 percent Matriculation plus the Primary Teachers' Certificate or Secondary Teachers' Certificate and 3,5 percent a degree plus the Primary Teachers' Certificate or Senior Secondary Certificate (Lebowa 1980:3). The low qualification standards in the rural areas of Lebowa homeland were due to multiplicity of reasons, among others, the lowering of admission requirements of Teacher Training institutions.

It is an undisputed fact that poorly qualified teachers would generally produce poorly qualified pupils who would go on to become poorly qualified teachers. According to De Lange Commission²⁷ (1981:59),

Without a corps of well trained and talented teachers any endeavour aimed at a system of education by means of which the potential of the country's inhabitants is to be realised, economic growth promoted, the quality of life of the inhabitants improved and education of equal quality provided for everyone. cannot be successful.

The quality of education in any society depends on, amongst other factors, the quality of teachers involved in that particular education system.

5.4.3.4 *Technical education*

Since the post-1976 era, with the increasing demands on the South African economy, there has been an emphasis on the importance of technical training in education and far greater resources had been employed to this end than to any other (Chisholm 1984:389). However, technical education did not form an integral part of the education system for Black people in South Africa in general and in the rural homeland of Lebowa particularly.

Up to the end of 1975, there was only one trade school in Lebowa, namely. the Tseke Mabooe Trade School, which later on became known as Tseke Mabooe Technical School. In January 1976 the second trade school, Maake Trade School, started to operate. The enrolment at Tseke Mabooe Trade School and Maake Trade School in 1976 was 134 and 88 respectively, compared to an enrolment of 1 285 students at the four teacher training colleges in the former Lebowa homeland in the same year (Lebowa 1976[b]:23). In 1976, only 14 percent of the total enrolment of pupils residing in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland, were at technical schools which reflected the neglect that was prevalent in the former Lebowa homeland with regard to provision of technical education to Black people.

²⁷ The De Lange Commission was established by the Human Science Research Council in 1980, which reflected on new forms of educational control and provision with the purpose of renegotiating the racial component of State ideology in education (Chisholm 1984:387).

After 1976 however, improvements in the Lebowa homeland were evident. In 1977, C S Barlow Company made a donation to the former Lebowa homeland and C S Barlow Trade School was established at Motetema (close to Groblersdal). Another Trade School called Sir Val Duncan was established near Phalaborwa in 1978. This Trade School was financed by the Phalaborwa Mining Company. The contribution that the private sector played in establishing the Trade Schools could not be overlooked even though these two Trade Schools were in the urban areas of the former Lebowa homeland. However, this further indicates the fact that the private sector did not concentrate much of their efforts in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland.

In 1980 S J Van der Merwe Technical School was established at Lebowakgomo (southeast of Pietersburg) by the East Rand Administration Board. This Technical School offered combined Technical and commercial subjects (Lebowa 1980:22).

Most of the subjects that were taught at these technical schools up to 1977, were those prescribed by the Department of Bantu Education (Horrel 1968:99), and they included the following: concrete work, bricklaying and plaster work, drainlaying, welding, metal work, motor mechanics, motor body repairments, painting and glazing (Lebowa 1977:26). According to Chisholm (1984:395) these subjects were "designed to train Black operatives and provide basic machine-orientation for technicians" because, according to the policy of the Government of South Africa, it was a wrong principle to begin with training of Black engineers and other technologists for the most advanced service, while there was an insufficient number of technicians and tradesmen on the lower level of the pyramid (Horrel 1968:98).

Since from the beginning of 1978, the N-Syllabus²⁸ of the Department of National Education was offered. Subjects such as mathematics and science were introduced to enable Black pupils at technical schools to sit for the National Technical Certificate examination, which was then offered to White pupils in the urban areas of the Republic of South Africa (Lebowa 1977:26).

²⁸ This was a syllabus that was specifically for White pupils which lead to Senior Certificate (Technical), with the aim of giving a technical education that will qualify the pupils for entry to a technikon or a university (Lebowa 1979:31).

Black pupils in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland did not receive the same technical education as their White counterparts, since they were expected to know only labour-related skills which would be required of them in the work-place.

Another imbalance between the number of products of technical education in South Africa is reflected in the fact that most of the teachers at the technical schools of the former Lebowa homeland were White people. For example, in 1980, the Black staff at Technical Schools constituted 32 percent whereas the White staff constituted 68 percent of the total (Lebowa 1980:17). This state of affairs continued up until 1994 and it reflected that technical education did form an important aspect of Black education, especially for pupils and teachers in the rural areas of the former homelands. However, cognisance should also be taken that this imbalance reflected the need by the National Education Department to control Black technical education by means of White teachers.

In 1990, there were 6 technical schools in former Lebowa homeland which offered the following subjects: mathematics, engineering, engineering drawing, mechanical, electrical and soft trades. Commercial subjects which were offered were: typing, accountancy, communication and deportment, office practice and mercantile law (Lebowa 1990:34). The enrolment figures in technical colleges grew from 668 in 1982 to 809 in 1986 (Lebowa 1986:5). In 1990 the enrolment in technical colleges nearly doubled which showed the changing attitude by Black people with regard to technical education, since they realised that there was a need for manpower training and the need for Black people to play an increasing role in providing skilled manpower to sustain the economy in South Africa.

5.4.4 Teacher-pupil ratios

Lebowa has been characterised by a very poor teacher-pupil ratio since its inception as a self-governing state in 1972 due to, among other factors, the facility provision and high enrolment figures especially prevalent at primary schools (cf 5.4.1). The poor teacher-pupil ratios resulted in teachers not being able to give pupils enough attention and the results achieved could not be as good as was the case with the smaller classes (Lebowa 1976:46). **Table 5.3** below shows the teacher-pupil ratios as from 1977 to 1982.

Table 5.3 Teacher-pupil ratios (1977 to 1982)

1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
1:66,2	1:80,8	1:68,4	1:66,7	1:53	1:37,1

Lebowa Department of Education Annual Reports 1977-1982.

Although there was an improvement towards the alleviation, the problem concerning teacher-pupil ratios from 1979 to 1982, this improvement was negligible because in 1987 the teacher-pupil ratio was 1:41,6 in the primary schools and 1:38,6 in the secondary schools (*Informa* 1989:20).

In contrast, White schools in the urban areas had a low teacher-pupil ratios, for example, the teacher-pupil ratio was 1:16 in 1992 and 1:18 in 1993 as compared to 1:37 in 1992 and 1:40 in 1993 in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland (SAIRR 1994:711). The high teacher-pupil ratios in the former Lebowa homeland schools reduced the effectiveness of teaching and learning in many rural schools.

The high teacher-pupil ratios in the former Lebowa homeland was caused by, among others, the fact that teachers preferred to teach in the urban areas than rural areas because they wanted and needed to be close to the resources which urban areas offered. Conditions of work were also more attractive in urban schools than rural community schools, since urban schools had services such as electricity, libraries, laboratories which were not generally available in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland (cf 5.4.1).

5.4.5 Repetition rates and dropout rates

The repetition rate (cf 1.2) in schools in Lebowa were very high, when compared to the education of Black people in urban areas. In 1980 there was 10,5 percent of repeaters in the primary schools and 14,9 percent in the secondary schools of the former Lebowa homeland (Lebowa 1980:5). Ten years later, the repetition rate decreased negligibly in primary schools and increased drastically in secondary schools. Of the total enrolment of pupils in 1990, 8,7 percent of pupils were repeaters in primary schools whereas 23,6 percent in the secondary schools were repeaters (Lebowa 1990:106,109).

The high repetition rates in schools in the rural areas of the former Lebowa were caused by overcrowding and a shortage of qualified teachers. These factors resulted in an unstimulating classroom environment which invariably led to boredom and lack of interest.

One of the major problems facing the former Lebowa Department of Education was that of the poor holding capacity of the schools, that is, the dropout rate²⁹. Over a period of five years from 1976 to 1981, the dropout rate was extremely high. Of the 22 285 pupils who passed the Standard Five examination in 1976 for example, only 7 914 reached Standard Ten in 1981. Of these pupils who reached and passed Matriculation, 1 609 wrote the Primary Teachers' examination. The remaining 12 762 pupils could not be accounted for and they were classified as dropouts (Lebowa 1981:6).

Poverty was considered to be one of the contributing factors to the above mentioned phenomenon, as the majority of parents in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland, were and still are either pensioners or unemployed. These parents found it difficult to maintain the cost of education, such as school fees, stationary and school uniforms. Older children had to leave school and start working in order to supplement their family income. Given the observation by Gordon (1997:2), that 75 percent of South Africa's poor people live in the rural areas, concentrated in the former homelands and independent states, this contributory factor is indeed a glaring reality. The unemployment rate in the rural areas of Lebowa remained high for a number of years (*The Star* 1988:9), thus contributing to the poverty in the area.

5.5 CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT

5.5.1 Control by the Department of Native Affairs and the Department of Bantu Education

In terms of Bantu Education Act No 47, of 1953, Black education was transferred from the provinces to the Department of Native Affairs and in 1954 to the Department of Bantu Education (cf 2.4.4.2; 5.3). The education

²⁹ Pupils who left school during or at the end of an academic year and did not return to school the following year are regarded as dropouts (SAIRR 1989:269).

of the Black people in the former Lebowa Territorial Authority (cf 5.2), before it could become Lebowa self-governing state, was thus under the Department of Bantu Education.

There were six regions that were established in 1954 and at the head of each regional office was a regional director responsible to the Secretary for Black education. The former Lebowa Territorial Authority which was established in 1962, was under the Northern Transvaal Region (Horrel 1968:23). In 1974 it came under the control of the Lebowa Education Department.

5.5.2 Control by the Lebowa Education Department

5.5.2.1 *Central control*

The Department of Education in Lebowa was created by the Lebowa Education Act, (Act 6 of 1974). The Act spelt out the statutory arrangements by which the education system in the homeland was to function and it included the following:

- ◆ policy for education control;
- ◆ organisation of the Department of Education in Lebowa, and
- ◆ institutions controlled and financed by the Department of Education in Lebowa (Lebowa Education Act No 6 of 1974).

According to Section 2(2) of Lebowa Education, Act No 6, the Minister of Education in the former Lebowa homeland, was the principal official participant in education policy-making. The Minister was further charged with the functions of determining, analysing and approving education policy within a set out framework as contained in the Act.

By virtue of statutory provision mentioned above, the Lebowa Education Department was headed and controlled by a political office-bearer namely, the Minister of Education. The powers and functions attached to the Minister of Education were derived from Section 2(1) of the Lebowa Education Act No 6, of 1974 which stipulate that:

It shall be the function of the Department, under the direction and control of the Minister, to perform all the work necessary for or incidental to the control, administration and supervision of education.

Since Lebowa attained self-governing status in 1972, the Minister of Education, was assisted by a White Secretary of Education, who was the permanent chief executive officer responsible to the Minister for Education and Culture in the Legislative Assembly. Until 1980 the Secretary of Education in the former Lebowa Education Department was Dr J L van Dyk. From 1981 to 1994 this position was held by various Black people. The Assistant Secretary to Dr Van Dyk had been Mr D Kobe until 1980, and in 1981 Mr Kobe was promoted and he became the first Black Secretary of Education in the Lebowa Education Department (Lebowa 1981:7).

The Head Office of the Department of Education was situated in Lebowakgomo. The top management of the Department comprised of the Minister of Education, the Deputy Minister, the Secretary, five Directors and two Deputy Secretaries (Lebowa 1990:2). The three divisions at Head Office were: the Tertiary Education Division, the Control and Co-ordination Division and the Subject Advisory Division. The Lebowa Education Department ceased to exist when the first democratic national elections were held in April 1994.

5.5.3 Decentralised regional control

The geographical area in which the Lebowa Department of Education operated was divided into four Regions. Each Region was headed by a Regional Chief Inspector, who was also responsible for four inspection circuits.

In 1977 there were 13 inspection circuits as compared to 16 inspection circuits in 1990. At the head of each inspection circuit there was a circuit inspector. The Circuit Inspector was assisted by two inspectors of Education. Each circuit inspection officer was responsible for the control of schools and the execution of both the administrative and professional duties performed by both the principals and teachers within its jurisdiction (Lebowa 1990:12-15). The Head Office of the Department of Education was kept informed of the

progress made in each school by means of compilation of reports by the inspectorates (Lebowa 1977:19-21).

Single day inspection visits were often made by the circuit inspectors with the aim of assisting teachers in the performance of their work. In 1976 the Lebowa Education Department did not organise formal single day inspections, however, some of the circuit offices organised them on their own and they were not compelled to submit any inspection reports (Lebowa 1976[b]:17). In 1977, it was reported that "a good number of inspection reports" were received by the Education Department (Lebowa 1977:21), which meant that some of the circuit offices did not submit the reports. In the following year, 1978, nothing was mentioned concerning the follow-up inspection reports that were not submitted and the general follow-up inspection visits that were made in the subsequent years were not mentioned throughout the period under review.

5.5.4 Management of education at local level

This section on management at local level will be confined to the role played by school committees in the upliftment of Black education in schools in Lebowa.

5.5.4.1 School Committees

The Bantu Education Act of 1953, saw the establishment of school committees and school boards as important, in the provision of Black education. These school committees and school boards had mainly advisory and supervisory capacity and their field of action was *limited* (SA [U] 1955[b]:31-32; Ruperti 1976:67).

With the establishment of the homeland system in South Africa in 1959, the powers and duties held by the school committees and school boards had been taken over by the education department of homelands concerned. School committees in most homelands, Lebowa included, were retained (Lebowa 1988:4).

Although most of the schools in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland had school committees, their services were not used to the maximum. In 1988, in Bohlabela Circuit, for example, a meeting was held with regard to the involvement of school committees in the management of schools since, in most cases, the members of this Committee did not know their actual functions and duties (Lebowa 1988:4) and were not very active in the education of their children. Members of the school committees did not know their powers as stipulated in the Government Gazette on School Committees (South Africa [R] 1982:2). To Ruperti (1976:67), there are several reasons why members of these School Committees played a passive role. These reasons included that the relationship between Black people themselves, including the parent community, did not unfold sufficiently; secondly, that democratic practice was foreign to Black tradition, and thirdly these local communities needed more time and guidance before they were ready to make a success of institutions of this nature.

Despite the limited roles the school committees had in the former Lebowa Department of Education, these bodies were designed with the purpose of bringing Black parents into contact with the problems their children encountered in the school situation.

5.6 FINANCING OF EDUCATION IN LEBOWA

When the Bantu Education Act was introduced in 1953, it was the intention of the Government of the day that parents, by means of legislative Acts, were required to make a considerable financial contribution towards Black education.

In 1954, in his budget speech, the Minister of Finance pointed out that the expenditure on Bantu education had increased three-fold during the past ten years and would amount to R17 million in 1954-1955. It was the feeling of the Bantu Education Department that Black people, by means of a number of government legislations, should make a bigger financial contribution (Horrel 1968:29).

The three main financial sources in the former Lebowa homeland were: revenue collected from the State, grants from the Government of the Republic of South Africa and loans in the form of credit facilities (Ababio 1993:126).

Educational inequalities in South Africa were situated in racial, gender, class categories and also in terms of the urban-rural divide. This is supported by financial allocation of the Republic of South Africa which was made to various Education Departments in the country. In the 1988/89 financial year, for example, the former Lebowa homeland was allocated R4,5 million only with an enrolment of 869 016 pupils, whereas White education, with a total enrolment of 935 903, learners received R4,4 billion (SAIRR 1990:785-787). The Central Government spent too little money on Black education, especially those schools in the rural areas. If the Republic of South Africa spent as much money on education for Black people (mainly residing in the rural areas) as it spent on White education, there would have been great improvements in terms of facilities, Matriculation pass rates and dropout rates.

The financial contribution towards the provision of education for Black people largely residing in the rural areas, was made by both the Government of the Republic of South Africa as well as by Lebowa as a self-governing State, with a high percentage of this contribution being spent on teacher remuneration. **Table 5.4** depicts the former homeland's contribution towards salary remuneration from 1973 to 1983.

**Table 5.4 Teacher remuneration in the former Lebowa homeland:
1972 to 1983**

Financial year	Total amount voted (Rands)	Amount voted for salaries only	
		Amount	% of Total
1972/73	5 244 100	4 678 000	89,6
1973/74	7 886 500	7 327 400	92,9
1974/75	9 149 500	8 538 000	93,3
1975/76	12 120 100	11 052 000	91,2
1976/77	15 121 200	13 920 000	92,1
1977/78	16 899 200	15 648 300	92,5
1978/79	21 376 290	19 865 640	92,9
1979/80	28 766 280	26 119 930	90,8
1980/81	37 369 000	33 757 700	90,3
1981/82	45 518 200	39 365 680	86,4
1982/83	70 492 680	64 384 000	91,3

Lebowa 1976:5; Lebowa 1982:6.

What is evident from **Table 5.4** is that from 1975 up to 1981 more than 90 percent of the Education budget in the former Lebowa homeland was used for teacher remuneration (Lebowa 1980:4). This percentage of fund for teacher remuneration remained high for several years, because in 1992 it was still as high as 85 percent. A proportionately small percentage of money in the Education Department was left for the general development in the Education Department. **Table 5.5** below reflects the distribution of the budget for the financial year 1991/92.

Table 5.5 Lebowa Education Department budget for the financial year 1991/1992

Main Division	Details	Amount
A	Personnel Expenditure	R882 311 056
B	Administrative Expenditure	R 7 323 000
C	Stores and livestock	R 51 716 000
D	Equipment	R 18 697 000
E	Land and buildings ³⁰	R 74 638 000
F	Professional and special service	R --
G	Transfer payments	R 3 000 000
H	Miscellaneous Expenditure	R --
Total		R1 037 685 056

Lebowa Estimates of the Revenue and Expenditure 1992:4

Table 5.5 depicts the fact that a large share of the Education Department budget went to Personnel (A) which indicated that salaries in the former Lebowa homeland formed the most important item in the budget. In the 1991/92 fiscal year, 85 percent of the Education Department in the former Lebowa homeland went to personnel or the salary section. A proportionately small percentage of the money was left for the addressing of other serious issues for the provision of infra-structure, such as the building of additional classrooms and provision of equipment.

The building of schools in the rural areas, was largely the responsibility of local people by means of school committees since the budget for physical facilities was not very large. The local villagers would raise funds, usually through their respective chiefs. The Chief would then liaise with the Circuit Inspector and make arrangements for the erection of that school. Before a subsidy of 50 percent could be approved for the building of a school, standards as laid out by the Education Department, needed to be satisfied. The process of building a community school was not a simple operation. According to Graaff (1995:189):

³⁰ This item relates to expenditure on the purchase or renting of land, buildings and structures.

the government often takes a long time to respond to the application for funding. When they do eventually pay the money, it often lands up in the chief's tribal account....Even when the money is paid back to the school itself, there have been cases where the school principal used the money for his personal benefit.

Pupils were often requested to pay school fees, varying from one school to the other (*The New Nation* 1988[a]:2). In most cases these fees that were collected at schools could not be accounted for. Parents who did contribute school fees were usually poor (*The Star* 1988:9). Given the observation that 75 percent of South Africans who are classified as poor, lived in rural areas (cf 5.4.8) with the former Lebowa reflecting 83 percent of this number (South Africa [R] 1995:16), pupils whose parents could not afford to send them to school were always at a disadvantage.

5.7 IN SUMMARY

The racially differentiated education policy prevalent in South Africa since the late 1940's has, and continued to create serious problems in the development of the human resources especially in the rural areas. These policies usually favoured the urban population, especially White people, and very often neglected Black people.

The educational backlogs in Black education that existed during the missionary era continued to exist after education for Black people was taken over by the Government. In Lebowa, one of the former homelands created during the *apartheid* era, which can be largely classified as rural, the provision of classrooms, educational equipment, textbooks and furniture remained inadequate.

The curriculum followed in most of the schools in Lebowa, was similar to that of the Bantu Education Department. The aim of education for Black people was in line with the Nationalist Party Government policy of *separate development*: that Black people should develop on their own in their respective communities and that they were to take part in the economy of South Africa as labourers. This was reflected by the inferior type of education that was presented at both the primary and secondary schools.

Schooling in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland was characterised by high Matriculation failure rate, high repetition rate and high dropout rate. Poor Matriculation results not only implied an inferior type of education provided to Black people, but also meant that most of the Black children in the former Lebowa homeland who passed their final examination had little chance of going to university since they did not have Matriculation exemption.

Teachers in the former Lebowa homeland were also not professionally well-qualified. Since 1978, teacher qualifications in the former Lebowa homeland improved after the three-year Teacher Certificate was introduced. The serious problem of underqualification among Black teachers in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland resulted in acute shortages. This was exacerbated by most qualified teachers leaving for urban areas.

The differentiated pattern of educational provision in South Africa, and Lebowa in particular, was also reflected in the type of education in technical schools. Black learners were taught subjects which would enable them to perform manual labour and not complex engineering or mechanical type of work. The syllabi at technical schools were tailored in such a way that Black people, as a rural population, should be taught only how to perform "simple" manual work.

Also it has been established also in this chapter, that control and management in most of the schools falling under the Lebowa Department of Education, were not appropriately practised. Supervision of schools by the Circuit Inspectors was not closely done. In some of the schools in Lebowa, no Inspection Reports were sent to the Education Department and Reports and follow up visits were not done.

Even though they had a role to play towards the management of various schools, the school committees which were in existence in some of the schools in Lebowa, did not fully participate in the management process. They lacked guidance in some instances, since they were often elected into these positions without being guided first.

The funding of Black education in this homeland has also remained inadequate. It was and it has been the policy of the National Party Government, that Black education should be deprived of funding. Less money was allocated for development, since the money which was contributed by the Republic of South Africa went to teacher remuneration. This had a negative impact on the education of Black people since many educational backlogs resulted from inadequate funding. Black pupils in the rural areas were educationally disadvantaged, since lack of funding resulted in poor classroom provision and high teacher-pupil ratios.

The educational backlogs in the former rural homelands will continue to exist in the new democratic South Africa and particularly in the rural Northern Province and will not disappear very easily, since there is a history of neglect surrounding this Province's education. According to Lawrence and Paterson (1991:2), the former homelands which returned to South Africa, brought home "the educational problems that have been inadequately dealt with or swept under the carpet by Bantustan bureaucracies." The challenges facing the Northern Province is to address the needs of learners in rural areas and to create a financing mechanism that will promote equity and development in the provision of education as a whole. In the light of this, it is necessary to evaluate rural education in the Northern Province since its inception, in order to arrive at conclusions and recommendations for solutions.

CHAPTER SIX

EVALUATION: FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapters an attempt was made to give an exposition of a historical-educational investigation of rural education in South Africa, and the present Northern Province in particular, within the realm of time and space. Given this, it is thus necessary to subject this investigation to an evaluation. According to Asher (1976:201), the concept of "evaluation" suggests decisions and judgements based on data and observations. In order to make better decisions and judgements, it is imperative to reflect on findings and subsequent conclusions that emerge from this research.

6.2 *METABLETICAL AND HERMENEUTICAL* ORIENTATION TOWARDS EVALUATION

As was pointed out in the introductory chapter (cf 1.6.2), the general approach in this project is to evaluate the phenomena of education in the rural areas of South Africa (Northern Province in particular) from a *metabletical* and *hermeneutical* perspective, since no research is ever conducted in a vacuum. These historical-educational guidelines will be the guiding factor in the evaluation of the persons and events described in Chapters Three to Five.

As was pointed out previously (cf 1.6.2), the *metabletical* dimension sensitises a researcher to the elements of time and space as changing realities; and this aspect needs to be taken into consideration. This always obviously makes evaluation of past situations (as far back as a century or more) to be a challenging task.

However, this evaluation needs to be done, since education provided as long ago as the situations described, indirectly and directly affects the current situation.

Another main element of the theory espoused, is taking cognisance of the hermeneutical dimension in historical-educational research and evaluation. One needs to realise that all situations are *constantly being interpreted* and all interpreters are also bound by their own time and space in their interpretation. It implies that this research is 'interpreting' situations that occurred as far back as the eighteenth century, in the light of the current results of those situations.

6.3 FINDINGS

Given the two elements of the metabletical and hermeneutical, I shall now endeavour to evaluate the data described in Chapters Three to Five, and make proposal and recommendations of education in the rural areas.

There are a number of trends and findings emanating from this research that emerge over a number of historical periods and they are the following:

6.3.1 Black Education in South Africa between 1652 and 1994

(i) Geographical isolation

Since the early nineteenth century, Black education predominantly took place in the rural areas of South Africa (cf 1.1). This trend continued throughout the nineteenth and even during the twentieth centuries (cf 3.1; 4.1;5.1). These rural areas were, and still are, generally characterised by geographical isolation and poverty (cf 1.2).

(ii) Racial segregation

Black education in South Africa has largely been shaped by racial segregation **ideologies** (cf 2.2) and legislation, which has kept Black people in the rural areas. Since the earliest of the history of South Africa, the education of the Black rural people lagged behind and even in the former Transvaal, which forms the focus of this research, there was little going on with regard to the education of Black people (cf 2.3). These segregatory trends were to continue through to the twentieth century reaching its climax during the mid-twentieth century.

(iii) Funding

Between 1800 and 1910, education for Black people in the Cape Colony and especially in the former Transvaal, was characterised by **low** funding, since education was seen and used as a political and social tool (cf 2.2.2) and basis for discrimination (cf 2.3.1).

(iv) Legislation

From 1910 to 1948, there were a series of legislative measures that were introduced to **disadvantage** the majority of Black South Africans. These included the 1913 Land Act (cf 2.4.1) and the 1936 Native Development Trust and Land Act (cf 2.4.2) which played a role in making rural areas the permanent settlement for the Black people in South Africa.

(v) Separate development

After the National Party Government came into power in **1948**, a series of racial laws were further promulgated and enacted, which entrenched the concept of separate development. The Bantu Authorities Act No 68, of 1951 and the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act No 46 of 1959, propagated the policy that different "cultural" groups should develop along different lines in their own communities (cf 2.4.4.1). For Black people, this invariably meant development within rural areas of South Africa.

(vi) Differentiated education

The education of the Black people also had to be differentiated on the basis of **geographical orientation** – Black people had to develop in their rural areas and their education was to be tailored in that direction (cf 2.4.4.2).

(vii) Poor provision of education

Black education in general continued to reflect **serious drawbacks**. The provision of funding towards Black education in South Africa remained inadequate. This resulted in a number of educational backlogs, namely, poor provision of facilities (cf 3.4; 4.4; 5.4.1); poor teacher-pupil ratios (cf 5.4.4) and high rate of unqualified (and underqualified) teachers (cf 2.5.1;

2.5.3; 2.5.4). Schools in the urban areas were much more advanced in many educational elements since funding was higher than that of rural areas (cf 5.6).

6.3.2 Education of Black people during the Missionary Era at Lemana and Botšhabelo

Formal education for Black people in South Africa was initiated and conducted primarily by the missionaries (cf 3.1) and mainly took place in the rural areas of South Africa. The reviews in Chapter Three and Four provide examples of two mission stations (in the present Northern Province; Lemana and Botšhabelo) and the education that they provided. The following was found during this review:

(i) Provision of education to Black people

Before 1953, when schooling for Black people was not regarded as a high priority on the agenda of the White South African Government, both the Swiss and Berlin missionaries provided virtually all education to the Black people residing in the rural areas of the Northern Province (cf Chapters Three & Four). Without them the Black people largely residing in the rural areas would not have received any formal education at all. They were thus the main teachers of the Black people in the Northern part of South Africa.

(ii) Development of Black languages

The Swiss and Berlin missionaries taught their converts the three R's (cf 3.6.3; 4.6.2). The three R's enabled the Black people in the rural areas of the Northern Province to read the Bible and other literature. Had it not been the commitment these missionaries made, the Black people in the rural areas of the Northern Province would not have mastered the skills of reading as they could have been illiterate. Mastery of reading and writing skills was essential to the life of the Black people residing in the rural areas of the Northern Province.

(iii) Education and culture

The Swiss and Berlin missionaries concentrated too much on evangelisation of the Black people (cf 3.5; 4.5). They were convinced that anything that was "African" was barbaric and heathen and the Christian religion was, therefore, used as a tool to eradicate those "evils". In many instances the White missionaries did not take into consideration the culture of Black people. Education that was provided to Black children who were largely residing in rural areas was devoid of their own culture and largely reflected the missionaries' Western culture. Unfortunately, the missionaries failed to realise that the school was a continuation of the education that was provided at home and, therefore, should not oppose what was taught at home.

(iv) Racism and education

It has been consistently pointed out in this research study that the missionaries, even though they initially did not practise racial segregation in their schools, due to the State ideologies and policies prevalent in those times, had to invariably revert to similar racial ideologies and policies both in their thoughts and behaviour. The Swiss and the Berlin missionaries (cf 3.5; 4.5), like the former Transvaal Education Department, under which they operated, were in complete agreement that academic education was meant for White people who would be more adept to perform mental activities, whereas Black people were to receive education for industrial and manual labour (cf 3.6.7; 4.6.5). This suggested that Black people and White people were to receive differentiated education. The missionaries propagated the principle of different education for Black people and White people before it could become an official policy of the National Party Government as from 1948.

Invariably, the education that was provided to Black people in the rural areas during the missionary period was regarded as inferior and subordinate as it reflected ideologies and policies that placed it in such a position. However, this cannot be seen as the norm as there were many instances where missionaries rose above these ideological and political thoughts and behaviour to provide an education of a high standard. Missionaries at Lemana and Botšhabelo were examples thereof.

(v) Control and administration

As in the case of missionary schools, the local control and administration of the Lemana and Botšhabelo institutions were entirely in the hands of outside missionary bodies including the superintendents and/or principals of those institutions (cf 3.7; 4.6). Another major factor in the neglect of rural education sector, was the absence of decentralised governance structures that would enable policy makers to keep abreast of the needs and aspirations of people in the rural areas. A further criticism that could be levelled against the Swiss and Berlin missionaries' system of education governance, was that it did not facilitate effective participation of parents, students and teachers in decision-making structures. As a result the missionaries could not, in most cases, provide for the needs of most of the Black people residing in the rural areas of the present Northern Province.

(vi) Funding

The financing of Black education by the State was inadequate, and a large portion, therefore was used for teacher remuneration resulting in neglect in areas such as the building of classrooms and provision of educational equipment for pupils mostly residing in the rural areas. Although there were financial constraints in Black education at missionary schools, the Swiss and Berlin missionaries continued to provide education to Black people.

Missionaries relied much on donations from Missionary Bodies outside South Africa and fees from the parents of their pupils. In most cases parents could not afford to pay school fees, because of the poverty prevalent in many of the rural areas (cf 3.10; 4.10). The conditions of schools due to poor funding by the State at Lemana and Botšhabelo remained in appalling conditions (cf 3.4; 4.4).

6.3.3 Education of Black people in the (rural) homelands (1953-1994)

The inadequacies that existed during the missionary period continued to exist in the former rural homelands of South Africa. As the former Lebowa homeland formed part of what is now referred to as the Northern Province it was used as an example to reflect the education provided to Black people in this area:

(i) *The apartheid policy*

After the National Party came to government in 1948, there was a number of legislation Acts which promoted the separate development of the people of South Africa (cf 2.4.4). In 1953 the Bantu Education Act was introduced which constructed an educational system designed for what was perceived as the development of Black people along their own lines. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 implied a major shift away from a united territorial state to a territorial division along racial lines. Black people were thus to receive their education in separate rural areas.

(ii) *The curricula*

Subjects that were taught at the primary and secondary schools in the former Lebowa homeland were tailored in such a way to prepare Black people occupy their positions which were believed to be in the rural areas. That was one of the many reasons why manual labour related subjects were taught at these schools. Subjects such as mathematics and general science were not properly offered as there was a shortage of properly qualified teachers (cf 5.4.3).

(iii) *Technical education*

The Government's policy on differentiated education for the Black people was also evident in the provision of technical education in the technical schools of the former Lebowa homeland. This was reflected by the introduction of the N-Syllabus in White urban areas as compared to an ordinary technical education provided to Black people. The majority of Black people in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland, were destined to receive an inadequate technical education (cf 5.4.3.4).

(iv) *Control and management*

Control and management in the former Lebowa homeland was not satisfactory. Circuit inspectors, the principals and school committees played a major role towards the control and management of schools in the former Lebowa homeland (cf 5.5.3). Most of the circuit inspectors made one visit annually to schools for the sake of inspection, and in most cases there were

no follow-up visits. School committees on the other hand did not have training and as a result could not perform their tasks satisfactorily (cf 5.5.4.1)

(v) *Funding*

The funding of Black education in the rural areas of the former Lebowa homeland was generally largely inadequate (cf 5.6). The results of this inadequacy of funding towards Black education, was reflected in the following areas:

- ◆ poor physical facilities (cf 5.4.1);
- ◆ high classroom-pupil ratios (cf 5.4.1);
- ◆ poor qualifications of teachers (cf 5.4.3.3 {b});
- ◆ high teacher-pupil ratios (cf 5.4.4);
- ◆ low pass rates (cf 5.4.3.2 {c}), and
- ◆ high repetition and dropout rates (cf 5.4.5).

From the above-mentioned historical findings on rural education in South Africa, several conclusions can be drawn.

6.4 CONCLUSIONS

- (i) In South Africa, the prevalence of segregatory policies and ideologies have impacted directly on the type of education that Black people have received. The impact that these policies and ideologies had on Black education was largely negative, in that it **confined** Black people to the **rural periphery**.
- (ii) Missionaries, such as those who taught at Lemana and Botšhabelo, although they may be eulogised for providing education to Black people, did not always see to the true educational needs of the Black people in the present Northern Province. **Missionaries** largely reflected a

Eurocentric approach to education and for various reasons reflected the ideologies and policies of the ruling authorities.

- (iii) The **severe disparities** that exist between urban and rural schools were largely a direct result of *apartheid* policies prevalent since the National Party Government took power in 1948. These disparities were most severe in the rural areas of the former homelands, since the quality of Black education prevalent since 1953 was poor.
- (iv) Rural schools in South Africa, particularly as from the missionary era until the homeland system was introduced in the early 1970's, were and are still characterised by **poor quality schools** due to, amongst other things, **lack of funding**. The poor schools and the inadequacy in funding during the missionary and the National Party Government periods, were the direct results of State policies of racial segregation that were prevalent in South Africa. The poor quality of schools in the rural areas of South Africa and the Northern Province in particular, was the result of the way Black education was financed throughout a various historical periods. People who were mostly affected by the way education was financed in South Africa were the Black people residing in the rural areas. Most of these Black people were poor and could not easily finance the education of their children.

6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

In the light of the findings and general conclusions made above, guidelines and recommendations will be made with the view that educational planners and researchers in South Africa in general and the Northern Province in particular, could be in a better position to reconsider and plan accordingly. The following recommendations with regard to rural education are to be made. The curricula in rural schools should take cognisance of the following:

(i) Fulfilment of the individual and community needs

Education of Black people, especially in the rural areas of South Africa, should aim at fulfilling both the **individual and community needs**. Education should prepare the learners for responsible and active participation in community living both locally (Northern Province) and

nationally (South Africa). The curricula of rural schools should therefore reflect specific issues or content pertaining to **rural societies**. These include health issues, economics, agriculture and the culture of the rural people as well. Teachers should, therefore, be equipped and empowered with relevant skills to fulfil these needs of the individual learners and the communities which they live in, as well as not forget the broader societal needs.

(ii) Control and administration

The basic administrative structures in the Education Departments should be looked at carefully. There should be **competent administration** and **supervision** by professionally **trained personnel** in the government administrative structures. The control of education system, especially at local level, should be done by elected School Governing Bodies, but the administration should be by professionally educated personnel appointed by the School Governing Bodies. Cognisance should be taken by these structures to the specific challenges faced by rural societies and their inhabitants.

(iii) Status of teachers

The status of teachers, especially those in the rural areas should be raised. The teaching profession should be dignified by raising the standard of the character of education required for certification and entrance into the profession. Good rural schools require good teachers. The factors of living conditions for teachers in the rural areas should rank high. Good facilities should also be provided for teachers offering their services in rural communities.

(iv) Funding

Adequate and stable financial support for rural education should be provided for by the Government. Rural communities had to educate more children with less money whereas the urban communities which comprised of few children with more money. There should be decentralisation of funding at every level. Until it gives the disadvantaged (rural communities at local level) an opportunity to exercise control over decision-making and the processes

that affects their lives, the government can only talk about removing rural disadvantages and backlogs.

6.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Unless there is a concerted effort from the parents, stakeholders in education and the Department of Education in South Africa in general, and the Northern Province in particular, to address the problems surrounding rural education, the standard of education in this Province will continue to be low.

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