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# The University College of Fort Hare

*By Professor Z. K. Matthews, Acting Principal*

## **Introduction.**

THE Union Cabinet has in recent weeks announced its intentions to pass through the Union Parliament at an early date legislation to provide separate facilities of university standard for non-Europeans. Among the institutions which according to Press Reports are likely to be affected by this legislation is the University College of Fort Hare. Fort Hare has been in existence since 1916, but it is doubtful whether this institution is as well known by the South African public as it ought to be. Now that we stand on the threshold of great changes which, for good or ill,—probably the latter—will bring about a radical alteration in the character of Fort Hare in particular and non-European university education in general, it may not be out of place to look back and to consider the kind of institution into which Fort Hare had developed over the years before it was overtaken by this new avalanche.

1. **History.** The University College of Fort Hare, formerly known as the South African Native College, was opened by the then Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, General Louis Botha in February 1916. Its establishment in that year represented the fulfilment of the hopes of those missionaries, administrators, liberal-minded Europeans and others interested in African welfare, as well as of leaders of African thought, who saw that sooner or later it

would be necessary to provide, as an integral part of the South African educational system, an institution which would give to Africans and other non-Europeans education, under Christian auspices, of university standard.

2. **Situation.** The College is situated at Fort Hare, a mile from the railway station of Alice in the division of Victoria East in the Cape Province of the Union of South Africa, only a few miles from the place where Dr. van der Kemp, the famous missionary of the London Missionary Society, established the first school for African children in 1799, and only a mile away from the Lovedale Missionary Institution established by the Glasgow Missionary Society in 1841. It is some eight or ten miles from Healdtown Missionary Institution established by the Methodist Missionary Society in 1855, and thirty miles from St. Matthew's College established by the Church of England at Keiskama Hoek in 1855. In other words the College is situated in the heart of an area of great missionary endeavour and is surrounded by well known Bantu areas in the districts of Fort Beaufort, Victoria East, Middelrift, Keiskama Hoek and Peddie. Built on the ruins of a military fort, the scene of many clashes between black and white in the historic frontier wars of the 19th century, it is now a centre in which black and white co-operate in the arts of peace, dedicated to the proposition that the pen is mightier than the sword.

3. **Scope and Object.** Fort Hare is a co-educational liberal Arts College designated to provide higher education for African, Coloured and Indian students who have satisfied the requirements of university entrance examinations of the different provincial Education Departments or of the Matriculation examination of the Joint Matriculation Board of the South African universities. Occasional-ly Europeans have been admitted as students, one of the

first four students who passed the Matriculation at Fort Hare in 1918 having been a European student, and more than twenty European students having at different times studied at Fort Hare.

4. **Students.** Students attending the College are drawn principally from the Union of South Africa, but have come also from the British High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland Protectorate, Basutoland and Swaziland, from South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Portuguese East Africa, Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. Fort Hare graduates, are to be found in all these territories holding positions of great public responsibility and rendering significant service to their communities in various spheres of life—as teachers, ministers of religion, doctors, lawyers, civil servants, farmers, agricultural extension officers, social workers, health workers, laboratory assistants in scientific research stations, chiefs, councillors, political and other leaders of thought. Their record has confirmed the view of Dr. James Stewart, the famous missionary educationist, Principal of Lovedale, who, in advocating the establishment of this College before the South African Native Affairs Commission of 1903-05, commonly known as the Inter-Colonial Commission, said “Education proceeds or progresses from above downwards, not from below upwards. It is the few who become thoroughly educated who stir the ambition of the rest, and it spreads all through. They shed influence downwards.” Mr. John Tengo Jabavu, an African who, among others, also laboured for the establishment of the College and whose eldest son, Don Davidson Tengo Jabavu was the first African to be appointed to the staff of the College, put the matter in this way: “We must have men with the highest education to teach and uplift the masses. Light comes from above.”

5. **Achievement.** The first University graduate was turned out by the College in 1923. By 1955, 5 students had obtained the degree of Master of Arts, 3 the degree of Master of Science, 4 the B.A. (Hons.), 6 the B.Sc. (Hons.); 544 students had qualified for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, 311 for the degree of Bachelor of Science and 69 for the degree of Bachelor of Science in Hygiene, a degree specially designed for those entering the Public Health Services of the country; 83 had gone on to qualify as medical doctors either in the Union itself or overseas, 582 had qualified for professional teaching certificate and 91 had completed the requirements for Diplomas such as the Advanced Agricultural Diploma or the Diploma in Interpretation or the Diploma in Theology. Some have gone on to take senior degrees in other Universities both in South Africa and overseas, and the list of successes of former students published in the College Calendar becomes more impressive year by year.

**Faculty.** The Staff of the College is mixed i.e. both white and black. Although Europeans are at present in the majority of the faculty, all posts without exception are open to qualified applicants without distinction as to race or colour. At present over 25% of the faculty are non-white. All members of the permanent staff are subject to the same conditions of service, including emoluments and other conditions of employment. Members of the faculty at Fort Hare represent a wide range of university experience, many holding senior degrees from some of the leading universities in South Africa and overseas. As far as their racial background is concerned they represent a fair cross section of the country, the Europeans including both English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking nationals of the country as well as some drawn from the continent of Europe. Similarly the non-whites have been drawn from

all sections represented in South Africa. In sum we have at Fort Hare, both in the student body and on the Faculty, a fair sample of contemporary South African society and the harmonious relations which generally prevail in the Fort Hare community give the lie to the common belief that South Africans of different social and cultural backgrounds are always at daggers drawn. For the Faculty for 1956 see College Calendar, pp. 12, 13.

**Administration.** As an institution incorporated under the Higher Education Act of 1923, the affairs of the College are administered by a body described in the Act as the Governing Council which is responsible for the formulation and direction of the policy of the College and for the administration and financing of its activities. The Governing Council which has more than 20 members includes representatives of the Union Government, the missions, the universities, donors, the Faculty and former students. It is a mixed body i.e. with both black and white members. Here again at no time in the history of the College have members of the Council on any important issue divided on racial lines.

**Residences.** The College is a residential institution, all students being required to reside in one or other of the College residences or hostels unless special permission has been obtained to reside elsewhere. This permission is granted only where students can live with their parents or near relatives. There are three residences for men: Beda Hall provided by the Church of England, Iona House by the Church of Scotland and Wesley House by the Methodist Church of South Africa. Each House has a Warden appointed by the Governing Council of the College on the recommendation of the Church concerned. All these residences are built on land owned by the College but leased to the Churches for the purpose. Students are

assigned to different residences by the Admissions Committee, preference being given to the choice of parent or guardian of the student. There is one residence for women students provided by the College.

#### Recognition and Status.

6. The University College of Fort Hare formerly known as the South African Native College was incorporated as a declared institution for higher education under the Higher Education Act 30 of 1923 in that year.

7. For a number of years thereafter students of the College were prepared for the degrees of the University of South Africa, a federal university consisting of a number of constituent colleges incorporated by private acts, situated in different parts of the country.

Fort Hare was not a constituent college of the University of South Africa and Fort Hare students were registered as external students of the University of South Africa.

8. The University of South Africa did, however, eventually accord to the University College of Fort Hare some of the privileges granted to the Constituent Colleges and apply to its students some of the provisions applicable to the Internal Students of the University Colleges. Thus

(a) (ii) Five members of the Staff of Fort Hare were appointed annually as additional members of the Boards of Faculties of the Senate of the University of South Africa, thus giving them a share in the work of the body charged with the framing of regulations, syllabuses and courses of study for students of the University of South Africa;

(ii) Further, in the appointment of Examiners for students of the College, professors and lecturers of the College were accorded the status of internal examiners in the same way as professors and lecturers of the Constituent Colleges.

(b) As far as students of the College were concerned they were granted, *inter alia*, the following privileges applicable to Internal Students:

1. The payment of the same examination fees as internal students of the Constituent Colleges.
2. Credit for the College Record of the student concerned in determining his examination results,
3. The privilege of admission to supplementary examinations.
4. The recognition of Fort Hare as an approved institution for the training of students for the University Education Diploma.

9. As a result of their development it became clear that some of the Constituent Colleges of the University of South Africa would eventually hive off into separate and independent universities. The Union Government accordingly appointed a Commission to inquire into and report upon the future structure of university education in South Africa. As a result of the Report of that Commission of which Senator Dr. Edgar H. Brookes was Chairman, it was decided that

- (a) all the existing Constituent Colleges with the exception of Huguenot University College should be accorded independent university status.
- (b) Huguenot University College which was primarily a Women's College should be closed down.
- (c) Fort Hare should be affiliated to one of the independent universities, preferably Rhodes University, situated at Grahamstown, about 60 miles from Fort Hare.

10. The Rhodes University (Private) Act was passed in 1949 and in terms of that Act Fort Hare became affiliated to Rhodes University in March 1951. The relationship between the two institutions is confined primarily to cooperation in the maintenance of academic standards on

the same level. Fort Hare students write the same examinations as the students of Rhodes University. Except with the approval of the University Senate

- (a) in the same subject Fort Hare students follow the same courses of study as the students of Rhodes University and have the same external examiners ;
- (b) Heads of approved departments at Fort Hare are members of the Joint Boards of Faculties which meet annually for the framing of courses of study, regulations and the appointment of examiners ;
- (c) Decisions in matters affecting Fort Hare are taken at a joint Senate meeting on which Fort Hare is represented. Otherwise the two institutions are entirely distinct entities, each, in particular, retaining its separate relationship with the Union Government through the Department of Education, Arts and Science.

11. In October 1952, with the concurrence of the Department of Education, Arts and Science, the name of the College was changed from the South African Native College to the University College of Fort Hare.

Ever since its incorporation under the Higher Education Act the College has been subsidised by the Government on the same basis as other university institutions in the country. Formerly Government subsidies were based primarily on income from students' fees though other sources of income were also taken into account. This was obviously not a generous basis for an institution which caters for the poorest section of the community for there is a limit beyond which student fees cannot be raised without making it impossible for students to come to the College. There is also a limit to the other resources which a young institution can command upon which subsidy can be based. Because of this basis of subsidisation, for many years

Fort Hare suffered from financial stringency to a much greater extent than the other university institutions in the country, with the result that in matters such as the salaries paid to staff, both teaching and non-teaching, the equipment in laboratories, in the library and in the College generally, research facilities and the other amenities usually associated with a university institution, Fort Hare found it by no means easy to measure up to accepted standards. It was only because of the devotion to duty and the sense of dedication of the members of the staff and the keenness and the hard work of the students who value so highly the priceless opportunity afforded them of acquiring a university education that the quality of the work done did not suffer more than it undoubtedly has done.

12. In 1953 with the adoption by the Government of the recommendations of the Commission presided over by Dr. J. E. Holloway, formerly Secretary for Finance and now Union High Commissioner in London, which was appointed to inquire into and report upon the financing of university institutions, the University College of Fort Hare entered upon a new era. The Holloway Commission devised a new formula for the calculation of subsidies to universities. This formula which has not proved entirely favourable to all the universities has made it possible to place the finances of Fort Hare on an entirely different footing, and for the first time in its history the spectre of ever rising bank overdrafts has for Fort Hare, at least temporarily, receded into the background. Broadly speaking, under the Holloway formula the subsidy for a university is made up of

- (a) Basic subsidies for approved departments ;
- (b) Standard Provision made of various components such as (i) provision for student courses approved of study or student numbers ;

- (ii) Provision for Administrative services ;
- (iii) Provision on a *per caput* basis for Laboratories ;
- (iv) Provision on a *per caput* basis for Library ;
- (v) Provision for Miscellaneous services ;
- (c) Standard Fee Ratio.

Thus the State Subsidy is defined as the Basic Subsidy (Sb) plus the Standard Provision (Ss) minus the Standard Fee Income (ksSs) where ks is the Standard Fee Ratio (i.e. the proportion of the Standard Provision to be contributed by a university from its student fees) In symbols  $S = Sb + Ss - ksSs = Sb + (1 - ks)Ss$ .

13. In 1955 the Universities Act No. 61 of 1955 which consolidates the law relating to universities in South Africa was passed by the Union Parliament. In terms of this Act the University College of Fort Hare is included among the universities of the country. The present status of Fort Hare represents the culmination of a long process of steady development through which the College has won recognition as a centre of higher education. Throughout this development the most cordial relations have existed between the Department of Education, Arts and Science and the College. The problems of the College have always received prompt attention and sympathetic consideration, and it has been of particular importance to Fort Hare, a young and growing institution, to know that it has been treated on the same terms as other centres of higher education.

14. In 1954 a Commission again presided over by Dr. J. E. Holloway, was appointed by the Government to investigate and report upon the application of apartheid in South African universities. Although this was a matter which affected primarily those European universities which are to a certain extent open to non-European students, as for example the University of Cape Town and the

University of the Witwatersrand, the Commission visited Fort Hare and discussed with some members of the staff the work of the Commission. The Report of the Commission was eventually presented to the Government, which did not, however, feel bound to accept the conclusions of the Commission regarding the financial implications of academic apartheid with justice—if that is not a contradiction in terms.

15. Towards the end of 1955 it was announced that the Minister of Education, Arts and Science had appointed an Inter-Departmental Commission on the Financial implications of the Provision of Separate University Facilities for Non-Europeans. The members of the Committee were to be as follows :

- (a) The Secretary for Education, Arts and Science as Chairman
  - (b) The Secretary for Native Affairs
  - (c) The Secretary for Finance
  - (d) The Commissioner for Coloured Affairs
- } as members.

The announcement in the Press made it clear that it was the intention of the Union Government to proceed with the establishment of several university colleges for non-Europeans on an ethnic basis. The scheme envisaged the setting up of five university colleges, viz. :

- (a) one for Coloureds to be set up presumably in the Western Cape
- (b) one for Indians to be set up presumably in Natal
- (c) three for Africans, viz (i) for the Sotho and related tribes to be set up in the Transvaal
- (ii) for the Zulu and related tribes to be set up in Natal or Zululand
- (iii) for the Xhosa and related tribes to be set up in the Transkei.

The Press reports went on to suggest that Fort Hare might be developed and expanded into the university college for the Xhosa and related tribes.

The recently published Report of the Tomlinson Commission on the Socio-Economic Development of the Reserves, in dealing with facilities for higher education for Africans also mentions the possibility of the setting up of a federal university for Africans with three constituent colleges, one for the Sotho in the Transvaal, another for the Zulu in Natal and a third for the Xhosa in the Transkei.

16. Since its appointment this Inter-Departmental Committee has not taken any evidence in public, nor has it called for papers on the subject of its investigation. As far as we at Fort Hare are concerned, three separate inquiries have been addressed to us asking for information about various aspects of the structure and organisation on Fort Hare as an institution. The first enquiry dealt with our enrolment, the number and types of degrees conferred since the inception of the College, the ethnic composition of our students and the occupations into which our former students have gone. The second enquiry dealt with the date of erection, the size and the cost of our tuition and administrative buildings and our residences for both men and women students and the staffing requirements of our academic departments. The third enquiry dealt with the staffing of our men's and women's residences and of Dining Halls.

To all these inquiries we have replied to the best of our ability and the Chairman of the Committee has expressed his appreciation of the assistance given in this regard.

17. The appointment of this Committee and what is likely to follow the submission of its Report to the Government has given rise to a great deal of speculation and uneasiness among non-Europeans generally and in particular

among the Staff and students of Fort Hare. It is felt on all sides that we stand on the threshold of vital changes which may affect higher education for non-Europeans to an incalculable extent.

18. It is perhaps particularly unfortunate that Fort Hare should be confronted with these impending changes at a time when the principalship of the College is vacant. It is particularly at a time like this that the College needs the guidance and the statesmanship of an experienced educationist who is familiar not only with the theory and practice of university education, but also has a critical grasp of the problems of human relations in a plural society such as ours.

19. Realising the importance of this matter, the Governing Council following the announcement of the retirement of Principal C. P. Dent appointed a Committee to consider and to make recommendations regarding the appointment of a Principal. The Committee in due course made a nomination which was approved by Council and endorsed unanimously by the Senate.

20. When the nominee was invited to accept the appointment of Principal of Fort Hare he immediately raised the question of the uncertainty regarding the future of Fort Hare as a matter on which some clarification ought to be sought from the proper authorities. Regarding this as a legitimate inquiry and as instructed by the Chairman of the Governing Council the Registrar in submitting the name for approval to the Secretary for Education, Arts and Science, asked at the same time whether the Hon. the Minister of Education was in a position to give us any information regarding the Government's plans as far as the future of Fort Hare was concerned.

21. The Secretary for Education, Arts and Science replied to the effect that the Inter-Departmental Committee

referred to above had not yet submitted its report and that in the circumstances the Department was not in a position to say to what extent the Government would accept the recommendations of that Committee and if so to what extent they might affect the future of Fort Hare. In the light of this situation he went on to suggest that as far as the principalship of Fort Hare was concerned, an acting appointment should be made until the position had been clarified.

22. When this development was reported at the last meeting of the Executive Committee of the Governing Council, the Executive resolved that the Chairman of Council should ask the Hon. the Minister of Education, Arts and Science to receive a deputation of the Fort Hare Governing Council to seek information from him regarding the Government's proposals about the future of Fort Hare and to express the strong desire of Fort Hare to remain under the Department of Education, Arts and Science. Subsequent to the meeting of the Committee the Chairman of Council expressed the view that the resolution adopted by the Executive, as it dealt with a matter of policy, could not be implemented without the approval of the Governing Council as a whole and that the whole matter be left in abeyance until the next meeting of Council in November 1956.

23. This view was further justified by the fact that the Minister of Education, Arts and Science, speaking on the Education Vote in Parliament, indicated that the question of apartheid in the universities would not be dealt with until after he had received and considered the report of the Inter-Departmental Committee which he hoped would be in his hands in August or September.

24. From the point of view of the Governing Council the matter rested there. In the meantime the question of

the future of Fort Hare was exercising the minds of members of the academic staff, both senior and junior, but more particularly among the senior members of the Staff who have given the best years of their lives to the development of an institution which they had hoped would continue to be associated with other university institutions in the country. It came as no surprise when the Senate at a meeting held on Monday, June 11th, 1956, adopted the following resolution:

"The Senate of the University College of Fort Hare is of the opinion that the best interests of the College would be served by the retention of its present relationship with the Department of Education, Arts and Science and that the College should continue to accept students on the same basis as before; that the views of the College in this regard should be presented to the Minister by the Council as soon as possible, and that the Minister should be asked to receive a deputation to present the case to him."

It will be noted that the resolution makes four points, namely, that in the opinion of the Senate the interests of the College would be best served by:

1. the retention of the present relationship between the College and the Department of Education, Arts and Science.
2. the retention of the present policy of the College as far as the admission of students is concerned i.e. the freedom to admit qualified students drawn from all groups represented in the country, although in terms of our Scheme of Government the College is "established primarily for the benefit of the Bantu races of the Union" (para. 3 of the Scheme of Government published in G.G. dated August 27, 1953).

(N.B. This part of the resolution is directed against the

suggestion that Fort Hare might in future be limited to admitting students from the Xhosa or related tribes only.)

3. the views of the College being brought to the notice of the Minister by the Council as soon as possible.
4. the request to the Minister to receive a deputation to present the case of the College to him.

The Acting Principal submitted this resolution to the Chairman of the Governing Council who accordingly addressed a circular to the members of Council asking them to express their views on this question of an approach to the Government on the lines suggested in the resolutions of the Executive Committee of Council and of the Senate referred to above. Replies were to be sent to the Chairman by July 15. As it was clear from the replies received that there was no unanimity on the question of the advisability of such an approach to the Government, the Chairman had no option but to call a special meeting of Council at which the matter could be finally decided one way or the other. The meeting was fixed for 2.30 p.m. on Wednesday August 1, 1956.

In dealing with the issues involved in an approach to the Government in connection with the future of Fort Hare it must be borne in mind that Fort Hare is not actuated by any spirit of antagonism to the present Government. As previously indicated the relations between Fort Hare and the Education Departments of successive South African governments have always been most cordial. The Union Government has always been represented on the Governing Council by representatives of both the Union Education Department, the Native Affairs Department and the Provincial Education Departments. From its inception the College has recognised and welcomed the contribution which government representatives have made to the

development of Fort Hare from the small beginnings of 1916 when Fort Hare was nothing more than a high school to the present day when it has reached university college status. The College authorities accepted the fact that in terms of the South Africa Act higher education is a function of the Union Government in its Department of Education, and although Fort Hare set out to be a university college primarily for the Bantu races of the Union of South Africa, it did not regard itself as in any essential sense different from Stellenbosch University which is primarily for the benefit of the Afrikaans-speaking people of South Africa. Although the College authorities were determined here to develop an institution with a character of its own, they did not regard that as in any way inconsistent with the pursuit of knowledge and truth in association with similar institutions catering for other sections of the population. The Department of Education constituted the principal official link between Fort Hare and other university institutions, and by associating with these institutions strove to uphold the oneness of truth and to attain and maintain commonly accepted university standards in the different fields of knowledge for which it made provision in its courses of study for its students.

At no time, however, has the College allowed its association with other university institutions to prevent it from developing a character of its own and from paying due regard to the special needs of the peoples for whom it sought to cater. The study of African languages and cultures has always been vigorously pursued at Fort Hare and today it can lay claim to the highest standards of training as far as the Bantu languages are concerned. The Fort Hare School of Agriculture is among the oldest in the country. The study of Native Administration and the problems relating to underdeveloped countries have been

pursued here for a longer period than at many another South African university. The health needs of the people it serves have always been in the focus of its attention and apart from medical aids it has turned out scores of students with the degree of B.Sc. (Hygiene). If Fort Hare has not done as much as it ought to have done to meet the special needs of the African people, that has been due to the lack of the wherewithal rather than due to the lack of the will to do so. For many years, as previously indicated, the College was handicapped by lack of funds and by the slow awakening of interest among the powers-that-be in South Africa in the development of the African people and the areas set aside for their occupation.

Now that the necessity for the development of the African people and the areas in which they live is more generally accepted, there can be no doubt that the time is ripe for a great forward move in the higher education of the Bantu people. In the Tomlinson Report is to be found one blueprint for the socio-economic development of the Native Reserves. That development will depend to no small extent on the availability of trained personnel in various fields of knowledge and skill. It was hoped in some quarters that in seeking to provide facilities for the training of the necessary personnel an important place would be accorded to an institution such as Fort Hare which the Governing Council of Fort Hare, with the generous assistance of the Union Government, has been at such pains to develop during the forty years of its existence. The expansion of Fort Hare and its strengthening by building upon the experience which has been gained there seemed to be the logical development, and the Department of Education, Arts and Science with its experience in guiding the development of university institutions for the European section of the population appeared to be the natural body

to be entrusted with the task of doing the same for the Bantu people.

Instead of that, according to the University Bill recently introduced into Parliament, it appears that the country is going to be confronted with the following situation :

1. the opening of a number of university colleges for the Bantu people.
2. the transfer of higher education for the Bantu people from the Department of Education, Arts and Science to the Bantu Education Division of the Native Affairs Department.

In favour of the opening of more university colleges for the Bantu people it may be argued with a certain degree of plausibility that if  $2\frac{1}{2}$  million Europeans require 9 universities to serve their needs adequately,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  million African people certainly need more than one university college to meet their needs. It may be argued further that if more university institutions are established they would be within reach of more people because of their geographical location, and that consequently, more students would take advantage of the facilities offered than if all students had to go to one institution, as is the case, in the main, at present. The growth in recent years of the number of non-white students who have gone to universities like Cape Town, the Witwatersrand and Natal and the number who have registered with the External Division of the University of South Africa, to say nothing of those who have gone to the University College at Roma in Basutoland, is used as a further argument in favour of the opening of more university colleges for Africans.

Admittedly there is much to be said for this point of view. Fort Hare is not in principle opposed to the open-

ing of more university colleges for Africans. Indeed there is a sense in which such a development could be regarded as a feather in the cap of Fort Hare. Fort Hare has proved if proof were needed, that non-Europeans are capable of and can benefit by higher education. It is gratifying to find that many people who were sceptical about this in the past are ready to enter this field. It seems, however, that the path of wisdom requires that the consolidation of existing services should take precedence over the erection of new services. There are a number of directions in which expansion at Fort Hare would mean a more judicious expenditure of the limited public funds at our disposal. In order to enable the College to meet more adequately the needs of the peoples and the areas it serves, there is an urgent need for more adequate staffing and equipping of existing departments and the addition of several new Departments. Among the latter may be mentioned the following :

(a) *A Department of Agriculture* to train students for the B.Sc. and other diplomas in Agriculture, which as part of its functions might give special attention to the agricultural problems of under-developed areas in South Africa and other parts of Africa.

(b) *A Department of Music and Fine Arts* which might develop the study and development of African music and art, fields in which the admitted aptitudes of Africans are not receiving sufficient attention today owing to the lack of the necessary funds. Fort Hare has already submitted an application to the Department of Education, Arts and Science for a Department of Music.

(c) *A Department of Social Science and Social Work.* The many urgent social problems arising out of the adjustment of Africans emerging from tribal background to the

conditions of modern African society require men and women with training in the field of sociology.

(d) *A Department of Commerce, Accountancy and Economics.* Fort Hare already has a Department of Economics and Economic History; the addition of Accounting and Commerce would complete this Faculty which is so vital in a modern university.

(e) *A Department of Law and Public Administration* for the training of lawyers, attorneys and civil servants for the Bantu areas and for the study of government and government techniques and procedures with special reference to the Reserves and to underdeveloped areas and peoples. Application for the creation of a full Department of Law has already been made to the Department.

(f) *A Department of Physical Education*, including the provision of a properly equipped gymnasium and sports ground, to provide not only for the recreation of students in residence but also for the training of directors of recreation especially for the rapidly growing Bantu communities in urban and industrial centres in the Union and beyond.

(g) An African Research Institute which might give special aid in initiating, co-ordinating and directing research by African and other students in various aspects of African Studies. In this connection the strengthening of the Ethnological Museum already in existence at Fort Hare should be borne in mind.

(h) *A Department of Pharmacy* for the training of chemists and druggists to serve Bantu communities in both urban and rural areas. The South African Pharmacy Board is in sympathy with the idea of the establishment of such a Department which can be done with a relatively slight addition to existing staff and with the co-operation of the nearby Lovedale Hospitals. Rhodes University with

which Fort Hare is affiliated has already instituted the degree of B.Sc. (Pharmacy).

(i) *A Department of Civil Engineering.* The South African Institute of Civil Engineers has already approached Fort Hare with the suggestion that such a Department should be started at Fort Hare in order to anticipate the demand for men with such training which will arise as the socio-economic development of the Bantu areas gets under way.

**Post-Graduate Studies.** In all these fields as well as in connection with departments already established within the College there is an urgent need for the development of post-graduate courses leading to senior degrees. Hitherto students desiring to take such senior degrees have had to proceed overseas or to seek admission to one or other of the so-called open European universities or to register with the External Division of the University of South Africa as external students. If academic segregation is going to be enforced in South Africa, it will become necessary for these facilities to be developed elsewhere. Furthermore if the new university colleges are to be staffed with Africans, as they presumably will be, at any rate eventually, facilities for the adequate training of such Africans will have to be created. It is submitted that Fort Hare is the place at which a beginning along these lines can best be made. Certain departments at Fort Hare have already been recognised by Rhodes University as properly equipped for the giving of honours courses and these departments offer post-graduate courses when qualified students are available.

#### **Present Buildings and Future Needs.**

As far as buildings the College already has the following amounts invested in different types of buildings :

(a) *Capital Invested in Buildings (excluding Hostels and Staff Houses).*

Stewart Hall .. ..	£39,700
Livingstone Hall ..	31,060
Henderson Hall ..	12,691
Assembly Hall ..	6,500
Botanical Plant House	1,125
Workshop .. ..	2,128

Total : .. .. £93,204

These buildings have been erected at a cost of £250 per student which is moderate expenditure.

(b) *Capital Invested in Hostels and Dining Halls.*

Beda Hall .. ..	£23,890
Iona House .. ..	16,200
Wesley House ..	33,000
Men's Dining Hall ..	13,775

Total .. .. £86,865

These buildings have on the average been erected at a cost of approximately 30/- per sq. foot.

(c) *Capital Invested in Staff Housing.*

The Capital value of Staff houses built so far is £63,970.

Owing to the fact that it is situated in an area where it is difficult for members of staff to find housing accommodation, the College has been compelled to adopt a policy of investing in staff housing.

No mention has been made here of College investments, of the College farm and stock, of Scholarship Funds, of Water and Light installations or of the Women's Hostel which is a College Hostel, all of which would bring the total amount invested in the Fort Hare property to well over £300,000.

On the whole the present buildings are adequate for the purposes for which they are intended. In fact as far as tuition buildings are concerned, it would probably be

possible to raise the enrolment to between 500 and 600 without necessity for any further expansion. There are, however, certain directions in which present accommodation is urgently in need of expansion. Stated in order of priority these are as follows :

(1) **Extension to the Library.** Application has already been made to the Government for a grant of £10,000 on the £ for £ basis for extensions to the Library. This application has been made possible by two donations for general development we have received, one of £5000 from the Transkeian Territories General Council and another of £5000 from the Bantu Welfare Trust.

(2) **Extension to Hostels.** As far as the present enrolment is concerned the limit of our present Hostel accommodation has been reached and the number of qualified students to whom the College shall be compelled to refuse admission owing to lack of accommodation is going to increase in the near future. The Women's Residence ought to be increased to provide another fifty, bringing the total complement of that Hostel to 100, while the Men's hostels could gradually be extended to accommodate say up to 180 each. With the small number of oppidans admitted from time to time this would bring up the enrolment to approximately 650.

(3) **Staff Housing.** Application has already been made to the Government for a loan of £21,000 to enable the College to provide 7 more staff houses to meet our present needs. A recent survey of staffing needs by the Senate shows that to bring our existing Departments up to accepted standards in this regard an addition of 12 to the present staff will be required. If the developments referred to earlier were to be implemented, further additions to the staff would be required. It would appear that the Government is not in favour of providing funds for loans

for staff-housing, their suggestion being that the Council ought to look elsewhere for the necessary funds e.g. to the Building Societies. If the Government were willing to release the necessary land from bonds to secure previous loans from them, it ought to be possible to do business with a Building Society and repay such from rents paid for such houses.

(4) **Assembly Hall.** There is an urgent need for an Assembly Hall. The Christian Union Hall which is at present used for College Assemblies is much too small, so that for larger assemblies, at great inconvenience, use has to be made of the Men's Dining Hall. It ought to be possible to obtain financial assistance from the Government for such an Assembly Hall which might be combined with accommodation for the new Department of Music to which reference has already been made. If a new more modern Men's Dining Hall could be built, the present Dining Hall could easily be enlarged and converted into an Assembly Hall.

(5) **Laboratory Extension.** For a number of years the state of congestion in the Science laboratories has given the heads of the Science departments considerable concern. Some relief was afforded to the Chemistry, Physics and Psychology Departments when the B.Sc. (Hygiene) course was discontinued and the accommodation used by the Physiology and Hygiene departments became available for re-allocation, but in the case of the biological sciences i.e. Botany and Zoology, the need is still urgent. If new laboratories could be built for Botany and Zoology, the space vacated by them in Stewart Hall would become available for lecture halls and for the provision of much needed office accommodation for staff.

On the question of the ideas and ideals which the Fort Hare College authorities have endeavoured to pass on

to the men and women who have passed through its walls, perhaps it would not be out of place to refer to a portion of the Address which the Acting Principal, himself a former student of the College, delivered at the opening College Assembly at the beginning of the academic year in 1956 :—

“ Indeed it seems necessary to remind all students, old and new, about the things for which a College stands and the things for which it does not stand. To take the latter first, a college is not a social welfare agency to rescue from themselves those who are not able to make good elsewhere or to stand on their own feet under the strenuous conditions of the modern world. There are places in the country that are better equipped to do that kind of work than we are. Neither are we a kind of club to which young people who do not know what to do with their time can be sent for the greater part of the year. The financial resources of your parents and of other taxpayers can be better spent than in subsidizing the frivolous activities of young men and women. Perhaps I ought to say that we are also not a marriage guidance agency, although we are a co-educational institution. We know that young people who come here from different parts of the country may meet here their life-partners, but that is an incidental not a central function of university life. The sort of young man and young woman who spend all their time either in one another's company or dreaming about one another will find that they will miss the central purpose for which the College was established.

“ A university is a community of men and women who are joined together in a common pursuit of knowledge. If it is to be successful the pursuit of knowledge demands a degree of application and diligence which requires a considerable measure of self-discipline. This is because the

pursuit of knowledge has to be carried on in the midst of a variety of activities of varying degrees of attraction. Games, student societies of various kinds, the local cinema and other leisure-time occupations will all constitute serious competitors for the student's attention. The successful student is the one who will succeed in achieving a judicious apportionment of his limited time and energy among all the seductive activities to which I have referred. You may be the most regular attendant at the local cinema or you may go to a different society every evening of the week. You will find that no marks are awarded for that at the end of the year. So while we would wish you to become something more than a mere bookworm or a “ stalk borer,” while we wish you to become a complete man or woman with a well developed personality, remember that we also want you to make good use of the excellent opportunities you will find of improving your mind and acquiring a tolerable mastery of your chosen field of study.

“ As a community you will find that we have some traditions which we should like you not only to respect but to absorb and to make your own during your stay here. I have recently had occasion to read through the back numbers of the Fort Hare Students College Magazine which used to be called the ‘ SANC ’ in the old days but has latterly come to be known as the ‘ Fort Harian. ’ I was interested to find that this Magazine was started within three months of the opening of the College. Moreover in the early days it appeared more frequently than it did later. At one time it was published monthly, later it became a quarterly, then it appeared twice a year and nowadays its appearance is even more intermittent. It seems to have been much better printed and much better got up in the earlier than in the later issues. The quality of the contents does not seem to have improved with the passage

of time. It seems to me that it would be worthwhile for the present student generation to delve into this matter and to see what can be done to make the student magazine a worthy reflection of student life at Fort Hare. I was interested to go through the names of the student editors and student contributors in various years, to find out how many of them have been followed by their sons and daughters in their literary gifts and editorial ability.

“ I was interested to find that one of the common themes of articles contributed to the Magazine was that of keeping up the traditions of the College. It would appear that from the earliest times students of this College, as students are at all universities, were anxious to guard jealously the traditions of the College.

“ But what are in fact the traditions of the College? Where are they to be found? Can they be summarized in any way or must we admit to ourselves that they can only be taught not taught in any systematic manner. As a former student myself in an attempt to formulate the traditions of the College as I saw them I wrote as follows in the Magazine some years ago :—

“ The history of the College shows that its establishment was the result of a century of missionary effort. Scores of Christians of different persuasions, White and African, had for years dreamed dreams about and seen visions of and worked for the founding of a College in which Africans might receive a university education in an atmosphere pervaded by Christian ideals and Christian principles of life. This, in other words, is not a College in which it is believed that religion is irrelevant to the business of higher education. The Christian missions have always stood for the relevance of religion in all education. It has been said that all the mistakes in African education have been made by the missions. That is prob-

ably true, but it is equally true that for years they have been the only people who have shown any real and active concern about African education, and we certainly cannot count their insistence upon the importance of religious and moral values in all education as one of the mistakes for which they are so often taken to task. The African people from whom the majority of our students is drawn, whatever differences they may have with the missionary agree with him entirely in regarding spiritual values as of fundamental importance in education. Consequently, while admission to Fort Hare is not made dependent upon a profession of the Christian faith, we endeavour to conduct the life of the College in such a way as to ensure that Christian beliefs and practices will not suffer eclipse and we hope that all who pass through the College—both Christian and non-Christian—will always allow Christian principles to permeate their relationships with other men as well as direct their individual lives.

“ Not only is Fort Hare avowedly a Christian College, but it also prides itself upon being an inter-denominational College. The vast majority of African schools of all grades are run on a denominational basis. This is a natural result of the manner in which the African school system has developed. There is no doubt that the various denominations have each in their own way made valuable contributions to the development of the African school system, but there is an increasing realisation on the part of all that African education would be better served by a greater measure of co-operation between different missions. It is a happy augury for the future that in the field of African Higher Education the missions are co-operating as well as they are doing at Fort Hare. Here our future African leaders have the opportunity to learn to appreciate and to respect the peculiar contributions of the different

churches to our common stock of Christian values and undoubtedly this experience will stand them in good stead in their future endeavours to break down the barriers of sectarianism in Bantu Christian communities. The African propensity for division and separation has been encouraged by denominationalism—hence the large number of Separatist churches among Africans. We do not expect our students to take part in increasing the number of denominations at work among the Africans.

“ In a country like South Africa in which so many racial and cultural groups are represented, it is very easy for people to get into the habit of allowing their blood rather than their brains to determine their attitude to various questions and peoples. The subject of Race has been studied from every point of view by psychologists, anthropologists, sociologists and others and the consensus of opinion of genuine scientists appears to be that there is nothing much more in race than what politicians, pseudo-scientists and such other nonentities attempt to put into it, much to the detriment of those who are gullible enough to believe them and of the rest of the world. Our experience at Fort Hare confirms the scientific view of the race question, namely, that given equality of opportunity it is possible for people of different races to live together in peace and harmony. Mention must also be made of another mischievous influence in African life, namely the spirit of tribalism. Tribal differences exist among the Bantu and no one who is acquainted with African life is unaware of the undercurrent of antagonism between members of different tribes fostered by the older generation of Africans. All sorts of myths about different tribes have been propagated in the past—the supposed stupidity of the Zulu, the so-called stinginess of the Sotho, the alleged treachery of the Fingo, and Xhosa disdain for modesty in matters of

dress—all these fallacious theories are being exploded by the rising generation in their common life at places like Fort Hare where the tribal affiliation of a student is of no account whatever.

“ We recognise no class distinctions among our students. No student can obtain better treatment in matters of diet than his fellow students on the ground that he happens to come from a wealthier home. We have no separate boarding arrangements for rich and poor as used to be done in some African schools. Chiefs and commoners receive equal treatment and from its inception Fort Hare has stood for the admission of women on equal terms with men. It is our hope that all our students having lived in a community like this will show in their life after College that sound learning need not lead men to lose the common touch. The ability to move freely in all classes without any sense of inferiority or superiority is one of the marks of a truly educated man or woman.

“ What sort of leadership of their people do we expect from our former student? When the word leadership is used in African circles, it is employed in the sense of political leadership. It is only natural that this should be so among a subject people. Now it is well to remember that there is a vital difference between political leadership and political chicanery. We have had quite enough in African circles of the sort of political ‘ leaders ’ who by promising their followers the moon have been able to extort large sums of money out of poor deluded people. True political leadership implies a respect for facts, a sense of responsibility and of self-sacrifice, and sufficient courage to refuse to be an unthinking advocate of what the unthinking mob clamours for. Such leaders are rare, but they are no blind leaders of the blind, no mere agitators and no seekers after

ill-gotten pecuniary advantages. If we can turn out political leaders of that stamp, we shall be satisfied.

“South Africa is a young country with much of its development still laid in the future. This applies more particularly to the non-European section of the population. In a country of such boundless possibilities, in addition to the qualities to which we have already referred, the rising generation, the future leaders of the country, requires to develop the spirit of the pioneer, of men and women who are not afraid to go off the beaten track and blaze a new trail for others to follow. Most of our former students have gone into the established and honourable profession of teaching. This is only natural among a people among whom so much education remains to be done. But new careers are opening up in the field of health, in agriculture, in social welfare work and we have no doubt that an increasing number of ‘Sancs’ will go into these fields of service. In this connection it is well to remember that practically none of the world’s progress is due to men and women who adhered too rigidly to the principle of ‘Safety First.’ That may be a good principle to follow in motor-driving but it is absolutely fatal as far as national and social development is concerned.

“One of the things upon which we cannot lay too much emphasis in the Fort Hare tradition is the fact that education is a life-long process. After all a college career is as a rule very short and at best it merely introduces the student to a few fields of human knowledge and provides him with the tools of learning or, to put it differently, with the keys to the closed doors of further knowledge. Numerous Fort Hare men and women have already shown that they labour under no illusions in this connection and it is gratifying to us to learn from time to time about what they are doing to broaden and deepen their education.”

### **The Outlook for Higher Education for non-Europeans.**

University education for non-Whites in this country is passing through a critical period in its history. As is well known, facilities for higher education for non-Europeans in this country have been and are severely limited owing to the colour policy of the country. It has been to the credit of certain universities in South Africa that they have admitted students drawn from all racial groups. Indeed up to now, the admission or non-admission of students is a matter that has been left entirely for the Governing Council of the particular university to determine. Universities have hitherto been regarded as autonomous bodies run by Governing Councils on which various interests were represented and which determined the policy of the universities on all matters, including the admission of students. This has applied not only to the English-speaking but also to the Afrikaans-medium universities. In other words there has hitherto been nothing to prevent Stellenbosch from admitting non-European students except the policy of its Governing Council. The Government has up to now not interfered with the universities in this respect.

It would appear, however, as if all that is about to be changed. Some time ago the present government appointed a Commission to investigate and report upon the financial implications of the application of apartheid in the universities. The report of this Commission was apparently not acceptable to the government. Recently the Government announced the appointment of an Inter-Departmental Committee to advise the Government on the application of apartheid in the universities. The implications of the appointment of this Committee are clear, the most important being that the government has decided to go ahead with the application of apartheid in the

universities. For them the matter is no longer debatable. It now only remains to be implemented. Indication of what is proposed has also been given, namely the establishment of a university for Indians, another for Coloureds and three universities for Africans, one (Fort Hare) for the Xhosa and related tribes, another for the Zulu and related tribes and a third for the Sotho and related tribes. This is obviously a most disquieting development.

In this connection we must not be misled by the fact that among the so-called European universities there are some which are English-speaking and some which are Afrikaans-speaking, and argue that therefore there is nothing wrong with a Zulu or Xhosa or a Sotho university. The fundamental difference is that whereas the existing European universities and Fort Hare were sponsored by Independent Governing Councils, the new universities for non-Europeans will be sponsored by the Government. There is nothing to prevent the Coloureds or the Indians or the Africans if they so desire from establishing a university which will be primarily for the benefit of this particular group, as long as they do not seek to compel all members of that group to attend a university set up for this particular group. English-speaking students are not compelled to attend English-speaking universities, nor are Afrikaans-speaking students compelled to attend Afrikaans-speaking universities, but it seems to be intended to compel non-European students to attend the university established for the particular ethnic group to which they are supposed to belong. This is completely contrary to the policy which has hitherto been followed by the Governing Council of the University College of Fort Hare. Ever since its inception Fort Hare has accepted students of all racial groups, whites included. Of the first four students who matriculated at Fort Hare one was a European, and since then a

few European students have attended classes here. Coloureds and Indians have been freely admitted to Fort Hare and their presence in our midst has enriched our College life. As far as African students are concerned, we have drawn from all the tribal groups represented in Southern Africa and beyond. The fact that the College happens to be situated in the Ciskei—a Xhosa-speaking area—has not carried with it the implication that this is a College for the Xhosa and related tribes. The proposed conversion of Fort Hare into a Xhosa university will be a violation of our tradition and a departure from the ideals of its founders.

This interference of the Government with the autonomy of the Universities is of course made possible by the fact that South African universities are so heavily subsidised by the Government. The Government's interpretation of the principle of the subsidisation of the Universities is that those who receive subsidies from the Government must not follow policies contrary to the policy of the Government. This doctrine which reduces universities to the level of government departments will be viewed with concern by all those who have the welfare of the universities at heart. If the universities can be directed on the question of admission, there will be nothing to prevent them being directed on the question of what to teach and what not to teach. One shudders to think what the results of this development are likely to be.

We cannot tell how soon these things will come about. In the meantime we must remain calm and pursue our studies as if our very future depends, as indeed it does, upon what we make of our present opportunities.

