

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION
AMONGST THE XHOSAS IN THE CISCHEI
DURING THE PERIOD 1941 - 1968**

BY

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION
AMONGST THE XHOSAS IN THE CISKEI
DURING THE PERIOD 1941 - 1968

by

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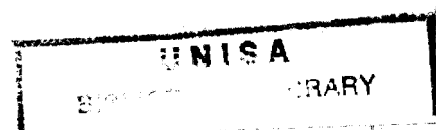
JANUARY 1998

DECLARATION

"I hereby declare that THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION AMONGST THE XHOSAS IN THE CISKEI DURING THE PERIOD 1941 - 1968 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."

ERIC QAYISILE BUKWANA

JANUARY 1998



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SUMMARY

The wars of dispossession and land claims amongst the various racial groups caused dissatisfaction which led them to split from each other enabling the Whites to possess greater part of the South African soil.

Because the Xhosas had their own system of education, the Whites felt that the Xhosas had first to be anglicised in order to 'tame' them. Missionary institutions such as Lovedale, Healdtown and St Matthews were established to Christianise the Xhosas.

The missionaries succeeded in their endeavour because the Xhosas started sending their children to the missionary institutions already established and this influenced the Xhosas to establish their own tribal schools that would cater for secondary education facilities.

The Government subsidised the tribal communities to establish secondary schools in their areas. Fifteen secondary schools were established enabling the communities to exercise control over their own schools as the missionary institutions were controlled by the Cape Department of Education.

Key terms:

Geography; Ethnology; Traditional system; Rural schools; Colonisation; Decolonisation; Nationalism.

CHAPTER 1

ORIENTATION CHAPTER

1.1 MOTIVATION FOR THIS RESEARCH

The author established that very little research work has been done on Bantu secondary education in the Republic of South Africa and none dealing with secondary education in the Ciskeian rural areas. This void represents a shortcoming since this territory, Ciskei, has been one of the most important educational areas for the Bantu not only of the Republic of South Africa but especially of the territories outside her borders (Katiya 1977:24).

The Ciskeian secondary schools were started in the rural areas of the territory amidst conflicting opinions as regards their advantages and disadvantages. Lack of certainty as to the position of the Bantu in the socio-cultural life of the Ciskei caused a lack of clear aims in Bantu education. This study attempts to show how this problem adversely affected the socio-cultural development of the Ciskeian citizens and how it was partially overcome so that some progress could eventually be made in respect of Bantu education in the area.

There is a great need for a study of the history, origin and development of Bantu rural secondary schools in the Ciskei because of the significant part these schools played in the social, cultural, political and economic evolution as well as the development of the Xhosas of this territory. In this regard Walshe (1970:53) remarks that the Ciskeian citizens need to know and take pride in the history of their development as a nation. They need to know the

development and progress of their secondary education and the main aims that governed it so that they may be encouraged to establish, support and maintain more such schools with a clear aim in mind.

This dissertation has limited itself to a study of the main trends that influenced the rural secondary education in the Bantu areas of the Ciskei with the focus on the period 1941-1968. The geography, ethnology and the contact between the early tribal Xhosa education endeavours and the Westernised system of missionary education are investigated and documented to provide clarity about the establishment and development of secondary schools in the Ciskei.

1.2 REASONS WHY THE PERIOD 1941-1968 IS RESEARCHED

The principle of nationalism, which has a consequential influence on education, had a profound effect on the education of the Xhosa tribes in the Ciskei during the epoch, 1941-1968. The spirit of nationalism caused the Xhosa tribes to utilise their tribal form of education as a powerful means for the inception, preservation and perpetuation of their nationhood (Makalima et al 1930:156).

It was also during this period of twenty seven years that most Bantu secondary schools came into being in the Ciskei and which, in turn, paved the way towards the establishment of other secondary schools after 1968. The study covers the period up to and including the granting of self-government to the Ciskei in September 1968.

1.3 METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES PERTAINING TO HISTORICAL-EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

The term 'historical' is a concept derived from the Greek word historia which literally means knowledge acquired by means of research. It denotes 'the past of mankind' and 'that which happened'. It shows the intimate relationship between what actually happened (history-as-reality) and the description of it (history-as-story). History is a reality which happened independently of the observer, but by means of preserved documents and other evidence, part of history-as-reality may be construed (Katiya 1977:29).

Educational, on the other hand, means the science of education which investigates the activities in the educational situation in which the educator makes the necessary means available to the educand in order that he may progress towards self-realisation and responsible self-understanding so that the educand may be guided to act accordingly (Van Dyk 1967:39). Historical-Educational, therefore, implies that man-in-education can only be known from history and that he is a being who develops himself in the passage of time. It also reveals that man and his conception of time is not merely a list of chronological events but an authentic integrated account of the meaningful relationships between places, epochs, people and events. Katiya (1977:29-30) aptly remarks that history allows man to study the past, to analyse the present and lastly to make recommendations for the future.

1.4 SELECTION OF THE TOPIC

Although much is known about the development of secondary education of most of the other racial groups in South Africa, no investigation has ever been undertaken as to the origin and development of secondary education in the Ciskei.

Furthermore, the topic is selected to show the significant role played by the missionaries who eradicated heathen practices amongst the Xhosas and who, without the Cape Government's financial support, would have never succeeded in their evangelical and educational endeavour to establish such institutions as Lovedale at Alice, Healdtown in Fort Beaufort and St. Matthews at Keiskammahoek. The establishment of the mentioned schools and the successes they achieved served to secure the establishment of fifteen secondary schools during the period, 1941-1968.

1.5 COLLECTION OF DATA

The data studied in the preparation and completion of this dissertation, in accordance to the requirements of the historical-educational research method, was obtained from a wide spectrum of both primary and secondary sources. All sources consulted are referred to in the text of the dissertation and listed in the bibliography which appears at the end of this dissertation.

1.5.1 Primary sources

The following types of primary sources were, inter alia, consulted: circulars, correspondence, newspaper reports, letters, calendars, education journals, records of schools, memoranda,

minutes of meetings, plans of schools, prospectus', certificates, invitations, interdepartmental committee reports and commission reports.

1.5.2 Secondary sources

To facilitate the extraction of the required data from topical and reliable secondary sources various books, theses as well as dissertations were carefully selected and studied by the researcher. In cases where a number of sources addressed a particular issue every effort was made to compare and verify the data and facts cited in these sources.

1.5.3 Interviews

Where both the primary and secondary sources lacked the information relevant to this research, interviews were conducted with various people which enabled the author to obtain information as genuinely and detailed as possible.

1.6 ASSESSMENT OF SOURCE MATERIAL

1.6.1 External or Lower criticism

External or lower criticism was employed in order to determine the validity, accuracy, reliability and genuineness of each document by trying to establish when the source was written, who the author(s) was and the place where the said document was published. Where applicable, documents were compared with other documents of similar origin.

1.6.2 Internal or Higher criticism

Internal or higher criticism was applied to analyse the meaning of statements in the documents and to establish the evidential value of the contents. Internal criticism was, further, applied to determine the accuracy and trustworthiness of the sources used as well as to find out the literal and real meaning of the statements contained in them.

1.7 AIM OF THE RESEARCH AND THE DEMARCATION OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE DISSERTATION

The author's cardinal aim with this research is to bring to light the most important historical events which led to the establishment of secondary schools in the Ciskei during the period, 1941-1968. To achieve this aim the contents of the dissertation are structured in different chapters as follows:

In this orientation chapter the following salient matters are explained: motivation for this research, reasons why the period 1941-1968 constitutes the main focus of the investigation, methodological issues pertaining to historical-education research, why the specific research topic was selected, the aim of the investigation and the delimitation of the chapters in the dissertation.

Chapter two is devoted to the geography and ethnology of the region and the early traditional and missionary systems of education of the Xhosas of the Ciskei. The significant role of the missionaries which led to the establishment of the mission schools in the Ciskei is also

discussed.

Chapter three deals with the development of Bantu education under the direction of the Cape Department of education until 1955 and its bearing on the establishment of urban secondary schools in the Ciskei from 1937 to 1942.

Chapter four discusses the establishment of secondary schools in the Ciskei from 1941-1955 with the focus on prominent secondary schools such as Ayliff, Kama, Burnshill, Zeleni and Rabula.

Chapter five focuses on the findings of the Eiselen Commission and the establishment of such rural secondary schools as Gould, Siseko, Gasela, ImiQhayi, Hewu, Peelton, Ngwenyati, Jabavu, AmaNtinde and AmaBhele in the Ciskei from 1954-1968.

In chapter six a detailed discussion is devoted to the historical periods such as the early tribal education, the period of colonisation, the period of decolonisation, the period of nationalism and how they impacted on secondary education amongst the Xhosas in the Ciskei up to 1968.

In the conclusion the researcher offers the recommendation that secondary education should receive priority since it forms the necessary stepladder to higher education.

CHAPTER 2

THE GEOGRAPHY AND ETHNOLOGY AND THE EARLY TRADITIONAL AND MISSIONARY SYSTEMS OF EDUCATION OF THE XHOSAS OF THE CISKEI

Formal education in any country tends to be determined and influenced by the environment and its people. The physical features of the country coupled with human potentials tend to either promote or hinder the process of education.

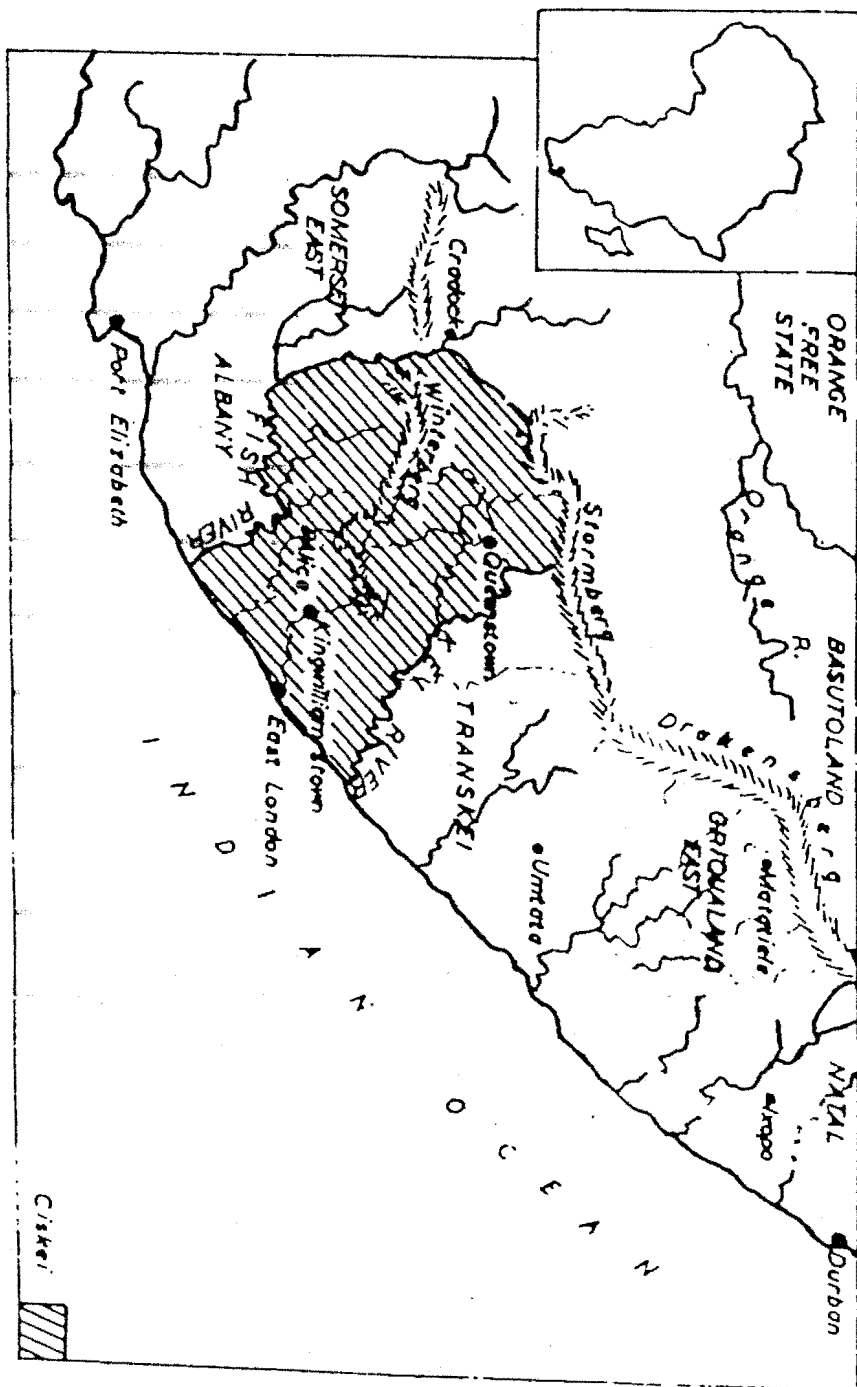
2.1 GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

The Ciskei is the intervening track of land between the Great Fish and the Great Kei Rivers. It is situated in the south-east of the Cape Province, between $31\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and 34° South Latitude. It is bounded in the south-east by the Indian Ocean on the west and south-west by the Great Fish River, whilst on the east and south-east, flowing almost parallel to the latter river is the Great Kei River (Tomlinson Commission Report, 7 April 1951:52).

The boundaries in the North, for the purpose of this investigation, will extend as far as the Tarka River and Sterkstroom, excluding the Glen Grey district which for many years was part of the Transkei.

The territory assumes a trapezoid shape and covers an area of about 20,000 square kilometres and it has a dense network of rivers, streams and rivulets which radiate

GEOGRAPHY OF THE CISCHEL



primarily from the Great Winterberg, Amatola and Kologha mountains. The nature of the territory, on the whole, is undulating with a number of streams in the valleys. Rainfall is generally evenly distributed throughout the year, with its maximum in autumn and spring. Vegetation, which is one of the factors that influence human settlement, ranges from bush, dense thicket of euphorbia, aloe and thorn trees to grasslands and even forests at places.

However, this territory, which had been the meeting place of both the White and Black people with their respective modes of living and economies, had no mineral resources. The White population had its strongholds in the larger towns such as East London, King William's Town, Adelaide, Queenstown, Fort Beaufort, Stutterheim, Tarkastad, Whittlesea, Cathcart, Seymour, Komgha, Keiskammahoek, Alice and Peddie, as well as in numerous smaller villages and settlements which are found scattered over the entire territory.

Although a considerable urban migration over a number of years had taken place, the Xhosas were still predominantly rural although some districts in this territory had a dense habitation, for example, the environments of Keiskammahoek and King William's Town (Hammond-Tooke 1941:10).

Furthermore, this territory was served by a good railway and road network, making practically every part of the area easily accessible. In this regard Hobart (1943:14) writes that "the main tribal areas were being served by a number of Bantu-owned buses". Thus keeping in mind the physical characteristics of the Ciskei and the

accessibility of every part of this territory, it is clear that these factors must have a profound influence on the education of the Xhosas dwelling there.

2.2 ETHNOLOGICAL SETTING

A slow penetration into this tract of land between the Great Fish and the Great Kei Rivers by successive waves of racial groups represent an interesting study in human migration. The penetration and final settlement in the territory by the various racial groups also laid the foundation for educational provision and development in the Ciskei.

2.2.1 The Bushmen were the earliest inhabitants of this country. They cannot be said to have settled in any specific part of the area. Their language articulated particular names to certain places, for example, Ngqushwa - Peddie, Qonce - King William's Town, Xesi - Middledrift, Cacadu - Port Elizabeth, Xerha - Ecce, Qoboqobo - Keiskammahoek, Qumrha - Komgha, Somgxada - Lovedale, Xhorha - Elliotdale, Qhorha - Alicedale and many others (Soga 1953:65).

According to Lichtenstein (1951:340) the Bushmen roamed the area in bands and made their homes in the vastness of the Amatola, Qholorha (Kologha) and Winterberg mountains, where stone implements, paintings on walls of caves and on rocks, reckoned to have been left by these people, had been found. The Bushmen were gradually driven out of their hunting grounds by the Xhosas who came from the East of the Great Kei River round about 1745 under the leadership of their chief (Rarabe)

and whilst on their hunting expedition met the Bushmen. Intermarriages took place but owing to the fact that the Bushmen kept on stealing the cattle of the Xhosas, Rarabe ordered his followers to attack and exterminate the Bushmen, beginning with those who dwelt along the Keiskamma River (Lichtenstein 1951:341).

At the same time the Boer Commandos, who were advancing from west of the Great Fish River towards the East, attacked and killed large numbers of the Bushmen and finally drove the remnants into the barren regions of the Northern Cape (Cory 1950:16-17).

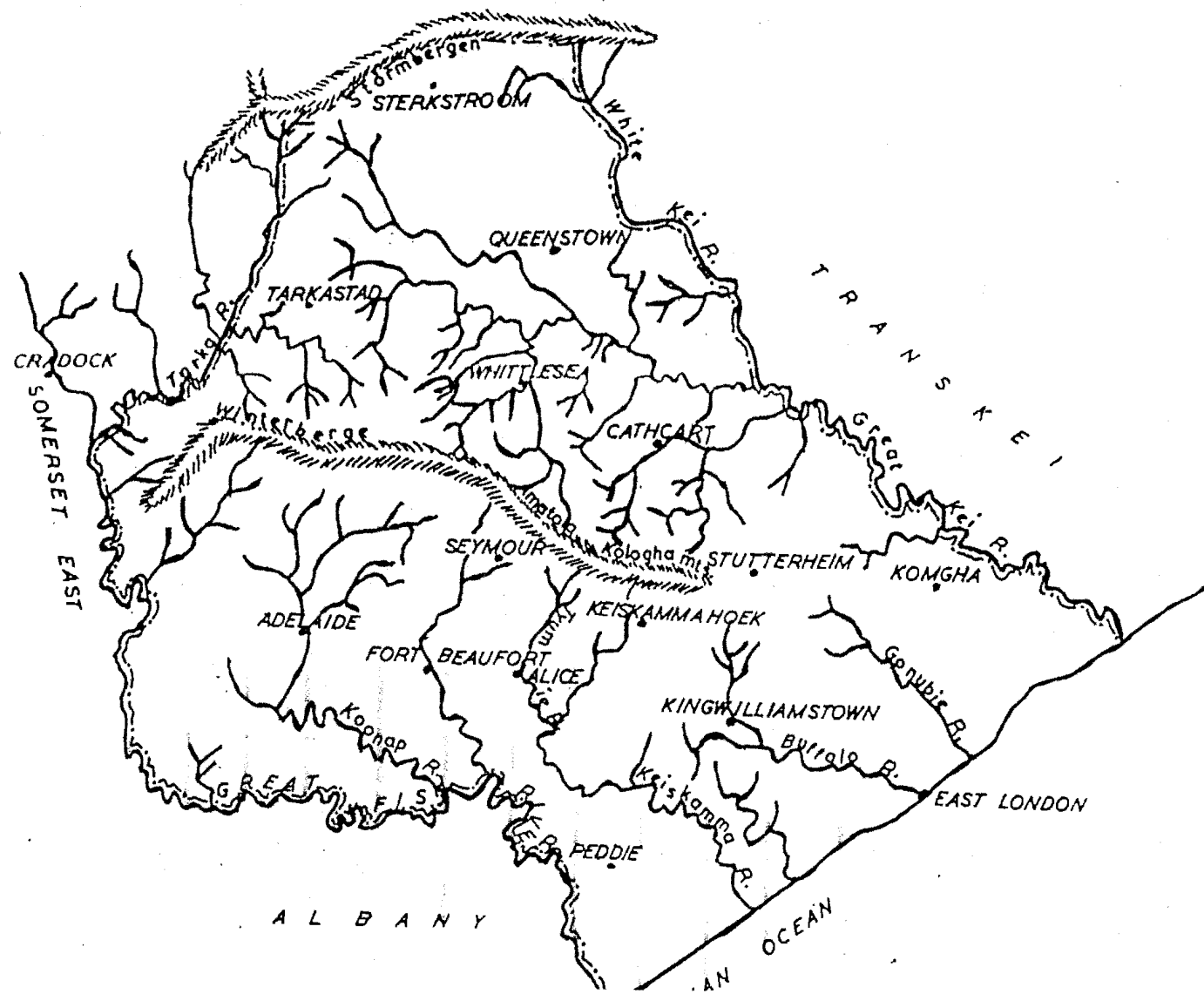
2.2.2 The Hottentots were the aborigines of the western portion of South Africa who received their name from the early Portuguese navigators and had since borne that name. From their unique language, which sounds like a continued clattering of teeth producing clicks that are made by striking the tongue in various ways against the teeth or the roof of the mouth, Xhosa-speaking people have inherited clicks which characterise their language, for example, icala - side, iculo - song, icuba - tobacco, iqaqqa - meercat, umqolo - backbone, uxolo - peace and many others (Cory 1950:20).

It is extremely difficult, however, to indicate which clicks the Xhosas borrowed from either the Bushman or Hottentot language.

It is interesting to note that for many centuries the Hottentots lived near the coast of Pondoland but not beyond the Umzimvubu River mouth. There are no traces of these people inland except for small groups who dwelt in the territory now known as

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Somerset East under their chief, Hintsati (Soga 1953:97).

In addition hereto there are traces of a smaller group of Hottentots who lived along the Katberg mountains near the present town of Fort Beaufort and along the Kat River. Theal (1954:28) aptly remarks that in the middle of the eighteenth century large groups of Hottentots moved from beyond the Great Fish River in an easterly direction and finally settled around the Hoho mountains, extending as far east as the Great Kei River, under their chieftainess, Hoho, whose headquarters was at Xaxazele Hill near the present town of Stutterheim.

- 2.2.3 The Xhosas came into this area in the early part of the eighteenth century. At that time the bulk of these people were occupying the area between the Umzimvubu and Bashee Rivers, which was their extreme western limit. The Portuguese, who first explored the coast of South Africa, found the Xhosa tribes to be the advance guard of the Bantu race. Here the Xhosas formed strong ties of friendship with Hintsati, the chief of the Hottentots, who even offered to protect these new arrivals to his territory against invaders (Van Dyk 1967:16).

It was during Mdange's (the Xhosa chief) term of office that the Xhosas split into smaller groups and in that way the imiDange tribe settled alongside the amaNtinde tribe in the King William's Town area. The amaGqunukwebe tribe, on the other hand, settled further west in what is now known as the district of Middledrift (Cory 1950:27).

The penetration of the Xhosas into the Ciskei is most intricate and vague primarily as a result of the lack of early historical records as well as the chaotic state of affairs caused by the incessant quarrels among the various tribes. However, an attempt is to be made to follow their movements into this territory so as to show the extent to which they influenced the development of education in this part of the country.

2.2.4 The Europeans started their settlement in South Africa as early as 1652 when Jan van Riebeeck landed at Table Bay. This settlement was followed by rapid expansion towards the interior in an easterly direction. As the farmers began to scatter inland, conflicts with the Hottentots, in the first place, and later with the Bushmen, occurred; but these were followed by larger and more enduring ones which took place between the Colonists and the Xhosas when these two formidable races first came into contact in the beginning of the eighteenth century (Cory 1950:35).

From that time a series of wars took place between the Europeans and the Xhosas with the result that the Ciskei has been regarded as the scene of numerous wars, treaties and negotiations between the Colonists and the Xhosas over land rights (Tomlinson Commission Report, 7 April 1951:54).

In order to prevent future conflicts the Governors of the Cape Colony insisted on land segregation between the Colonists and the Xhosas. All attempts in this direction failed and feuds amongst the Xhosas themselves, and wars with the Colonists occurred with increasing regularity (Tomlinson Commission Report, 7 April 1951:54-55).

2.2.5 The Fingos¹

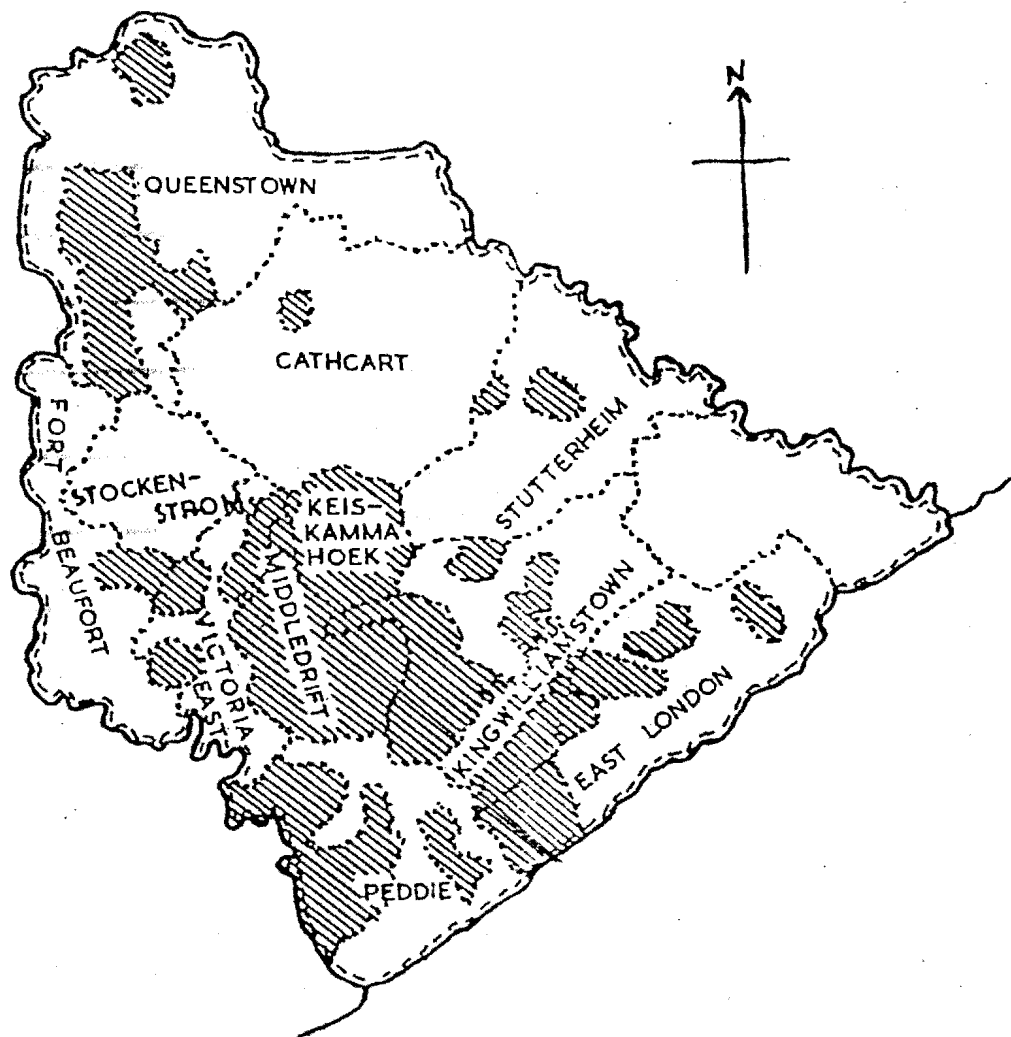
In May, 1835, sixteen thousand men, women and children, led by a certain Rev John Ayliff, crossed the Great Kei River, splitting from the Xhosa tribes into smaller groups in order to avoid the wars that took place then. They started looking for land where they could settle harmoniously. They settled around Fort Peddie where they entered into a Covenant with the Crown on the 14 May of that year (Cory 1950:39).

During subsequent years a monument was erected on that spot to commemorate that great day. It bears the following inscription in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa :

On May 14th 1835, the Fingo people, having entered the Colony from the country beyond the Kei, assembled near this umQwashu tree and in the presence of the Rev John Ayliff declared their loyalty to God and King. (Copied as it appears on the moment).

According to Cory (1950:41-42) the Fingos, in Peddie, multiplied in such rapid manner that their locations soon became overcrowded. Accordingly, large numbers of these people were removed and relocated in the present Fort Beaufort area, at a place then called Birklands and where the present Healdtown Institution stands. They were also relocated at Ely-Gaga in the district of Victoria East and others along the Tyume Valley and Amatola Basin. These people had been absorbed into the various Xhosa tribes of the Ciskei and can no longer be distinguished from these tribes.

¹ Fingo - a term that means "ukumfenguza" in Xhosa and translated into English it means "to search for".

DISTRIBUTION OF BANTU AREAS IN THE CISKEI

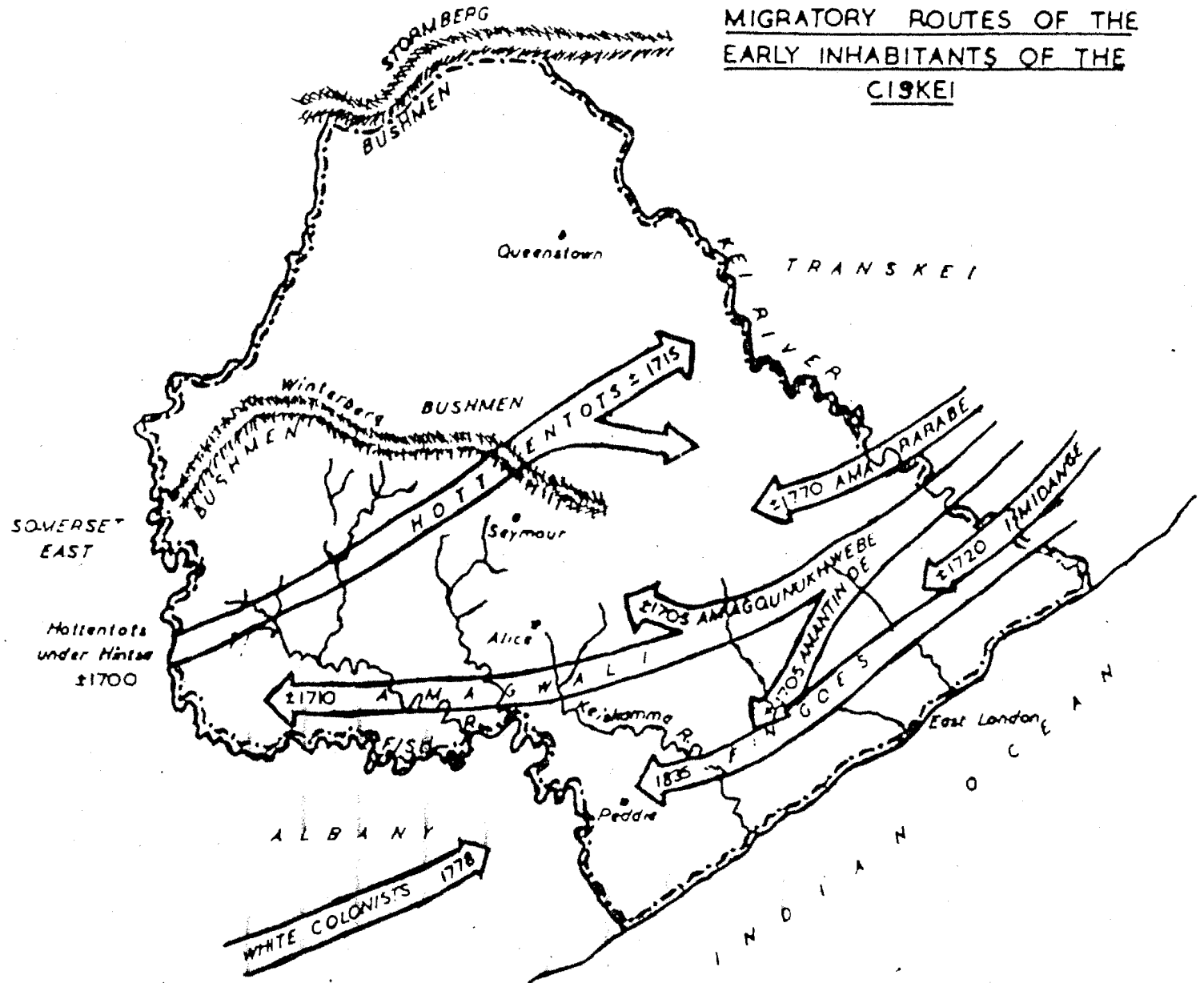
The pattern in which the Xhosas have settled in this territory has had a bearing on the development of rural secondary education in the Ciskei as will be indicated in chapters 4 and 5 of the study. Such a settlement was reached when land adjustments and modifications were effected, resulting in the demarcation of Black areas by the 1936 Land Act, as amended from time to time. In these areas, the various missionary bodies laid the foundation for the development of Black Education. Even at an early stage, however, the Blacks or Xhosas had their own system of education which existed in its traditional form and was given in both a formal and an informal manner (Van Dyk 1967:21).

2.3 THE EARLY XHOSA TRADITIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

The traditional culture of the Xhosas even from an early stage, was found to contain a real, virile, adaptable and pervasive system of education which existed in its basic form to meet the basic demands of a traditional society. It consisted in the transmission of cultural values by the older generation to the rising younger one so that these values were perpetuated and adapted to new circumstances as society changed. It was a continuous and incessant system of education that was applied to the Xhosa child from birth to the time he was granted full status as an adult in society and accepted as a fully-fledged member of the tribe (Van Dyk 1967:24).

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MIGRATORY ROUTES OF THE
EARLY INHABITANTS OF THE
CISKEI



Van Dyk (1967:24-25) remarks that "the aim was to help the child achieve independence and self-responsibility". Adults worked together in an effort to influence and bring up their children to live according to the accepted standards of the tribe, and they trained them carefully and systematically in the wider values of tribal life. Thus every Xhosa child grew up in a warm nest of tribal education wherein he was taught numerous details about the physical and human environment which influenced the child's life and behaviour from day to day. This kind of education was both informal and formal.

- 2.3.1 The informal education that was practised by the Xhosas was carried out without any specific preparation or clear method. It took place anywhere, at any time by anybody. Education for infants of both sexes, from birth to the third year, which was considered the weaning period in the child's life, was practically the same for all the tribes of the territory. The family was the natural educational agency which inculcated attitudes, emotions and values that were seen to be important and worth preserving. The parents, especially the mother, were the primary educators but the influence of the peer group featured strongly (Raum 1966:1).

Van Dyk (1967:27) stresses the fact that "teaching was individual in nature and it adapted itself to the child's peculiarity".

Teaching remained concrete, practical and relevant and in every tribal community children were considered the most important focus of ritual practice. Some of the rituals were performed very early in the child's life and others at a much later stage.

as it had been handed down from generation to generation. Since conversation was a means of social recreation the children used the language for this vital purpose.

When seated round the fire at night the children brought out their dramas, tragedies and comedies in a tireless stream of expressive words, vividly, and coloured by the changing effects of voice and gesture (Van Dyk 1967:31).

Although there was no written literature, Xhosa was very rich in folk stories and legends about the past which were told by old people to their children. The language possessed proverbs of great wisdom. Riddles and such forms of sentences as those emulating sounds of animals constituted the traditional "literature" (Van Dyk 1967:31).

According to Raum (1966:7) the child was not only a member of a family but also of a clan. This clan membership was of great importance and it involved many rules such as not marrying inside the clan which were taught to the children very early in life by parents. Attitudes of good behaviour and respect for and obedience to older people were fostered.

Raum (1966:13) proceeds to say that the play activities of the children had its own significance, since it was here that the sensory and motor skills were exercised to enable the children's co-ordination to be properly adapted to their physical environment. Moreover, the play activities were always anticipatory of adult life in which boys were men of the future and girls were mothers of tomorrow. Parents allowed the children to play in and around the homestead where sufficient vigilance

would be exercised over them.

The Xhosas also had their songs and dancing games which formed part and parcel of the life of every tribe. Children were trained in this aspect of tribal life and they learnt to sing harmoniously and to dance rhythmically, hence the expression "Ungangeni ngegqudu emdudweni ingom'ungayivanga", ("do not rush into the dance with your knobkierie held high without having felt the rhythm of the song") (Raum 1966:13-14).

Tribal ceremonies like initiations, had their own special songs, just as there were many others which might be sung when people gathered together on festive occasions. Many dancing songs were an imitation of activities like war and hunting and as such were of great educational value (Rose & Turnner 1959:243-244).

The social and religious formation of the Xhosa children occurred through participation in certain ceremonial and ritual practices and the child needed to be actively involved. Riddles were, in fact, a means of testing intellectual astuteness which was regarded as essential for the solution of problems peculiar to life. Religious education played a vital role in the informal education of the Xhosa people in the early days. These people believed, for instance, that fertility and qualities that were essential in adult life could only be secured with the help of rites, traditional medicine and invocations to the ancestors for spiritual blessings (Rose & Turnner 1959:24).

2.3.2 Formal education

The turning point of all learning in the Ciskei was reached at adolescence when education took on a more formal character which closely resembled school education as we know it today - where pupils of a certain age gather together at a certain place to receive instruction of a particular nature by a requisite teacher and at a particular time or season of the year.

Among the Xhosas this kind of education was found in the initiation "schools" in which boys, on reaching their adolescence, were gathered together, taken out into the veld for circumcision and then initiated into the responsibilities of manhood. The significance of this initiation which was experienced in a formal educational setting lay primarily in its function as a "rite de passage" which marked and effected the transition from adolescence to adulthood (Rose & Turner 1959:246).

Rose and Turner (1959:247) reveal that the custom was strictly observed and practised by all Xhosa males who had come of age. It was held in high esteem and reverence since through this practice tribal cohesion was maintained and tribal traditions were passed on from generation to generation. Moreover, it was practised to impress reverence in the rising generation for the older ones.

Ashton (1946:46) adds that initiation was also meant to foster wisdom and discipline in those who received it, making them teachers and preservers of the cultural values of the tribe. A man of personal integrity and special qualities called "ikhankatha" was

chosen from the tribe to serve as a teacher of the initiates. Thus the Xhosas knew that teaching had to be by precept and example.

Moreover, the content of instruction during the whole period was wide and pansophic, covering a variety of items which included, inter alia, the learning of crafts and skills which, when properly acquired, enabled the initiate to take his proper place as a useful member of the community. The primary aim of the whole activity was the preparation of the initiate for practical everyday duties of adult existence in the society. Discipline in these schools was strict and severe, and teaching itself was done in an atmosphere of awe and reverence (Ackerman 1960:22-23).

Ackerman (1960:24) further remarks that the initiation education was an effort which comprised the ritual isolation of those to be initiated, the careful selection of expert instructors doing duty at an ideal place where a variety of lessons were taught to the initiates. It placed the premium on hardiness, strength, endurance, self-possession, confidence and finally on the ability to raise and rear a family. It inculcated in the initiates implicit obedience to authority, discipline and good behaviour so that they could become fitting members of their tribe.

Like their male counterparts, the girls also went through a system of formal education which was real and dynamic within the tribal life. The young girl's intensive training in the initiation school consisted of the instilling of attitudes, knowledge and skills pertaining to the running of the home and family. They received lessons which included the development and cultivation of habits of cleanliness, good manners and

conduct, care of babies and many others. In the "intonjane" (the ceremony when all girls of the same age are gathered together) experienced and expert elderly ladies in the tribe would be selected to help guide the young girls through their difficult times of stress and strain (Ackerman 1960:26).

The virile and pervasive system of traditional education of the Xhosa people of the Ciskei was interfered with by the arrival of the early missionaries, bringing with them a Westernised system of education.

2.4 THE EARLY MISSIONARY SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

As a result of a missionary revival in Europe, which took place towards the end of the eighteenth century there came, in successive waves, to South Africa a number of different missionary societies and church organisations: the Moravians in 1737, the London Missionary Society in 1799, the Glasgow Society in 1789, the Anglicans and Wesleyans in 1821, the Rhenish and Paris Evangelical Societies in 1829 and the Berlin Society in 1834 (Lekhela 1958:37).

These missionaries began to work among the Xhosas in isolation from each other. Their first and greatest difficulty, however, was the ever-increasing numbers of converts who could neither read nor write. The logical step to take, therefore, was to provide elementary schooling as ancillary to their evangelisation to enable their converts to acquire the elementary knowledge of reading and writing. In doing this the missionaries began to share with the Xhosas not only their knowledge of God but also

the treasures of a highly developed and literate civilisation. From humble beginnings each missionary body built a number of schools which were regarded as important agencies of their evangelistic work (Lekhela 1958:38).

In this regard Lekhela (1958:39-40) further writes:

... conversions and education of the Bantu were synonymous.

The two were interdependent. Whatever attempts were made by the church at conversion implied some measure of education ...

The missionaries thus formed the nucleus of a system of education which had the effect of confirming and perpetuating a prescribed curriculum which was bookish in character and which tended to concentrate on the three R's, namely, reading, writing and arithmetic (Kgware 1964:8).

2.4.1 The Xhosas' denial of missionary education

The Xhosas did not readily accept the missionary system of education as they were tenaciously holding onto their customs and strongly supported their indigenous education. They considered the "White man's" education as being far removed from their national past, their tribal life and traditions (Lekhela 1958:41).

In spite of their lack of insight when introducing their Westernised system of education to the Xhosas, these Christian "giants" must be given their due credit for

having devoted all their energies and toil, serving in remote areas under adverse conditions and often working among hostile people or tribesmen, equipping them in order to play a worthy role, side by side with members of other races, in the development of their own country (Kgware 1964:14-15).

2.4.2 **Establishment of schools by the London Missionary Society**

The first school in the Ciskei, erected by the London Missionary Society, was opened in 1799 by Dr Johannes Theodosius van der Kemp. He crossed the Great Fish River on an evangelising mission, visited chief Gaika (Ngqika) at his place on the Tyume River and started a small school in the chief's territory. After some months, however, van der Kemp returned to work among the Hottentots at Bethelsdorp, near the present Port Elizabeth, where some chiefs used to send their sons to be educated by him (Holt 1954:57).

The second missionary school was established by the Rev Joseph Williams, an ex-carpenter from Britain, who was trained as a missionary by the London Missionary Society and later was sent to South Africa. Williams crossed the Great Fish River in 1816 and set up the Kat Mission about six kilometres from the present town of Fort Beaufort. He then opened a school for the Xhosa children of the neighbourhood. The work, however, was temporarily abandoned two years later when Williams died (Holt 1954:59).

2.4.3 The establishment of mission stations

The Colonial Government, which had previously disagreed with the policies of some of the representatives of the London Missionary Society, did not allow this society to send a successor to replace Joseph Williams. Instead, it appointed John Brownlee of the Glasgow Missionary Society to start a mission. After a while Brownlee was joined by William R Thompson who was, in fact, employed by the Government. A little later John Bennie and John Ross, of the Glasgow Missionary Society, joined Brownlee and Thompson in their task of establishing a mission in the Ciskei (Holt 1954:60).

The outcome of the labours of these men was the establishment of two mission stations, one at Tyume on the Gwali River and the other at Ncera near the present town of Alice. At Tyume a mission school was started in 1821, while at Ncera one was started in 1824. Shepherd (1941:210) states that the latter school (Ncera) was later changed to Lovedale in memory of Dr John Love, who had been one of the founders of the Glasgow Missionary Society.

In 1834 the sixth Xhosa War broke out and these two mission stations were destroyed and the missionaries evacuated. At the end of the following year, however, after the Xhosa impi's had been defeated and driven back, a new site was chosen for Lovedale about eight kilometres to the west of the earlier one, on a piece of land that was made available by Chief Tyali, son of Ngqika. On this land an elementary school was started in 1839 (Shepherd 1941:211).

At the suggestion of the local missionaries the Glasgow Missionary Society sent a full-time educationist, in the person of Rev William Govan in 1841, to establish an institution at Alice for the training of teachers and catechists (Shepherd 1941:211). This was the beginning of the present Lovedale Institution which began to train Xhosa teachers even before the Colonial Government provided such facilities for the Whites.

With reference to the history as presented by Shepherd (1941:211) regarding the origin, growth and development of this institution, it is interesting to note that Lovedale was the first of its kind to be run on interdenominational lines. The endeavours of the Presbyterian missionaries whose devotion to service not only gave a change to the Xhosa mind, regarding the significance of the White man's civilisation, but it also served as an example of what the Christian spirit was all about.

These men of God were keen and zealous to promote the welfare and the well-being of the Xhosas by introducing them to the Christian religion with general education as its concomitant in order to produce harmoniously-developed persons who would be of service to their fellowmen. In this noble venture the Presbyterians were later on joined by the Anglican and Methodist or Wesleyan missionaries (Monroe 1957:612).

2.4.4 The establishment of additional institutions in the Ciskei

The Anglicans, who were later known as the Church of the Province, established the present St Matthews College at Keiskammahoek, whose history has been written by Fihla (1962:6). The Wesleyans, who are presently known as Methodists, established

the present Healdtown Institution at Fort Beaufort, the history of which has been written by Hewson (1960:14). Both St Matthews College and Healdtown provided facilities for the training of Xhosa teachers and artisans.

In support of the above Dyasi (1960:47) writes that these institutions catered for the teacher training and industrial education of the Xhosas for no less than a century. Towards the end of the nineteenth century they took yet another step forward and provided facilities for secondary education, the monopoly of which they enjoyed until the late 1940's when secondary schools began to be established and maintained in certain urban areas of the Eastern Cape and later in a number of rural areas of the Ciskei.

CHAPTER 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BANTU EDUCATION UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE CAPE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION UNTIL 1955 AND ITS BEARING ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE CISKEI FROM 1937 TO 1942

3.1 A SURVEY OF THE PERIOD 1800-1937

From its infant stages of development in 1797, when the first Black school was established in the Western Cape, the education of the Xhosas or Bantu was the responsibility of the missionaries who found it expedient and logical to establish mission schools as an ancillary to their evangelical work. These schools, numerous as they later became, were supported and maintained by the missionaries from their meagre financial resources (Ackerman 1960:37).

Although to a limited extent the Bantu communities did render their support in money, especially parents whose children attended these schools, they neither had a say in nor control over the education of their own children. The control and responsibility for Bantu education remained in the hands of the missionaries (Tom 1967:2).

Tom (1967:3-4) reveals that even the curricula, for example, church catechism and church hymns were the same as those that were in force in schools of European countries. No account, however, was taken of the immediate needs of the Bantu

children in their practical situation which was being influenced by the contemporary social, economic and political developments. The teachers for these mission schools were imported from Europe and were not conversant with conditions of this country and its people, let alone the Xhosas and their culture. English was the main language used as the medium of instruction. Yet, the missionaries did everything in their power to lay a firm foundation for what later developed into Bantu education.

The control of Bantu education remained in the hands of the missionaries even when a new era set in with the assumption of office of Sir George Grey as Governor of the Cape Colony in 1850. Up to that year Bantu education had made a steady progress. The missionaries had even gone as far as establishing certain institutions such as Lovedale, Healdtown and St Matthews which provided facilities for the training of Xhosa teachers and artisans (Pells 1954:133).

Grey's predecessor, Sir Harry Smith, had during the previous years succeeded in pushing the Cape boundary to the Keiskamma River so that it might include the British Kaffraria¹ and in that way bring over 500,000 more Xhosas under the banner of European civilisation. In his determination to continue the policy of Sir Harry Smith, namely, to civilise and moralise the Xhosas and in that way raise their standard of living, Sir George Grey realised that it was essential for him to train the young people. He therefore induced the Cape Government to give grants to certain schools in order to teach and promote agriculture (Pells 1954:133-134).

¹Districts belonging to the Kaffir (Xhosa) nation which lie within the bounds of the Cape Colony.

In this way the Government was bound to take decisive steps to participate actively in the field of Bantu education. In 1854 the Cape Government decided to subsidise the mission schools that agreed to instruct Bantu pupils in industrial occupations and to enable them to qualify as interpreters, evangelists and teachers among their own people. When this offer was accepted by the missionaries, large sums of money began to be spent on Bantu education by the Government. In the field of industrial training itself, however, very little progress was made (Ackerman 1960:41).

Sir George Grey laid the foundation for the Cape Government in subsequent years to play an active role in the education of the Xhosas or Bantu by making grants-in-aid available in the first instance and later sharing with the missionaries the control and responsibility for Bantu education (Ackerman 1960:41-42).

For the first time the Government of the Cape Colony recognised the Xhosas as its citizens. Moreover, Sir George Grey encouraged industrial education² which would enable the Xhosas to meet the immediate requirements of their everyday life and that they should do this without encroaching on the people's freedom. Grey believed that Xhosas needed such training as would help enable them to realise the dignity of manual labour. This would enable them to raise their standard of living by engaging in such occupations as would divert their warlike tendencies towards activities that would be for the good of the inhabitants of their country (Pells 1954:137).

²Education serving the needs of industries by preparing pupils for occupations requiring manual labour

Although Sir George Grey agreed with the missionaries on the necessity of converting the Xhosa tribes and so to detribalise them he, nevertheless, deplored the mainly theoretical book-learning given to these people by the missionaries. He favoured the idea that the missionaries should give the Xhosas such instruction as would foster in them working skills (Duminy 1965:73).

James Rose-Innes succeeded Grey as Superintendent-General of Education of the Cape Colony in 1857 and tried to pursue Grey's educational policy but due to unfavourable conditions in the Cape he had to be sent back to Europe and was succeeded by Dr Langham Dale as Superintendent-General of Education in 1859. Dale continued the good work of his predecessors. He established more schools and institutions of the type that had been established by Grey. He made more grants-in-aid available to be allocated by the Superintendent-General of Education as he saw fit (Duminy 1965:73-74).

Pells (1954:138) confirms that Dale carried out his task more effectively in the educational matters of the country by instituting the Watermeyer Commission in 1863. This commission had to enquire into the state of the schools already established at that time and also into the conditions upon which grants of money were made from the colonial treasury in aid of teachers' salaries in schools that were under the jurisdiction of private bodies or under missionary control. In the same year, 1863, this Commission issued a report which was valuable for its insight into educational matters. It traced the systematic development of the educational system from its humble origins.

In its report the Watermeyer Commission indicated that the weakness of the system of education lay in the fact that it was "too Governmental" (Watermeyer Commission Report, 21 November 1863:133) and as such badly administered. It did not allow people to give vent to their feelings by participating in and contributing towards the education of their children in a direct way. Instead, everything was thrust upon and prescribed to them from above. Very little regard, if any, was paid to the people's local needs.

The Watermeyer Commission Report (21 November 1863:134-135) went on to recommend the gradual abolition of the established school system, which in the Commission's view had no bond of connection with the people it was meant to serve. It further strongly recommended the extension of Government aid to all schools on the pound for pound³ principle.

This report of the Watermeyer Commission led to the passing of the Education Act of 1865 which embodied the "Schedule of Regulations" of Dr Langham Dale which became the basis of the educational system of the Cape Colony until the proclamation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The "Schedule of Regulations" contained the following salient trends:

- (a) the pound for pound principle which operated in the case of all the undenominational (non-religious designation) Public Schools.

³The currency unit which is of about equal value with our two rand.

- (b) provision of assistance to mission schools serving areas where there was private initiative and educational interest.
- (c) more grants to be made available for the establishment of Bantu schools.
- (d) Dr Langham Dale's 1859 pupil-teacher ratio to be placed on a firmer basis (Watermeyer Commission Report, 21 November 1863:135-136).

When the British Kaffraria was annexed by the Cape Colonial Government in 1866 sixty additional mission schools, divided among five competing missionary bodies, were brought under the wing of the Cape Department of Education which had been instituted for the first time in 1839 with James Rose-Innes as the first Superintendent-General of Education. This post came into being as he succeeded Sir George Grey. Dr Langham Dale's period of office (1859-1892) must be regarded as a period of tremendous development in Bantu education and which also gave guidance to his successors (Loram 1948:89).

3.1.1 **Factors that retarded the rapid development of Bantu education**

Although considerable progress was achieved, a number of factors still retarded the rapid development of Bantu education: Lack of qualified teachers with a good command of the Xhosa language and a sound knowledge of these people and their cultural background; lack of adequate funds from which fair salaries could be paid to attract competent teachers and at the same time to help towards payment of expenses incurred during the training of promising but needy Bantu pupils; grave doubts as to what the curriculum of Bantu education should include; the question of the medium

of instruction; the attitude of Bantu parents who would not buy their children the needed school books and who would withdraw their children from school whenever they so desire, in that way causing the school attendance of these children to be irregular (Pells 1954:147).

3.1.2 **Problems encountered by implementing a Westernised system of education to the Xhosas**

Problems were experienced when school syllabi were imported from Europe and transplanted in Bantu schools without these being modified and adjusted to suit the immediate needs of the Bantu tribes in order to fulfil their educational and cultural aspirations (Loram 1948:74).

The missionaries overlooked the fundamental educational principle that education should always be considered in its cultural setting. Even so the missionary endeavour and achievement in the education of the South African Bantu people move us to agree with Prof L Selbourne who said:

Missionaries, like other people, make mistakes. Natives have often been educated on unsound lines. But instead of the missionaries ... being the subjects of reprobation ... they ... should be regarded as the people who have taken far the most trouble and who alone have sacrificed themselves in order to ensure that the education of the Native ... should contain

something good (Loram 1948:78).

3.1.3 Sir Thomas Muir's term of office (1892-1915)

Sir Thomas Muir, who succeeded Dr Langham Dale as Superintendent-General of Education in 1892, showed no active interest in the education of the Xhosas but he left it entirely in the hands of the missionaries. The result was that no marked progress was made in this field during his term of office. The only tangible contribution Muir ever made, as Pells (1954:133) puts it, was the raising of entrance qualifications for the teacher-training course from standard four (iv) to standard five (v) in 1899 and from standard five (v) to standard six (vi) in 1910.

At the same time the attendance at the mission schools was irregular, while the standard of achievement at the age of school leaving was unsatisfactory. Many pupils started their schooling at a too advanced age; pupils aged fifteen and seventeen were to be found in the lower classes of the primary school where their presence militated against good discipline (Pells 1954:133-134).

Moreover, Shepherd (1941:439) remarks that Muir observed that the content of education was the same as that of the schools for the Europeans and that very little attention was being devoted to the teaching of the vernacular. The main aim was to progress as quickly as possible to the stage when teaching could be conducted through the medium of English. Although intensive industrial education was offered at St Matthews College and at Lovedale with a measure of success during this period, this

was crippled by high costs as well as the limited opportunities of employment for those pupils who had acquired industrial skills. This was caused by the fact that the Bantu pupils had to compete with the European and Coloured pupils whose skilled services were in demand among their own communities. Shepherd (1941:439-440) further states that the Bantu community itself was primitive and as such did not attach any value to the industrial training that had been received by their children.

3.1.4 **Changes brought about in the development of Bantu education**

The passing of the Cape School Board Act in 1905 brought about a dramatic change in the development of Bantu education. The Act stated that "the door to the higher callings in life shall be opened to the Natives" (Select Committee Report on Native Education, 14 February 1908:17-18). The result was that the South African Native Affairs Commission was instituted in 1905 to investigate possible ways of accelerating the development of Bantu education. This commission recommended the establishment of a College for Bantu students which would provide facilities for higher education for the Bantu hence the South African Native College was established at Fort Hare and opened in 1916 (Shepherd 1941:440-441).

3.1.5 **Changes in the South African society and their effect on Bantu education**

The period between 1900 and 1930 was marked by many changes in all the spheres of South African life. With the establishment of diamond mines in the Northern Cape and gold mines and industries on the Witwatersrand, great developments in the

economic and social life of the country took place. Farming was expanded in all the provinces while railways and harbours were being extended. The Bantu, whose labour became increasingly important in the economy of the country, had to be given such educational training as would make them a useful asset to a South Africa that was fast becoming industrialised (Katiya 1977:35).

Shepherd (1941:444) aptly remarks that the Government stepped up its financial aid and encouraged the establishment of more schools where curricula had a secular bias and control would be the direct responsibility of the Government of the country.

When the financial responsibility for Bantu education was transferred from the provinces to the Union Government in 1924, the Native Development Fund was formed in 1925 with a view to providing for the education and other advancements and welfare of the Bantu. This Fund was administered by the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr A J Fletcher, while the administration of education remained with the provinces. From 1926 until the end of 1945 the control and responsibility of Bantu education became a joint venture of the Department of Native Affairs and the provinces (Eiselen Commission Report, 11 May 1954:35).

The Provincial Education Department administered the funds that were available for the maintenance and expansion of schools whilst the Provincial Council of each province served as the Legislative Authority, controlling the schools. Each province formulated its own policy without consultation except where finance was involved. The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr A J Fletcher, decided how much money should be

made available to each province (Eiselen Commission Report, 11 May 1954:36).

The school curricula were no longer of a predominant religious nature as was the case in mission schools as subjects with a vocational and technical bias were also included. This step helped to ensure that the standard at all school levels was kept high. The system of inspection was also improved and expanded by the appointment of better qualified personnel (Shepherd 1941:444-445).

These developments all helped Bantu education to flourish and stimulated the growth and development of Bantu secondary education, although no account was taken of Bantu culture and no special provision was made to meet the aspirations of the Bantu people such as running their own schools as well as having a say in the administration of their schools (Katiya 1977:35-36).

3.2 BANTU SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE CISKEI

The Bantu pupils in the Ciskei received their secondary school training at such large Missionary Institutions as Lovedale, Healdtown and St Matthews, all of which were in the rural areas. In these institutions there were hostels which afforded pupils' boarding facilities though such facilities left much to be desired. Pupils were often crowded as there was an acute shortage of accommodation. The missionaries would not allow any day scholars to attend classes at any of their schools; there was always a scramble of pupils applying for admission as boarders at the Missionary Institutions. As the Xhosas became more and more aware of the value of education and sent more

of their children to the Missionary Institutions, the position of the shortage of boarding facilities became even more serious as before (Pells 1958:140).

The fact that the Missionary Institutions catered for pupils who came from outside the communities in which they found themselves or from other geographical areas, aggravated the shortage of boarding facilities. It would have been wiser for the missionaries to concentrate on providing adequately for the children of the local communities before extending their services over a wider area. This erroneous practice caused some discontent among the local communities whose children could not be admitted to the institutions which were originally established to cater for the educational needs of these children (Eiselen Commission Report, 11 May 1954:113).

This feeling of dissatisfaction was further aggravated by the fact that the Missionary Institutions tended to be multi-racial in character. At Lovedale, for example, apart from the Bantu pupils, Indian and Coloured pupils were also admitted. Thus the system of education in these institutions became more inclusive with the result that the local tribal character and significance was lost (Eiselen Commission Report, 11 May 1954:114).

Since their aim was to turn the Xhosas into a kind of Westernised or Christianised English people, the missionaries encouraged the Xhosa pupils to despise their tribal customs and to regard them as heathen practices. Those pupils who attended the tribal initiation schools during the vacations while registered at the Missionary Institutions were liable to serve punishment and even expulsion when they were found out (An

interview on 13 May 1992 with an old man, Themba Kraqa, born in 1906).

The attitude of the missionaries justified the reluctance and even rejection of the Xhosa tribes to accept the "white man's" system of education when it was first introduced to them. These people feared that their culture and tradition would be interfered with. In order to succeed in their mission the early white missionaries resorted to the use of bribes in the form of clothes, food and even money payments and, in turn, the Xhosas accepted these bribes. This practice made it easier for the missionaries to fulfil their aim of having the Xhosas Westernised or Christianised (Ackerman 1960:40).

While the missionaries detribalised the Xhosas through the agency of the church they simultaneously influenced the children in their schools to neglect and despise the traditions and modes of living which controlled social acceptance in tribal life. This gave rise to the well-known distinction between "school people" or "amakhumsha" (those people who could communicate with the missionaries through the medium of English) and "red people" or "amaqaba" (those people with their bodies smeared with red ochre and who could not read nor write) categories which were created by the Xhosas themselves. Duminy (1965:76) fully supports this as saying that the missionaries helped to bring about a distinction between the "pagan" or unschooled tribesmen and schooled Christianised Xhosas.

In addition to the problem of the system of education as offered by the Missionary Institutions and which had no bearing on their culture, the Xhosa pupils had to face

unfair competition from the Indian, Coloured and Bantu pupils from outside the Xhosa community. These pupils were at an advantage financially and as such were preferred by the mission authorities to the local Xhosa pupils. At Lovedale, for example, pupils were graded into three classes at the dining table according to their financial status. Indians and Coloureds formed the higher classes while most of the Bantu pupils at third class tables received the poorest food. This state of affairs continued until 1946 when a strike broke out in this institution in the middle of that year. The practice of enforcing inferiority caused the Bantu pupils to feel slighted as they were placed in a subordinated position as opposed to the preferential treatment enjoyed by the Indian and Coloured pupils (Duminy 1965:75-76).

The Xhosa parents felt more strongly than ever before that they were being alienated from institutions that, by virtue of having been put up in their midst, belonged to them (Duminy 1965:77).

For many years the Xhosa language was barely tolerated in the curricula that were offered in the Missionary Institutions. The Xhosa pupils who had been trained in these institutions looked down upon their mother tongue and even refused to speak it. This, inter alia, accounted for the slow progress of Xhosa literature during the last 150 years. Very few Xhosas, too, could serve on the teaching and administrative staff of the Missionary Institutions due to the fact that many of them had never been to school (Makalima et al. 1930:194).

The tendency of the missionaries to Westernise or Christianise the Xhosas via education at the expense of their culture and tradition caused conflict in the minds of these people and their children. As a result a 'hybrid' type of people evolved attempting to be purely Western in character. The Xhosa people, however, never completely lost their own identity. They retained their national pride which was given a boost many years later when their national consciousness was aroused more strongly than ever by the formation of political organisations such as the All African Convention in 1905 and the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912 (Walshe 1970:47).

These organisations spread their propaganda through their slogans "Africa for the Africans" and "Mayibuy'iAfrika" ("Africa must come back to its own people"). These were anti-colonisation organisations which propagated Africano-nationalism. They called for the "rallying" and consolidation of all the African forces towards liberation. This, on its own, clarifies the point that the Africans strived to be freed from all forms of domination by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and as such these peoples would be put on the road towards freedom as well as taking their proper place among the nations of the world (Walshe 1970:49).

It was a form of Pan-Africanism⁴ that influenced them to aspire to independence so that they could be free to determine their own destiny in the political, economic, social and educational spheres of life (Walshe 1970:49).

⁴ Pan-Africanism is a system of values and attitudes that favour the unity and solidarity of Africans and of people of African ancestry.

While the missionaries sought to westernise these tribes by detribalising them, the Xhosa tribes, on the contrary, wanted to save their identity by a kind of education that aimed at, inter alia, socialisation and nationalism.

3.2.1 **Socialisation**

Education is a means by which the individual child is reared, matured and refined so that he can take his proper place in society and is able to make his contribution towards the welfare and well-being of that society. As a social being man has to be brought up and guided in such a way that he understands and accepts the wider values of his society (Katiya 1977:45).

The Xhosa children lived in a society in which there were a number of institutions such as the family, community and the tribe that had to fulfil certain specific social functions for participating members and as such played an important role in influencing and moulding the individuals for the general good and welfare of themselves and of their society (Katiya 1977:45-46).

It was felt that the aim of education of the Xhosas should be to motivate their tribal communities to apply themselves to the arduous task of preparing their children for the role they were to play as future members of the society by transmitting to them ideas, values, attitudes and skills through social institutions (the schools) that had developed within their society (Duminy 1965:94).

3.2.2 **Nationalism**

The Xhosas valued their nationhood and they taught their children to have pride in being Xhosas. They had their own virile and incessant systems of education which aimed at the preservation of their national culture. The latter was embedded in their language through which the Xhosa people communicated the philosophy of life of the people. In order to be meaningful and relevant, the education of the Xhosas was to take place through the medium of the Xhosa language which was rich and adequate in so far as the requirements of the communities were concerned. Through the medium of Xhosa, learning to a Xhosa child would take place spontaneously in a natural setting (Duminy 1965:95).

3.3 **THE ESTABLISHMENT OF URBAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE CISKEI - 1937-1942**

The Bantu communities that were in the urban locations of King William's Town, East London, Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth and Queenstown began to establish schools in their respective locations to provide secondary education facilities for their children. Well disposed members of the White communities gave their moral and financial support to these Bantu communities. All these secondary schools, after they had been established, were placed under the control of White school boards which also controlled schools for the Whites. Such an arrangement was contrary to the expectations and aspirations of the Bantu communities who would have liked to have control over their schools (Dyasi 1960:65).

The move to establish these secondary schools was stimulated by a number of factors which the Bantu communities considered. The stay of their children in the Missionary Institutions was not a safe one due to discriminatory measures that prevailed in these institutions. Because pupils from urban locations were used to the hustle and bustle of town life, they were more lively and alert than those from the rural areas. Their energetic and active outlook caused some uneasiness among the authorities of the institutions who looked upon these pupils from the urban areas as the potential trouble-makers and agitators. In most cases, however, this suspicion was not without foundation. Dyasi (1960:69) supports this as saying "in most cases, the ring leaders of the strikes that ever occurred at the Missionary Institutions were pupils from urban locations".

Moreover, the pupils from urban locations experienced some difficulty in adjusting themselves to the quiet religious atmosphere that prevailed in the Missionary Institutions that were in the rural "back veldt". There was nothing to satisfy their desire for adventure hence they often resorted to mischief (Lovedale Institution Records on Discipline, 25 March 1932:28-29). There was also the problem of the high costs which the parents had to face in paying boarding fees and travelling expenses to and from the Missionary Institutions on behalf of their children (An interview on 13 May 1992 with an old man, Themba Kraqa, born in 1906).

Those parents whose children could not be admitted to these institutions on account of the lack of boarding facilities did not know what to do to enable their children to receive secondary education. Most of these children were a potential asset to the

community. In order to avoid this wastage and to enable their children to receive secondary education, some parents allowed their children to attend classes at the local Coloured and Indian secondary and high schools such as Patterson High School in Port Elizabeth for both Indians and Coloureds and Coloured Secondary Schools in Grahamstown and East London. Those who could not do this allowed their children to seek employment as labourers in their respective towns so as to earn a living (An interview on 13 May 1992 with an old man, Themba Kraqa, born in 1906).

The conditions in the Coloured and Indian secondary schools, however, proved to be unsatisfactory for the Xhosa pupils whose social, cultural and economic backgrounds were different from those of the Coloured and Indian pupils. The presence of these Xhosa pupils in these schools caused the other communities embarrassment because the Xhosa pupils felt snubbed and humiliated by discriminatory attitudes of both pupils and teachers in these schools (An interview on 29 May 1992 with Rev G B Molefe, born in 1925, Master of Arts, first principal and founder of the Newell High School, Port Elizabeth).

Furthermore, because of socio-cultural deprivation, only the gifted Xhosa pupils were able to compete favourably with Coloured and Indian classmates in the learning process. The Coloured and Indian pupils did the Junior Certificate in two years whereas the Xhosa pupils did it in three years. To save the self-esteem and respect of their children, the urban location communities decided to establish their own local secondary schools. In this move, they were helped by some well-disposed Europeans, Coloureds and Indians. The Cape Department of Education also gave its financial

assistance in the form of small subsidies and grants for the payment of teachers' salaries as well as providing all the equipment necessary for teaching (Dyasi 1960:84-85).

The establishment of these secondary schools in urban locations helped to provide facilities for secondary education and the pupils, away from the newly established schools, became interested in enjoying the golden opportunities available and flocked to the urban locations in amazing numbers. Dyasi (1960:90-91) maintains that because of the many and varied problems which were inherent in the urban secondary schools, the parents in the rural communities established their own secondary schools and in that way brought secondary education within easy reach of their children.

In that way they were more able to develop their own natural form of education with a local tribal character and significance. Such a step helped to maintain family solidarity within the framework of community life. In this regard the Editor of the Daily Dispatch (9 July 1992:16) wrote:

... it is upon the morality, the integrity, the energy and happiness of the individual family that the stability, prosperity and happiness of the nation were based.

With the adoption of more stringent measures of control regarding the influx of rural Bantu people into urban locations during the 1950's it became extremely difficult for pupils from the rural areas to attend classes in urban secondary schools. This indirectly

helped rural dwellers who had, from long ago, disapproved of their children drifting towards the towns. This attitude has been reflected in many Xhosa novels, for example, UNyana Wolahleko (Prodigal Son) published by G B Sinxo in 1965 and Ntliziyo ungumkhohlisi (Heart, you are a deceiver) published by E L Xametshata in 1985. The tendency for many Xhosa novel writers is to describe a young man or woman born in the country, receiving his or her primary education from a rural school then proceeding to one of the Missionary Institutions from where he or she proceeds to the city and plunges into difficulties through the lack of knowledge of city life (Bennie 1960:35).

In the urban locations young people lost touch with their parents and relatives who lived in the country and in that way lost valuable chances of good guidance and wise parental advice. Furthermore, by drifting to the towns, young people began to lose their tribal customs and traditions which are preserved in their communities. Thus, with their socio-cultural heritage in mind, the Xhosa rural communities started to establish secondary schools of their own (Duminy 1965:136).

3.4 FACTORS THAT MOTIVATED THE RURAL XHOSA TO ESTABLISH LOCAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE CISKEI

While bearing in mind the factors which contributed towards the establishment and development of secondary schools in the urban areas of the Ciskei, it is interesting to note that different factors contributed towards the establishment and development of secondary schools in the rural areas of the Ciskei. These factors may be listed as

follows:

3.4.1 **Philosophical and educational views in Europe**

The philosophical and educational views which prevailed in Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had been studied by most of the Bantu people who had been through the Secondary Schools and Teachers' Training Colleges or Universities in South Africa. By virtue of the education they had received, these pupils and students were accepted by their communities as leaders within their communities. Among some of the most prominent of them were men such as Professors D T T Jabavu, Z K Matthews, Drs A Xuma, R T Bokwe, R S Mahlangeni and others of different professions (Makalima et al 1930:200).

The insights that influenced these men, who later became fully-fledged leaders of their communities, were, inter alia, that knowledge leads to power and strength. They were convinced that man should have extended knowledge in order to achieve virtue and excellence (Duminy 1965:141).

They shared Cubberley's (1968:542) belief that "each human being could be raised through the influence of education to the level of an intellectually free and independent life ...". With their minds charged with these ideas, these men realised that education was a powerful instrument by which the Xhosa communities' life would be revolutionalised. It must be recalled that as early as 1850 Sir George Grey identified ignorance, laziness, superstition and warlikeness as evils that afflicted the life of the

Xhosas. These afflictions remained real menaces which retarded the progressive development of these people for many decades. Education was still the strongest and most effective means by which these evils could be eradicated and the standard of living of these people, namely, Xhosa tribes, could be raised so as to make their lives happy and secure (Pells 1954:149).

In order to overcome the above mentioned evils in the life of the Xhosa tribes, Sir George Grey encouraged and supported the missionaries in their endeavours of establishing schools and hospitals and he opened working opportunities in the harbours in order to cultivate habits of industry among the Xhosas (Pells 1954:150).

3.4.2 **Political aspirations**

Political organisations such as the All African Convention and the African National Congress (ANC) were formed, the first in 1905 and the latter in 1912. These remained active until the late 1960's, having influenced the thinking of most Bantu leaders over a long period of time. However, because of their perceived dangerous activities the South African Government decided to ban both organisations in 1960 (Walshe 1970:49). The African National Congress which remained in existence came into power in South Africa on 10 May 1994.

These political organisations called for the liberation of the African people from White domination. They advocated the abolition of colonialism and neo-colonialism. Africa was to be for the Africans, who should be allowed to determine their own destiny in

the political, economic, social and educational spheres. The leaders, nevertheless, realised that their European counterparts whom they regarded as the oppressors of the Africans had power because of the knowledge they gained from the education they had received. Walshe (1970:56) remarks that the Africans realised that they should be educated before plans could be made to fight and overthrow the White regime. Moreover, education would enable the primitive African tribes to appreciate, value and enjoy freedom which was already being enjoyed by the nations of the free world.

Because of the colonising policies of the Colonial Governments and the detribalising forces of the missionaries, the national development of the Xhosas suffered severe setbacks. In spite of these trials and tribulations, the Xhosas retained their hope that the day would come when their national identity and freedom would become a reality (Katiya 1977:51).

In order to be ready for their freedom the Xhosas sought to educate more and more of their children so that they could manage their own cultural affairs and govern themselves. Bennie (1960:13) aptly remarks that the aim was to give these young people such training as would befit them for the tasks and responsibilities that were awaiting them in the days that lay ahead.

As a logical step towards their ultimate goals of freedom, the Xhosa tribes of the Ciskei brought their secondary education system more in line with their tribal life by establishing several secondary schools in the heart of their tribal community areas. They took pride in these schools which they maintained and controlled themselves.

The schools took on a tribal character and had local significance (Bennie 1960:16).

3.4.3 Economic considerations

Since economic viability was an essential and integral part of political independence it happened ipso facto that the Xhosa tribal communities of the Ciskei, in establishing their local secondary schools, took into account economic considerations. By comparing their simple economic life with that of their European neighbours, which was better organised and more advanced than theirs, the Xhosa people became aware of the dire necessity for a more advanced education for their children. Katiya (1977:53) remarks that because the Xhosas were dependent for their income and livelihood largely on farming which yielded poor results because of their primitive agricultural methods they were using, education had to give them proper guidance to help solve this problem.

Efficient agricultural leaders were necessary to give guidance and advice to the communities on matters of farming, but these leaders had to pass the Junior Certificate before they could be trained for this course at Fort Cox Agricultural College, situated about ten kilometres from the present town of Middledrift and which was established in 1930.

The communities were also in dire need of nurses and teachers. All these professions required that one should pass the Junior Certificate as a minimum entrance qualification.

The Junior Certificate would play a vital role in producing young men and women who would in the long run produce leaders for the Xhosa nation which would go through the stresses and strife of economic life to full economic maturity. Having this as their aim, these Xhosa tribal communities established local secondary schools which would offer education to their children (Bennie 1960:17).

3.4.4 **Practical considerations**

Travelling expenses to and from the Missionary Institutions were high and as such it became impossible for many parents to send their children to these institutions. Because of high expenses the tribal communities became influenced to establish their own secondary schools where the annual fees payable in respect of each pupil would not exceed ten rand. It must be borne in mind that local communities had no say in the control of the Missionary Institutions and as such had no say in the appointment of teachers. Most of the teachers in these schools were Whites and the appointment of Bantu teachers seemed to be incidental (Brubacher 1960:58).

There was a growing feeling on the part of the communities to have schools that belonged to them and that would make it easy for them to employ their own children who had qualified as teachers to teach in these schools. Those pupils who attended classes at the secondary schools, on the contrary, would be exposed to the fickleness of the elements and to hunger. This was regarded as an indirect way of inculcating the qualities of endurance which was typical of early tribal education (Raum 1966:3).

3.4.5 The presence of Fort Hare

Fort Hare University is situated between the present towns of Fort Beaufort and Middledrift which are both twenty kilometres away from the tribal community of Alice. The fact that Fort Hare University is situated in the neighbourhood of the tribal communities of this territory was in itself an incentive to provide education facilities to non-White students. Established and opened on the 8 February 1916 as a culmination of long and persistent missionary endeavours in the field of Bantu Education by the United Free Church of Scotland, this institution from its inception would cater for higher education facilities. In terms of sub-section (2) of the University College of Fort Hare Transfer Act, No.64 of 1959, this institution was assigned to the Ministry of Bantu Education with effect from the 1 January 1960 and it was to cater specifically for the Xhosa-speaking group of the Bantu (University of Fort Hare General Prospectus, 6 March 1973:3).

It must be recalled that it was the former students of this institution who exercised their influence upon the tribal communities they were serving and guided them in their new venture to establish secondary schools for the Xhosa people (Makalima et al. 1930:203).

Fort Hare helped to provide the newly established secondary schools with graduate teachers. Filled with the spirit of African Nationalism, these men and women made tremendous sacrifices to see to it that the endeavour of establishing secondary schools was successful. Teachers relinquished their teaching posts in the Missionary

Institutions to take up employment in secondary schools whose future was uncertain under the control of inexperienced Xhosa communities. With their dedication and devotion to service, the communities overcame this obstacle and succeeded in establishing no less than fifteen secondary schools between 1941 and 1968 in the Ciskei (Seboni 1958:27).

Fort Hare provided the tribal communities with leaders with insight and devotion in the various walks of national life. These leaders included Ministers of Religion, teachers, administrators and many others. The secondary schools would supply Fort Hare with students to be moulded and shaped into leaders who would play a vital role in the socio-cultural and politico-economic life and national development of the Xhosas of the Ciskei (Makalima et al. 1930:207).

3.4.6 **Experimental work by the Cape Department of Education**

By the mid-1940's the long-felt dissatisfaction with the whole structure of Bantu education, in the then Union of South Africa, had reached a turning point. The Government had set up the Native Economic Commission in 1932 to investigate, inter alia, the problem of education of the Bantu in general and to make the necessary recommendations. This Commission held the idea that the aims for Bantu education were vague and uncertain and, as such, lack direction. To define these aims the Commission accentuated the social aspect and stated that Bantu education should be the means for freeing the Bantu from their own cultural heritage (Native Economic Commission 1932:104).

In the same way the Inter-departmental Committee on Native Education (16 July, 1936:455) reported that the vagueness and uncertainty of the aims of Bantu education was the basic cause of the slow progress in this category of education. The Committee, however, could not give any recommendations as to how this problem should be overcome since the problem itself was complex. There was the question of how the Bantu would fit into the political and socio-economic structure of the country.

While the considerations were going on in some governmental circles the Xhosas of the Ciskei were going ahead with their own plans of establishing secondary schools in the rural areas. In this regard it is interesting to note that the first people to take the initiative were some Bantu Ministers of Religion such as Revrs. J Makaluza, N Pamla of the Methodist Church of South Africa and G G Ndzotyana of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa. Seboni (1958:35) remarks that it were the Bantu Ministers of the Methodist Church of South Africa who formed the majority of the so-called Order of Ethiopian Church in South Africa in 1900 which was designed to be the National Church of the Xhosas.

In 1940 the Rev J Makaluza, who was then Superintendent of the Nqabarha Methodist Mission in the Willowvale district in the Transkei, together with the progressive thinking headman, Mr M Sondlela, of Nqabarha location, approached the then Inspector of Schools, Mr J H Dugard with a scheme to start a secondary school for day scholars under a Bantu principal. The Cape Department of Education agreed to the experiment and provided grants for teachers' salaries. Mr S L Hono, a graduate with a Bachelor of Arts degree and who had previously been a member of the staff

of the Clarkbury Training College, was appointed as the first principal and the Department of Education accepted this appointment (Seboni 1958:38).

As a result of good examination results in Form III the Inspector of Schools, Mr Dugard, as well as the people had confidence in Mr Hono (Seboni 1958:38-39).

The resounding success of the experiment caused many other Bantu Ministers of Religion, particularly in the Transkei, to submit requests for the establishment of secondary schools in their missions. As had already been mentioned, the pleas were based largely on the high costs of boarding fees at the Missionary Institutions. As a result of this the Cape Department of Education vetoed all inspectors in both the Transkei and the Ciskei, asking them to consider centres at which secondary schools could be started especially in areas where there would be a number of schools with Standard six classes within easy reach of the centre. The result was that in the Ciskei alone at least five secondary schools, namely, Ayliff, Kama, Burnshill, Zeleni and Rabula were established between 1941 and 1955 (Seboni 1958:41).

Furthermore, interest and enthusiasm was stimulated amongst the Xhosa tribal communities by the keen interest and initiative shown by the Cape Department of Education to establish their own secondary schools. The Cape Department of Education sent Mr A H Stander, the Chief Inspector of Bantu Education to visit the centres that had been recommended for establishing secondary schools. In a Memorandum (27 May, 1958:13-14) written by Mr J H Dugard, Regional Director of Bantu Education in the Ciskei and later in the Natal, it is said that as a result of the

investigations of these gentlemen one secondary school was started at Peddie and the other at Middledrift.

CHAPTER 4

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE CISKEI FROM 1941 - 1955

4.1 AYLIFF SECONDARY SCHOOL

Ayliff Secondary School is situated about two kilometres outside the village of Peddie and almost on the main road from King William's Town to Grahamstown. This school was established in 1944. It was named after Rev John Ayliff who had played a leading role in organising and finally leading the Fingos out of the Transkei to settle in Peddie on the 14th May 1835. This school was established mainly by the Fingo tribes of the Peddie district in accordance with the vows (they declared their loyalty to God and King) their forefathers had made at UMQWASHINI, situated about seven kilometres from the present town of Peddie alongside the gravel road to Alice (Cory 1950:139).

Peddie was the centre of a large rural area in which secondary school facilities were entirely lacking. The tribal communities had to send their children to either the already established schools in the Missionary Institutions, where they lived as boarders, or to the urban locations to take advantage of the facilities that were provided there. After several meetings in the middle of 1941 the Peddie tribal community came to a decision to consult Mrs Margaret Ballinger, who was then one of the Native Representatives in Parliament, for advice on how a secondary school could be established (Cory 1950:141).

On Mrs Ballinger's advice these people wrote a letter dated 8 October 1941 to the Chief Native Commissioner, Mr R H Simons, in King William's Town and requested that they be allowed to establish a secondary school in their area. The correspondence was subsequently forwarded to the Secretary of the Department of Native Affairs in Pretoria (Letter dated 8 October 1941, File No. A4323 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

At its meeting held in King William's Town in January 1943, the Ciskeian General Council again discussed the question of establishing secondary schools in the rural areas and came to the resolution that:

... the Cape Provincial Education Department be requested to establish Departmental secondary schools in rural areas, and that one of these be in Peddie district (Minutes of Ciskeian General Council dated 1 March 1943).

The Chief Inspector of Native Education, Mr S B Hobson, who had been invited to attend the meeting, replied to say that the Department was in favour of establishing secondary schools in rural areas, and that it had already opened the first school of that nature at Nqabarha in the Transkei. He further indicated that the Department had even vetted all the inspectors of schools and maps of their areas showing where Higher Primary Schools were situated which would supply the expected secondary schools with pupils. These maps also indicated where the rural secondary schools could be established. Mr Hobson pointed out that the lack of funds on the part of the Cape

Provincial Department might cause a delay in the carrying out of the scheme (Cory 1950:145).

In the Minutes of the Ciskeian General Council (dated 1 March 1943) it is stated that since Peddie had a population of only 26,000 at that time, this district might have to wait for a long time as preference would be given to such districts as Bizana, St Marks and others which had more than twice the population of Peddie and which had no secondary school facilities.

The Rev Nathaniel Pamla, who was the Superintendent of the African Section of the Methodist Church of South Africa, approached the General Council on behalf of the Peddie people and succeeded in persuading the Annual Conference, held in Port Elizabeth in October 1944, to approve the establishment of a secondary school at Peddie and that a start be made in January 1945 (Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Church of South Africa dated 6 October 1944).

Even after two classrooms had been built by the local people, the Cape Department of Education declined to support this venture. But when Mr Hobson went to Peddie to investigate the matter he gave the people permission to proceed with the building operations even though his Department was not in a position, at that time, to create a teaching grant. He even promised these people his full support and advised them to apply to the Department of Native Affairs for financial assistance. (Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Church of South Africa dated 6 October 1944).

The Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Church of South Africa (dated 6 October 1944) further reflect that before a reply to the letter of application for financial assistance was received, the people employed a graduate teacher, with a Bachelor of Arts degree, in the person of Mr Kerr Siwisa whom they had to pay a salary of R480-00 per annum plus a living allowance. Later in the year, however, they (the people) experienced some difficulty in meeting the commitment.

The Cape Department of Education would not assist them before the Inspector's report had been received. Although the Secretary for Native Affairs made repeated appeals to the Chief Inspector for help in the matter, this seemed impossible since the enrolment of fifteen pupils was too low. It is further stated that matters were made worse by the then Inspector of Schools, Mr H Chesters, who stated that if the Department was disposed to helping any secondary school, Middeldrift should be the district and not Peddie (Cory 1950:145-146).

While matters were still in a state of uncertainty the Rev Nathaniel Pamla sent out the following invitation:

On behalf of Peddie Methodist African Circuit, Ayliff Secondary School Committee, staff and students of the above-mentioned school, I cordially invite you to the official opening ceremony of the premises of the school. The ceremony will be held at Ayliff on Sunday 22nd May, 1949 at 11am. The Rev E W Grant, President of the Methodist Church of South Africa will officiate.

The building has costed us approximately 1 500 pounds¹, and this being a drought-stricken area which had made it difficult for our people to make ends meet, faced with a large debt, a donation from you, however small, will be greatly appreciated. I shall be pleased to hear from you at the earliest convenience (Copy of invitation No. C.E. 173/19, Teachers' File No. C4500/20 in Bantu Education offices, King William's Town).

Upon receiving this invitation the Secretary of Native Affairs made a recommendation to the Minister of Native Affairs' Department that the cost of establishing the school was the following:

Building	=	R3 158-65
Salaries	=	R 660-00
Total	=	R3 818-65

As a grant of R1 000-00 was proposed by the Secretary to be made from the Trust Funds as a token of appreciation for the self-help and enterprise shown by the Native people, he also stressed the point that the Peddie district, like other areas, had been badly affected by droughts for several years and that the resources of the people were limited. Should the recommendation be approved, the Secretary added, there would still be a deficit of R1 272-35 on the day of the opening. (Natives having paid R660-00 on salaries and R886-30 on buildings). After the Minister of Native Affairs had approved the recommendation on 16 May 1949, the Warrant Voucher No. 15055 for £500 was made out in favour of the Manager of Ayliff Secondary School and was dispatched to the Rev N Pamla through the Native

¹ About three thousand rand (R3 000-00)

Commissioner at King William's Town (Letter dated 14 May 1949, included in the Government Archives, File No. A4323, Pretoria).

On the 14 June 1949 the Rev Pamla sent out circular letters of thanks for the generous donations that had been received towards the cost of building the Ayliff Secondary School. He also stated that the total amount raised on the opening day was £225-21 in cash plus several sheep and other promises. Subsequently, this school settled down to work and produced better results. The local people continued to take keen interest in its matters and to support its progress (Letter dated 14 May 1949, included in the Government Archives, File No. A4323, Pretoria).

The interest of the tribe was once more stimulated by the handing over of a large measure of control of the affairs of the school to the community in terms of the Bantu Education Act being passed in 1953 and its implementation in 1955. Both the tribal community and the church worked together to build the school, effecting the necessary extensions and maintaining its good name and tradition. By the end of 1964 arrangements were started to upgrade this secondary school, changing the name from Ayliff Secondary School to Nathaniel Pamla High School, named after the Rev Nathaniel Pamla who was the Superintendent of the African Section of the Methodist Church of South Africa and who also played a vital role towards the establishment of this school. From its inception this school had won the affection of the local tribal community whose individual members had been co-operative in fostering a spirit of loyalty, love, obedience and good discipline in their children (Interview on 27 April 1991 with educated tribesmen of Peddie).

4.2 KAMA SECONDARY SCHOOL

Situated at Annshaw location about two kilometres west of the small town of Middledrift and a few metres from the railway station of Middledrift, this secondary school was established in 1944. It was named after the former Chief of the AmaGqunukwebe Tribe, Thamsanqa Kama. At that time the members of this tribe were settled in the locations of Cildara, Dikidikana, Ngcwazi, part of Qanda and the whole of Gqadushe at Knapp's Hope. This tribe aided by a few White traders and Government officials, who lived with their families in the town of Middledrift made joint efforts and contributed towards the establishment of this secondary school, run by its first teacher, Mr H H Mdledle (Interview on 27 June 1991 with an old lady, Mrs N Tyakume, born in 1918 at Annshaw).

When the tribe felt the need to establish a local tribal secondary school in this area to provide facilities for secondary education for their children, a representation was made in August 1945 to the then Native Affairs Department. This was strongly backed by the then Inspector of Schools, Mr E R O Gardiner, who recommended state-aid (Letter dated 13 August 1945, Teachers' File No. 4300/130, C.E. 173 in Bantu Education Offices, King William's Town).

At a meeting of the Middledrift Local Council, held on the 5 September 1945 it was resolved that this Council recommends the granting of two morgen of commonage ground near Middledrift railway station and approximately two morgen below the Kama Furrow for the purpose of the proposed secondary school (Minutes of 5

September 1945 of the Middledrift Local Council, in Bantu Education Offices, File No. 4300/130, Pretoria).

The site for the erection of the buildings for the new school had been secured by the cancellation of the Certificate of Occupation of these people by the Ciskeian General Council. At the meeting of the AmaGqunukwebe Tribe held on 7 November 1946, the following people were present: Mr T G Strydom, Acting Native Commissioner, Chief Thamsanqa Kama, sixteen headmen and eighty seven tribesmen (Minutes of the AmaGqunukwebe Tribe, dated 7 November 1946, File No. 4300/130 in Bantu Education Offices, King William's Town).

Although the Chief Native Affairs Commissioner, Mr R H Simons, who was stationed at King William's Town approved this application of the tribe he, nevertheless, pointed out to them the difficulty that arose during the establishment of the Ayliff Secondary School. Matters were made easier in this case because of the keen interest shown by the tribe itself with its chief, Kama, dedicating himself fully to this project. The tribe imposed a levy on all its members so as to raise funds which would be utilised by erecting the buildings. The Cape Department of Education also encouraged the efforts of the tribe by introducing a pound for pound (£ for £) basis of payment of costs (Minutes of the AmaGqunukwebe Tribe, dated 7 November 1946 File No. 4300/130 in Bantu Education Offices, King William's Town).

At a meeting held at 15h15 in the Magistrate's Court in Middledrift on 29 November 1946 and which was attended by H H Attwell, Esq. Magistrate and Native Affairs

Commissioner, Professors A Kerr (Principal of Fort Hare), Z K Matthews, D T T Jabavu, the AmaGqunukwebe Tribe and its chief, Kama, it was agreed to elect a committee which would set the work through its initial stages. The members of this committee were Dr R T Bokwe (chairman), Mr G T Nolutshungu (secretary), Mr M A Ngxoweni, Rev C S Papu, Messrs C Hoyana, J Tyali, Mrs N Stofile and Rev L Mdala. The magistrate, Professors A Kerr, Z K Matthews and D T T Jabavu formed the Advisory Council (Minutes of the meeting of 29 November 1946).

In addressing the meeting Prof A Kerr in his capacity as principal of Fort Hare, stated that he was pleased about the initiative taken in the Middledrift district by the local tribe which was making an effort to improve the standard of "Native" education. He pointed out that this was one of the ways in which rural dwellers might receive proper education without being affected by the unsuitable conditions existing in urban locations. Prof Kerr further stated that the meeting should keep in mind the purpose of the school, namely, to meet the specific and particular needs of the district (Minutes of the meeting of 29 November 1946).

In the light of Prof Kerr's address the meeting decided that the curriculum of this new secondary school should have an agricultural slant, but it should also include subjects for the Junior Certificate and Matriculation so that it could help bolster Fort Hare's student population. Commercial subjects would have to be offered at a later stage. Thus Kama Secondary School was established and had its first graduate principal, Mr V M Bam, in January 1947. It had an enrolment of fifty pupils in that year. The Cape Department of Education made available two more grants for the salaries of two

additional teachers. This secondary school has grown steadily over the years until by the end of 1968 it had an enrolment of four hundred pupils (Records of Kama Secondary School, dated 27 February 1966 and compiled by Mr S Skosana who was one of the principals of this school).

It is interesting to note that it was only in 1974 that Kama Secondary School was upgraded to a High School with the principal being, Mr H K Nyikana. The author was fortunate to be one of the matriculants who wrote final examinations at the school in 1975. As from 1975 Kama is always among the schools with the best matric results.

4.3 BURNSHILL SECONDARY SCHOOL

Burnshill Secondary School is situated alongside the main road between Middledrift and Keiskammahoek and about two kilometres from the present Fort Cox College of Agriculture. Burnshill Secondary School was established on the initiative of the local members of the tribe in 1950 on borrowed premises of an old Presbyterian Mission Station. Burnshill Secondary School was named after the army captain, Mr S J Burns, who, together with his army, patrolled the area during the day and at night. Burns was stationed at the nearby hill where he would easily see his enemies from all directions (Interview on 13 May 1991, with an old man, V M Booi, born in 1926 at Burnshill).

The members of the tribe elected from amongst themselves a committee to manage the work and to control the school. Mr A Grove, who was the then Inspector of Schools and who actively supported the establishment of the school, was hopeful of its early

recognition by the Department of Public Education of the Cape of Good Hope. At the request of the local tribal community he made a strong recommendation to the Native Commissioner, Mr C Erasmus, at Keiskammahoek for the early granting of a site. He pointed out that the new school would serve the very useful purpose of providing secondary education facilities to pupils from feeder schools in the vicinity who would otherwise be deprived of this golden opportunity. The availability of the site and the erection of the suitable classroom buildings would meet the requirements of the Department of Education for the recognition of and financial aid to the new school (Letter dated 1 April 1950, File No. A4085 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

After the Native Affairs Department granted the site and demarcated it on the 13 December 1950, the tribal committee began to erect a two-classroomed mud brick building with a corrugated iron roof. The tribal people employed two teachers themselves. The expenses, including the teachers' salaries, were paid for by the people from the money they had collected from within the tribe. This was an outstanding example of self-help which deserved every encouragement, but it was obvious that the people themselves could not carry the financial burden for any length of time. They had previously been led to understand that once the school had been firmly established on its own premises, it would receive recognition and financial aid from the Department of Education (Documents of the school, dated 1 April 1950, File No. A4085 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

Under the driving force of its first principal, Mr Hobart H Majiza, a graduate with a Bachelor of Arts degree, the new school with an enrolment of eighty four pupils in

January 1950, more than justified its claim for recognition and state-aid (Documents of the school, dated 1 April 1950, File No. A4085 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

As a result of these facts the area Native Commissioner, Mr C Erasmus, made a strong appeal to the Native Affairs Department in Pretoria through the Chief Native Commissioner, Mr R H Simons, in King William's Town in 1950 on behalf of the Burnshill tribal community to facilitate the establishment of this secondary school. The then Secretary for Native Affairs, Dr W W M Eiselen, reacted promptly to this appeal and pleaded the request with the Cape Department of Education. The result was that the Chief Inspector of Native Education, Mr F J de Villiers, sent out a circular letter, dated 10 February 1950, under the heading "RURAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR NATIVE PUPILS", stating a general policy dealing with a number of salient points regarding the rural secondary schools for the native pupils.

RURAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR NATIVE PUPILS

TO ALL MANAGERS AND PRINCIPALS

The Departmental policy in connection with the establishment and control of rural secondary schools mainly revolved around matters such as buildings, courses, extra-mural activities and the siting of such schools :

1. BUILDINGS

Before a secondary school could be recognised adequate buildings on a

recognised site must be available. The minimum requirement is a nucleus of the classrooms, approximately 20' x 50' in size. Existing schools must provide additional rooms for a laboratory and a library. Accommodation for the staff and lavatory facilities should also be considered.

2. COURSES

Courses should be adapted to local needs and special provision must be made for efficient instruction in science subjects. The syllabus must be submitted to the local Circuit Inspector for his approval.

3. EXTRA-MURAL ACTIVITIES

Provision should be made for organised games for both boys and girls; a debating society, meeting regularly and frequently for debates, discussions and talks; and a school choir should be organised preferably by the members of the staff. A school magazine, frequent visits to places of interest, concerts and sports meetings are other examples of other activities essential in such schools.

A suitable library should be provided containing books and periodicals which would cater for the mental range of the pupils. Subsidy towards the purchasing of library books may be paid on the £ for £ basis.

4. SITING OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Rural secondary schools are intended to serve the needs of day scholars in the vicinity. Inspectors should only recommend a new school on a very suitable

site and this school should maintain its numbers without depending on boarders from outside.

5. NUMBER OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS PER DISTRICT

Since it is the aim of the Department to provide educational facilities for day scholars, it follows that the needs of a district will be better served by establishing a number of small secondary schools at strategic points than by allowing a single secondary school to swell its numbers with the help of boarders.

6. BOARDERS

Some of the rural secondary schools have allowed their pupils to come in as boarders, either to live in the homes of people in the vicinity, without proper control, or to live in cramped quarters provided by the management. This development is contrary to the policy of the Department and should be discouraged. Such boarding arrangements will not be aided in any way, and no additional teaching grants will be allocated to a school on the basis of numbers acquired by the further expansion in this direction.

7. ENROLMENT AND STAFFING

Rural secondary schools will serve their purpose best if enrolment is limited to three or four classes, not exceeding 125 pupils for a staff of three teachers, or 165 pupils for a staff of four teachers. At least one of the staff members should be a woman.

8. CONSENT OF CHURCH AUTHORITIES

The Department will not recognise any private or rural secondary school without the formal approval of the project by the church concerned.

9. FEES

Until adequate financial provision is made to implement Ordinance No. 31 of 1948 (See Education Gazette of 7th October, page 1489), managers of aided secondary schools have no option but to continue the practice of collecting a voluntary levy of two pounds (£2) per annum to meet the local expenses in connection with, inter alia, registration, maintenance, equipment and sanitation.

10. GENERAL

The number of secondary and high schools in the Cape Province increased from 21 in 1941 to 51 in 1949 out of all proportion to the number of qualified teachers available. While this acute shortage of teachers qualified for secondary school work continues, little purpose will be served by establishing more secondary schools at this time.

F J de Villiers

Chief Inspector of Native Education

(Circular No. C.E. 173/Gen. dated 10 February 1950, File No. A4085 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

The Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr L M Murray, wrote a "covering letter" to chief S L Kwatsha drawing his attention to the conditions for the recognition of a secondary

school as set out in the circular, particularly paragraphs 1 and 6. He indicated that since Burnshill Secondary School was to be a community school under the management of a committee elected from the community, it should qualify for a grant towards the cost of the classroom accommodation on the pound for pound (£ for £) basis provided the plans for the building were first submitted to the Department for approval and that the committee was elected according to a constitution accepted by the Department (Letter dated 18 July 1951, File No. A4085 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

The work of erecting the school buildings was then proceeded with. The Cape Provincial Administration supplied material assistance worth £315.19.10 whereas the total erection costs were estimated at £850. On the recommendation of the Regional Director, Mr D S Cronjé, the Department of the Native Affairs erected one classroom, one laboratory and an office (Plan of school, dated 18 July 1951, File No. A4085 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

By this time the control of the school was virtually in the hands of the local community. The School Feeding Scheme Funds, which were available for the erection of two additional classrooms, had to be utilised for this purpose. Later on, the Department was requested to meet the community halfway by sharing fifty percent of the total costs estimated at £1 200-00. On the 18 June 1960, another application for the erection of two classrooms and two toilets at an estimated cost of R879-93 was made. This work was completed in August 1961 (Application letter dated 18 June 1960 in the same File No. A4085 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

From its humble beginnings at the beginning of 1950, Burnshill Secondary School had continued to grow steadily and to produce good matric results. By the end of 1968 this school could boast an enrolment of a little over 300 pupils and eight teachers. Although the tribal community has always given this school devoted service it has not been possible for it to come to an agreement on the local Xhosa name, but due to the influence of illiterate people who could not pronounce 'Burnshill' correctly, these local people refer to it as 'Mkhubiso' in memory of their headman, Mkhubiso (Interview on 15 August 1991 with an old man, S N Stuurman, born in 1908 at Burnshill).

4.4 ZELENI SECONDARY SCHOOL

Situated in Zeleni location about thirteen kilometres north-west of King William's Town and east of the main road to Stutterheim, this secondary school, first referred to as Izeli Secondary School, was established in 1955. The first move to establish such a secondary school in this location at Zeleni was made by the local tribal community in 1950. The headman of Zeleni location, Mr A M S Sityana, was the man who influenced other members of the tribe to undertake the venture. By that time the Ayliff Secondary School at Peddie and Kama Secondary School at Middeldrift had already been established, while Burnshill Secondary School in the district of Keiskammahoek was in progress (Documents of the school, dated 13 February 1955, File No. A8362 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

The tribal community of Zeleni gathered together some of the children who had passed standard six, the standard which one had to pass before he could proceed to Form I

then, and who could not proceed with their education at other institutions of learning. With these children they started a Form I class in the church building of the Church of the Province of South Africa under a privately paid teacher. They appointed the first School Committee in 1955 with the duty to acquire a suitable site for and registration of the new school (Letter of approval of Registration, dated 17 August 1955, File No. A8362 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

In 1956 the Zeleni community applied to the Department of Bantu Education for the name of the school to be changed from Izeli Secondary School to Zeleni Secondary School, the reasons being that the local community people could not easily pronounce 'Izeli' as the name was introduced by the White people amongst them and furthermore they would like their school to retain the same name as that of their location. This request was granted by the Department on 22 February 1957 (Letter dated 8 July 1970, File No. A8362 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

According to the report of the Inspector of Schools, Mr H Lister, the problem of the lack of adequate accommodation had been acute since the school had been established. The Inspector of Schools advised the community to erect some round hut structures so that the situation could be eased. The school developed steadily and in 1964 it had four teachers. By the end of the second quarter of that year there was a dire need for an additional teacher. The community had made an urgent application to the Department of Bantu Education in Pretoria for this additional teacher to be appointed (Letter of application, dated 20 June 1964, File No. A8362 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

Of the total estimated cost of R1 984-00 that was to be paid out on a R for R basis towards the erection of the school buildings, the local community quickly raised R1 240-00 while the Department of Bantu Education paid only R744-00 (Letter of application, dated 28 June 1958, File No. A8362 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

The interest and co-operation of the Zeleni tribal community enabled the school to develop and grow steadily. It harboured a Form I class of only 36 pupils in 1967 but in 1968 it developed into a fully-fledged secondary school with an enrolment of 380 pupils. The teaching staff increased with the increasing enrolment numbers and the Department of Bantu Education had continued to give its support and to extend its advice and guidance to both the school and the community (Records of Zeleni Secondary School as given to me, on request, on 27 October 1991).

4.5 RABULA SECONDARY SCHOOL

Situated in the Rabula location about twenty kilometres on the main road from Keiskammahoek to King William's Town, this secondary school was established by the tribal community in 1955. Classes were first conducted in the Baptist Church building and in an adjacent hut. The site of two hectares on which the school now stands was applied for on 22 May 1955 and the registration of the proposed school was effected in October 1956 (Rabula Secondary School Records, 1956, File No. A4118 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

From its inception this school was served by "wattle-and-daub" (a mixture of wattle

with mud or clay, used especially in former times to construct the walls of houses) buildings which have been of great service. The Inspector of Schools, Mr B Hornby, however, encouraged the local committee of the school to complete the building project which it had started and which was finally occupied in January 1963 (Rabula Secondary School Records, 1956, File No. A4118 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

In his annual report the Inspector of Schools states:

After several years of patient waiting and making the best of the wattle-and-daub structures, the school has at last moved into its permanent new building. This is situated some four miles from the main road to Keiskammahoek in mountainous terrain.

This school is now within easy walking distance of five higher primary schools, and others are not very far away. Provided the results are not very poor the school should not suffer from a short supply of scholars at any time (Report of the Inspector of Schools, dated 24 August 1962, File No. A4118 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

This secondary school, whose first graduate principal was Mr F Bengu, had established a record of hundred percent (100%) passes in Form III every year. The Inspector of Schools had pointed out in his report that Rabula Secondary School had never suffered from a shortage of scholars. The local tribal community had continued to support and maintain the good work of this school.

CHAPTER 5

THE EISELEN COMMISSION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RURAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE CISCHEI FROM 1954-1968

5.1 EISELEN COMMISSION

In an attempt to solve the problems within the sphere of Bantu education and to take a more positive step which would ensure rapid progress in Bantu education, the Central Government of South Africa appointed a Commission on the 19 January 1949 to investigate the identity and future of Bantu education. This Commission was headed by Dr W M Eiselen and its first term of reference was the formulation of the principles and aims of the education for the "Natives" as an independent race in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitudes, and their needs under the ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration (Eiselen Commission Report, 19 January 1949:7).

The Commission had also to explore the possibility of co-ordinating Bantu education in South Africa which fell under the control of the four Provincial authorities at that time. These provinces were the Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The Commission had to find ways and means by which the existing primary, secondary, teacher-training and vocational educational levels of education could be determined, modified and adapted in respect of the content and aims of syllabi so that it could prepare the Bantu more effectively for their future occupations. Thus the

Commission had to pay special attention to the organisation, administration and financing of Bantu education (Cory 1950:153).

In its comprehensive report which was submitted in August 1951, the Eiselen Commission outlined the shortcomings of Bantu education as controlled by the missionary bodies and the Provincial authorities. It indicated, for example, that in the mission schools the Bantu parents had no share in the running of the schools and that the missionaries kept them away from what was in fact their inalienable right, that of having control in their schools. The result was that the parents had very little say in the education received by their own children. The schools themselves failed to reflect Bantu community life. The various missionary societies had their own, and sometimes, different perceptions about the aim and practice of Bantu education. Moreover, each province had its own policy and there were obvious weaknesses in attempts which concern the co-ordination and administration of Bantu education. Although the Department of Native Affairs concentrated on the financing of Bantu education it, in fact, had no direct say in the running of it (Eiselen Commission Report, 19 January 1949:9).

When the Commission enquired as to what the aims of Bantu education were and found none that were clearly defined, either by the missionaries or by the Provincial authorities, it formulated the following aims which were already latent in the education system as envisaged by the Bantu tribal communities when they began to support, establish and maintain secondary schools in their rural areas in the late 1940's (Cory 1950:157).

These aims were set out briefly as:

5.1.1 Acculturation

A cardinal aim of education is to transmit the culture of a society from the mature generation to its rising, younger generation so as to develop the latter's powers to the fullest and in order to preserve and perpetuate the cultural heritage of a people. This process, therefore, prepares the child to develop progressively with the evolving conditions of life by acquainting himself with modern life of social institutions (home, tribe, etc). This, on its own, requires proper guidance of the child by the older members of the society as well as enabling the child to assimilate or differentiate between the good and the bad (Cory 1950:174).

5.1.2 Socialisation

As a social being, man has to be guided and moulded in such a manner that he is brought to understand and accept the wider norms and values of a society. Education is a vital means whereby an individual child is brought up, groomed and refined so that he can take his proper place in a society and make his contribution towards the well-being of the society. Bantu education, as is the case with other races, aims at motivating Bantu communities to apply themselves in the arduous task of preparing their children for the future role they are to play as useful members of the society by transmitting to them ideas, values, skills and attitudes embedded in their society (Cory 1950:174-175).

5.1.3 **Character-formation**

The aim of Bantu education was to develop the character of the child for his future calling as an individual and as a member of society. To harmonise the individual as well as the society, it was essential to consider the language of the pupils, their home conditions, their social environment, their cultural traits and their future position within their community and in South Africa (Cory 1950:175).

Having briefly tabulated the aims of Bantu education, the Eiselen Commission went on to examine and lay down certain guiding principles which might contribute to the realisation of these aims. The Bantu Education Journal (February 1956:9-10) tabulates these principles as follows:

- (a) Bantu education is to be organised effectively to provide not only adequate schools with a definite Christian character but also adequate social institutions to harmonise with such schools of Christian orientation.
- (b) To ensure secure, efficient and thorough co-ordination of planning, budgeting and administration designed to develop sound social institutions and adequate schools, Bantu education should be the care of the Central Government.
- (c) Bantu education must be co-ordinated with a definite and carefully planned policy for the development of Bantu society. Such policy should pay special attention, but not exclusive attention to the economic development of the

Bantu. This matter is of particular importance in view of the rising cost of social services rendered to the Bantu.

- (d) Increased emphasis must be placed on the education of the masses of the Bantu to enable them to co-operate in the evolution of new social patterns and institutions. This does not mean a curtailment of the present facilities for education but a new emphasis on the importance of education for all, in both the "social" and the purely "school" sense.
- (e) Active steps must be taken to produce literature of functional value in the Bantu languages. At present these languages lack a terminology for describing modern scientific concepts and their numerical systems are clumsy and difficult to use. It should not be difficult, however, to overcome these problems.
- (f) Bearing in mind the very great social need for education it is imperative that the not unlimited funds available for Bantu education should be administered with the maximum efficiency.
- (g) Schools must be linked as closely as possible with existing Bantu social institutions and a friendly, though not necessary uncritical, attitude must be maintained between the school and these institutions.
- (h) The mother-tongue should be used as the medium of instruction for at least the duration of the primary school. As the literacy treasures of the Bantu languages

are developed and their importance as a means of communication increases, these literacy treasures should in increasing measure be recognised as media of instruction. The importance of this lies in the positive contribution which the schools can make in the development of the Bantu languages both for their own use and for other institutions of Bantu life, for example, Bantu courts and councils.

- (i) Bantu personnel should be used to the maximum to make the schools as Bantu in spirit as possible as well as to provide employment.
- (j) Bantu parents should as far as is practicable have a share in the control and life of the school. It is only in this way that children will realise that their parents and the schools are not competitors but that they are complementary. Similarly, the schools will inform the parents about certain social values.
- (k) The schools should provide for maximum development of the Bantu individual, mentally, morally and spiritually.

The Eiselen Commission Report was accepted by the Central Government and used as a basis for the enactment of the Bantu Education Act which the Parliament passed in 1953. Pells (1954:147) remarks that the Act enabled the State to take direct control of and responsibility for Bantu education. This responsibility was first assumed by the Department of Native Affairs and later by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

In 1958 the Department of Bantu Education, with Pretoria as the Head Office, was created, with its own Minister as political head and a Secretary who served as administrative officer. Thereafter the country was divided up into regions, each with its own Regional Director, Circuit Inspectors, Bantu sub-inspectors and assistant-inspectors. Schoolboards and school committees, representing local communities and parents, were established (Bennie 1960:49).

This new trend revolutionised Bantu education and gave it new gearing and direction. It sparked a new spirit of enthusiasm and stimulated a keen interest on the part of the Bantu communities. The result was the rapid increase of the numbers of pupils attending school and a multiplicity of schools that were subsequently erected to cope with the ever-increasing number of school-going children. In 1962 Bantu education constituted the largest sector of national school enrolment which can be seen from the following figures (Bantu Education Journal, November 1964:4):

(a) State or State-aided schools

Community schools	:	1 314,000
Farm schools	:	205,000
Government schools	:	43,000
Mine schools	:	16,000
Factory schools	:	5,000
Scheduled schools	:	2,000

(b) Private schools

Church schools	:	89,000
GRAND TOTAL	:	1 674,000

By far the largest sector, the community schools, were controlled by Bantu school committees and schoolboards who had the power to appoint and dismiss teachers. The Department helped to subsidise the boards who administered the grants and paid the salaries of teachers in State Schools. Moreover, the Department drew up the syllabi and conducted Standard Six, Junior Certificate and Senior Certificate examinations. In this connection it must be indicated that schools could choose to write the Joint Matriculation Board examinations (Bantu Educational Journal, November 1964:4-5).

Up to Standard Six the medium of instruction became mother-tongue. Afrikaans and English were introduced as the medium of instruction in the first year of secondary school work, one six months after the other, depending on which was used locally. In Form II, equivalent to standard seven, both Afrikaans and English were used although the prevalence of one or the other largely depended on the Province concerned, for example, Afrikaans in the Orange Free State, English in the Cape Colony and Natal and both Afrikaans and English in Transvaal (Bantu Education Journal, November 1964:6).

The Department of Bantu Education established a Bantu Advisory Council which held its first meeting in May 1964. In the Calendar of the University College of Fort Hare

(1966:4) it is stated that the Department elected Bantu educationists and leaders such as Professors M O M Seboni, W M Kgware, Dr S Moloto and many others to form part of this Advisory Council, advising the Minister on matters relating to Bantu education.

5.2 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RURAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE CISKEI FROM 1954-1968

The trends of acculturation, socialisation and nationalism, which were meant to be implemented in Bantu education according to the terms set out in the Eiselen Commission Report of 1951, had a tremendous impact on the education of the Bantu in this country. This impact was felt in the Ciskei too, where it helped to accelerate the establishment of secondary schools. Whereas before 1955 five tribal community secondary schools, namely, Ayliff, Kama, Burnshill, Izeli and Rabula, had been established, from the beginning of 1955 up to the end of 1968 ten secondary schools were established by the various tribal communities of this territory, namely, Ciskei. The local communities, under the leadership of their tribal chiefs took the initiative, generated their own funds and made all the preliminary arrangements necessary for the establishment of secondary schools (Bennie 1960:56).

In most cases these tribal communities would initially hire the services of well-qualified teachers and pay their salaries. The teachers, who were invariably local people, were prepared to take the risk of teaching and some even accepted the posts of becoming principals in the new schools. They did this for the sake of the regional

and the national cause and pride (Bennie 1960:56-57).

The following secondary schools were established:

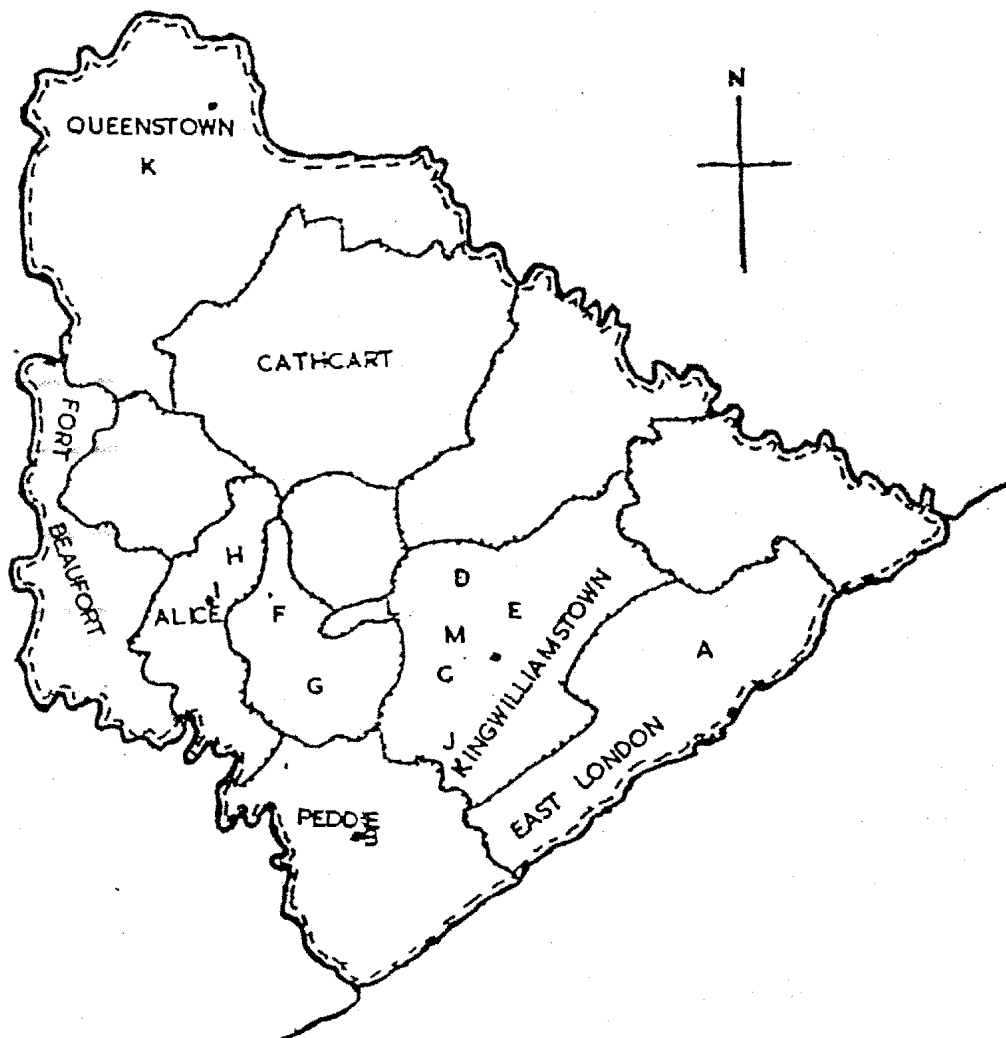
5.2.1 Gould Secondary School

At Tamarha location about twelve kilometres west of King William's Town and about two kilometres west of the national road to Peddie stands Gould Secondary School. This school was first established in 1954 by the ImiDushane tribe under Chief Siwani, whose tribal name is "A! Zimlindile!" The chief's wife, Nofikile Siwani, who was then regent, played an outstanding role in the completion of the project (Report, dated 13 February 1955, File No. A7374 in Bantu Education Offices, King William's Town).

The new secondary school was intended to provide educational facilities for the Xhosa children who came from twenty locations in the area. These were Tamarha, Matebese, Mtati, Zalarha, Ngqwele, Xengxe, Mtati-Siwani, Bhele, Qaga, Masele, Qawukeni, Dubu, Mabhongo, Khalana, Gqodi, Ndubungela, Godidi, Mlakalaka, Nonibe and Fakafaka (Report, dated 13 February 1955, File No. A7374 in Bantu Education Offices, King William's Town).

On their own initiative the women of these locations made mud bricks and afterwards hired the services of a local builder to erect two classrooms in which the first classes were held. A church building which stood a kilometre away from these classrooms was also used as a third classroom. In a letter of registration and proclaiming the site

DISTRIBUTION OF BANTU RURAL SECONDARY
SCHOOLS



REFERENCE

A. NGWENYATI	SECONDARY	SCHOOL	H. AMABELE	SECONDARY	SCHOOL
B. AYLIFF	"	"	I. JABAVU	"	"
C. GASELA	"	"	J. GOULD	"	"
D. IZELI	"	"	K. HEWU	"	"
E. PEELTON	"	"	L. ROSS	"	"
F. KAMA	"	"	M. AMANTINDE	"	"
G. SISEKO	"	"			

of the school it is stated that the first principal of this school was privately paid. The school started with an enrolment of fifteen pupils (Letter of Registration, dated 17 March 1956, File No. A7374 in Bantu Education Offices, King William's Town).

After the school had been registered in March 1956, the tribesmen started to negotiate with the Department of Bantu Education for a grant which would enable them to erect a block of six classrooms. The tribe itself had raised an initial amount of R1 040-00 towards the project. They therefore expected the Department to make a grant of an equal amount and to provide the necessary equipment. The letter of registration (dated 17 March 1956, File No. A7374 in Bantu Education Offices, King William's Town) states that at the end of 1956 the school had been extended by five classrooms and one storeroom with the money that had been collected by the tribal community. The Department agreed to contribute an equal amount.

The aim of the tribe was to have this school upgraded into a high school but this had not been possible due to the lack of adequately qualified teachers who would teach Form IV and Form V classes (Standards 9 and 10). In his report (dated 12 April 1960, File No. A7374 in Bantu Education Offices, King William's Town) Mr G Kolbe, who was then Inspector of Bantu Education, writes to the Regional Director, Mr D S Cronjé, that the good results coupled with the steady progress the school had made up to the end of 1968 had more than justified the wishes of the Tamarha community to upgrade this secondary school into a high school.

It was only in 1989 that the Department of Bantu Education had approved of the

request of the Tamarha community, namely, to have the school upgraded into a high school, and since then this high school continued to produce good matric results (Interview on 14 April 1991 with an old man, Mr R M Ntebe, born in 1927).

5.2.2 Siseko Secondary School

Situated about fourteen kilometres west of Debe Nek railway station amidst the tribal communities of the AmaGqunukwebe in the district of Middledrift, this secondary school was established in 1958. Discussions about its establishment were first held by the local communities in 1957 (Report to the Secretary of Bantu Education s.a., File No. A8402, C4300/275 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

The final decision to establish the school was taken in December of 1957. In January 1958, seventy six pupils enrolled for Form I. Classes were held in an old unused building belonging to the Methodist Church of South Africa. Mr G Twaku, a graduate with a Bachelor of Arts degree, who was born and bred in the same location where this school had been established, was appointed as the first principal of Siseko Secondary School. He was paid by the local communities for the greater part of 1958 (Interview on 27 July 1991 with the first principal of this school, Mr G Twaku, born in 1930).

At a meeting of the "inkundla" (tribal court) which was held at the Great Place (chief's home) in February 1958, a small committee of four was elected to initiate the establishment of the school, apply for a site and for the registration of the school by

the Department of Bantu Education. The application letter (dated 11 March 1958, File No. A8402 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria) shows that on 27 August 1958 the committee managed to have the school registered.

Immediately after this the community embarked on a special fund raising campaign. A general levy of R2-00 per person per year was imposed on the members of the tribe. This money was utilised in erecting the school building. The community worked hard to provide bricks, concrete and sand. The tribe employed the services of a builder who erected the building at a cost of R966-00. The Department of Bantu Education paid half the amount, made a grant available for the payment of the principal's salary and of the teachers who were employed subsequently to teach at this school as well as for the provision of equipment (Report dated 29 April 1958, File No. A8402 in Bantu Education Offices, King William's Town).

The work of the local community in erecting a block of five classrooms was made easy by the guidance of the Kama Schoolboard. In an interview on the 28 July 1991 with the former Schoolboard Secretary, Mr R Mankahla, born in 1927, it was discovered that Mr R Mankahla had had previous experience in establishing and maintaining the Kama Secondary School near Middledrift.

The dedication and patience of the first principal, Mr G Twaku, was an additional motivating factor which encouraged and strengthened the efforts of the community. Above all, the prompt response of the Department of Bantu Education, when applications for financial assistance were made, was of tremendous help and

encouragement to all those who were engaged in the new venture. The school made steady progress in producing satisfactory results since it was established (Interview on 27 July 1991 with the first principal of this school, Mr G Twaku, born in 1930).

5.2.3 Gasela Secondary School

The Gasela Secondary School, established in January 1959, is situated in the location of the AmaToyise tribe, which is often called AmaGasela because of the vital role played by its chief, Mr S Gasela, towards the establishment of this school. The local tribal community applied to the Department of Bantu Education requesting the establishment of a secondary school on its own which would serve the locations of Tafeni, Sobi, Mdiza, Tshatshu, Mgqakwebe and Mngqesha (Interview on 5 July 1991 with Mr P N Ngcelwane, the School Secretary, born in 1941).

The Ntinde-ImiQhayi Schoolboard immediately forwarded the application to the Department of Bantu Education with a strong recommendation from the Circuit Inspector, Mr B S Arnold and the Regional Director, Mr D S Cronjé. After the Department of Bantu Education has ascertained that the requirements for the establishment of a secondary school had been satisfied it granted permission and made a substantial grant of R2 400-00 towards the erection of the buildings. The tribe contributed an equal amount (Correspondence in File No. A9537 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

Because the tribe was led by an able chief, Mr S Gasela, it had no difficulty in raising

the funds that were necessary for erecting the school buildings. It swiftly erected a three classroomed-block at a cost of R4 800-00 (Interview on 5 July 1991 with Mr P N Ngcelwane, the School Secretary, born in 1941).

In the Principal's Report (Records of the school as read on 27 September 1991) it is clearly stated that this secondary school never had any difficulty in securing an adequate number of pupils. It has been producing satisfactory results since it was established. The AmaGasela tribe has continued its support and co-operation to the school.

5.2.4 ImiQhayi Secondary School

The ImiQhayi Secondary School which was established in January 1960, is situated next to Mount Coke, an old Mission Station belonging to the Methodist Church. In an interview on 3 August 1991 with the Secretary of the Ntinde-miQhayi Schoolboard, Mr P N Ngcelwane, it was said that the initial negotiations for the school's establishment took place in January 1959.

After the negotiations the Ntinde-miQhayi Schoolboard decided to make an urgent application to the Department of Bantu Education which contained the following points:

- (a) It is the desire of the ImiQhayi people that they should have their own secondary school in their area as at present there is none existing.

- (b) The tribe is fully prepared to pay the private teachers until the Department of Bantu Education is able to provide a subsidy.
- (c) As soon as the permission to occupy a school site had been obtained from the Department of Bantu Education, the tribe is fully prepared to erect a building according to the Departmental plan within a period of one year (Undated application letter signed by Mr T Mntwapi, Secretary of the Tribal Authority, File No. A9708 in Bantu Education Offices, King William's Town).

After the Schoolboard had given the application full consideration it resolved at its General Meeting, held on 25 February 1959, to forward a strong recommendation to the Department of Bantu Education in Pretoria, through the Regional Director's Office at King William's Town. After the Department of Bantu Education had been satisfied that all the required conditions for the establishment of a secondary school had been met, permission was granted.

In the report of the Inspector of Bantu Education, Mr G Kolbe, it is said that during 1959 classes were conducted in a local hall. As soon as the school was registered and permission to occupy a site was obtained, the tribe started to erect a school building at an estimated cost of R4 800-00. The tribe had already collected R3 000-00 through a levy of R2-00 imposed on each and every tax-payer in the area for a period of two years. The Department of Bantu Education contributed a sum of R2 400-00 towards the building costs and gave a further grant for the payment of full salaries of the teachers at the school (Inspector's Report, dated 14 August 1964, File No. A9708 in

Bantu Education Offices, King William's Town).

From its inception ImiQhayi Secondary School had continued to grow steadily and to produce satisfactory results. The tribe had been relentless in its support and maintenance of "its" school (Interview on 3 August 1991 with the Secretary of the Ntinde-imiQhayi Schoolboards, Mr P N Ngcelwane, born in 1941).

5.2.5 Hewu Secondary School

Hewu Secondary School is situated on Site No. 12 in Sautiya location in the district of Whittlesea. In the application letter for its establishment it is stated that the tribal community pointed out that there were several primary schools in the area which went as far as standard six but that there was no secondary school in the vicinity to provide training for those pupils who had passed standard six and wanted to continue with their education. Parents had to depend upon "imported" secondary education which their children had to acquire by attending classes either at the missionary institutions or at urban secondary schools (Application letter, dated 4 July 1958, File No. A9040 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

After it had obtained permission to occupy a site for the school in October 1959, the local tribal community proceeded with the erection of a school building at a cost of R7 200-00. The Department of Bantu Education paid half of this amount. Although the new building had not been completed the school was able to make a start with an enrolment of sixty pupils in January 1960 (Records of the school read on 21 August,

1991).

The Circuit Inspector, Mr B Smith, stated that the school was doing good work. The community had put up a strong and well-constructed building which was opened by the Regional Director of Bantu Education, Mr D S Cronjé. The whole tribal community took pride in their new school and some members expressed the hope that the school would, for many years to come, render them good service. They were touched by the kind gesture of the Department of Bantu Education which had assisted them with a large subsidy (Circuit Inspector's Report, dated 24 July 1962).

5.2.6 Peelton Secondary School

Peelton Secondary School is situated near Peelton railway station which is not far from Blaney railway junction and on the eastern side of the Komgha-King William's Town national road. The letter of application reveals that this secondary school was established through the initiative of the local community which, after securing a site in April 1956, applied for the registration of the school by the Department of Bantu Education in March 1957 (Application letter, dated 12 March 1957, File No. A8102 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

While the first classes were being held in the nearby church buildings, the keen members of the community made their own bricks so that a start could be made at erecting a school building. Due to the lack of responsible leadership (there was no chief at Peelton location for many years) the bricks could not be put to use. It was not

until 1964 that a block of five classrooms was erected. The Department of Bantu Education paid a subsidy on a Rand for Rand basis towards the building of the school (Interview on 22 August 1991 with the Schoolboard Secretary, Mr P N Ngcelwane, born in 1941).

The fact that the Peelson community had no proper authority in the person of a local tribal chief caused the school to experience great difficulties in its development and progress. The school had only three teachers up to the end of 1966 and some pupils managed to pass Junior Certificate examinations under such unfavourable conditions. In the absence of a chief there was no strong leader to guide the community. The organisation of all matters relating to the newly established school became everybody's business. The headmen were too weak to exert any influence (Interview on 22 August 1991 with the Schoolboard Secretary, Mr P N Ngcelwane, born in 1941).

5.2.7 Ngwenyati Secondary School

First established in January 1958, when classes were held in the St Mary's Chapel which was loaned to the local tribal community for school purposes by the St Lukes Mission, the Ngwenyati Secondary School presently stands at site No. 4 in the Newlands location some twenty kilometres out of East London. The present building, which is 45 metres long, 25 metres wide and 10 metres high, was erected in February 1959. The School Committee spent R230-00 on labour and material to make the school a reality (Records of the school read on 29 September 1991).

In June 1959 the East London Rural Bantu Board wrote a letter (dated 12 June 1959, File No. A8219 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria) to the Regional Director's office in King William's Town stating that the following resolutions were unanimously agreed on:

- (a) that a school of four classrooms, an office and a storeroom be erected at Ngwenyati Secondary School in Newlands location, East London, and be subsidised by the Department on a £ for £ basis in terms of Circular 223/302/5 (i) paragraph 2(b)(ii) of the 20th August 1956.
- (b) that in view of the fact that Newlands location may be declared a White area by the Government and the community may be removed to a new area, the building should not be a substantial one but should be a temporary structure built of wood and corrugated iron so that when the time comes for the people to leave the present location, the walls and roofs of the building can be unbolted and carried to a new site. The temporary structure would have a compacted ground floor.
- (c) that as the community has undertaken to meet all its obligations as set out in the accompanying application the Board's contribution would be £868-00, this amount was owed to the Feeding Scheme and still held by the Department.
- (d) that the Board requests the Department to make this sum of £868-00 available to be paid to East London Rural Bantu Schoolboard to enable the board to buy

wood, iron and masonite for the walls of the school building.

This letter (dated 12 June 1959) was signed by Messrs A T Mangcu and D M Dyani, Chairman and Secretary respectively of the East London Rural Bantu Schoolboard.

The request of the Schoolboard was granted by the Department of Bantu Education and subsequently extensions were effected which enable the school to enrol more pupils. The tribe showed interest in the school and co-operated with both the Schoolboard and teaching staff.

5.2.8 Jabavu Secondary School

The Jabavu Secondary School was established as a private school in July 1951 by the University College of Fort Hare to provide secondary education facilities to the Bantu pupils who came from the primary schools in the vicinity of Fort Hare after passing standard six. This school was to be used by the students of the University College who were following the University Education Diploma Course in the Department of Education to gain practical experience. Whilst engaged in their practical teaching these students prepared pupils for the Junior Certificate examinations of the Cape Education Department (Calendar of the University College of Fort Hare 1953:85-86).

Classes were first conducted in one of the spare class-rooms in Livingstone Hall. Prof C P Dent, the principal of Fort Hare, became the manager of the newly established school. In 1953 a new site for the school was acquired on the eastern boundary of the

Fort Hare grounds near the road to Hogsback. The Auditor's Certificate (dated 28 February 1953) states that on the new site, buildings costing R1 328-00 were erected and opened on 1 December 1952. The buildings were then hired out at a rental of R935-99 per year by the University of Fort Hare to the Cape Provincial Administration. The rent was to be paid to Prof C P Dent who still served as principal of Fort Hare.

This school was named after Prof D T T Jabavu who was the first principal of Jabavu Secondary School. He was succeeded by Mr G S Bundy, a graduate with Master of Arts and Bachelor of Education degrees. His assistant was Mrs J A Mokoena, with a Bachelor of Arts degree. The Cape Department of Education paid the salaries of these teachers (Calendar of the University College of Fort Hare 1953:94).

In a letter from the Regional Director of Bantu Education it is mentioned that after the take over by the Department of Bantu Education the buildings of Jabavu Secondary School were rented to the Department of Native Affairs by Fort Hare. In 1961, however, the Department of Bantu Education notified Fort Hare of its intention to move Jabavu Secondary School to AmaBhele location. At AmaBhele this secondary school would become a community school (Regional Director's letter, dated 11 July 1957, File No. A3388 in Bantu Education offices, Pretoria).

For some time Fort Hare University opposed the plan to move this school to AmaBhele location (Memorandum of the Fort Hare Senate, dated 16 October 1961, File No. A3388 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

The reasons advanced for this opposition were that the secondary school was serving the important function of providing adequate practical teacher-training facilities for the large group of students who were taking the University Education Diploma Course at Fort Hare. It is in the letter of the Registrar of Fort Hare where it is depicted that the school, therefore, was an important tool to the Education Department of Fort Hare, as were the laboratories of the same college to the school's Science Department. Moreover, this school was serving the pupils living to the west of Alice who could not attend Junior Certificate classes at Lovedale High School (Registrar's Education letter, dated 13 August 1957, File No. A3388 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

After giving this matter careful consideration the Department of Bantu Education allowed Jabavu Secondary School to stay where it was and to carry on with its work as before. It was only in September 1968 when the Government of the Republic of South Africa gave self-government to the Ciskeian citizens that this school became a community school (Memorandum of the Fort Hare Senate, dated 16 October 1961, File No. A3388 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

5.2.9 AmaNtinde Secondary School

Situated in AmaNtinde location which is about seven kilometres east of the national road from Alice to King William's Town and about fourteen kilometres west of the latter, the AmaNtinde Secondary School was established by the AmaNtinde tribe in 1959. The tribe held its preliminary discussion on the establishment of the school in 1957. The Minutes of the AmaNtinde-miQhayi Schoolboard report that the tribe

applied through the AmaNtinde-miQhayi Schoolboard to the Department of Bantu Education for permission to erect a secondary school in the AmaNtinde location (Minutes of the AmaNtinde-miQhayi Schoolboard, dated 21 October 1958).

It is further stated that although the school was registered on 9 September 1959, permission to occupy a site was only granted on 28 April 1960. The tribe began to build the school in August 1959 when it erected the following facilities at a cost as indicated below:

3 classrooms	=	R2 600-00
1 storeroom	=	R650-00
1 office	=	R495-00
1 staffroom	=	R505-00
4 latrines each for		
girls and for boys	=	R400-00
TOTAL COST	=	R4 650-00

The Department of Bantu Education paid half the total cost of the buildings and further made available a grant to pay the salary of one teacher. Although classes started in January 1960, this grant was not available until April of that year. the community in the meantime paid the salary of the teacher from its private funds. From May 1960, the community employed the services of a second teacher and paid his salary from their private funds. The Department of Bantu Education made available a further grant for the salary of the second teacher in January 1961, and also agreed

to erect another two additional classrooms. By the end of 1963 the school had three teachers whose salaries were paid by the Department of Bantu Education. The latter also provided all the school equipment (Minutes of the AmaNtinde-miQhayi Schoolboard, dated 18 July 1964).

With the support and co-operation of the local tribal community the AmaNtinde Secondary School had grown from a small private school with one teacher and an enrolment of twenty six pupils to a school with an enrolment of over two hundred pupils and five teachers by the end of 1968. The Department of Bantu Education had made a big contribution towards the growth and progress of this secondary school (Minutes of the AmaNtinde-miQhayi Schoolboard, dated 17 April 1969).

5.2.10 AmaBhele Secondary School

Situated near the Great Place (chief's home) at Krwakrwa location which is about fourteen kilometres east of Alice, the AmaBhele Secondary School was established in 1961. An urgent application for the registration of the school was made, coinciding with the arrangements already made by the Department of Bantu Education to transfer Jabavu Secondary School to Krwakrwa location (Letter of application, dated 2 December 1961, File No. A10688 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

No less than one hundred and ten pupils had already applied for admission to the new secondary school which was to commence its duties in 1962. These applications were all accepted. The Circuit Inspector of Bantu Education, Mr M A Potgieter, and the

chief of the AmaBhele tribe, Mr J A Mabandla, made an urgent application to the Department of Bantu Education on behalf of the local community for a subsidy of R9 300-00 to erect a building and a grant for the salaries of two teachers (Letter of application, dated 2 December 1961, File No. A10688 in Bantu Education Offices, Pretoria).

The joint efforts of Chief J A Mabandla of the AmaBhele tribe, the Circuit Inspector of Bantu Education and the tribe as a whole led to the rapid erection and completion of the first block of four classrooms, an office and a staffroom within three months so that the classes could be conducted before the end of the first quarter of 1962 (Interview on 13 May 1991 with one of the local teachers, Mr B Xuza, born in 1943).

From its humble beginning as a two-teacher school, AmaBhele Secondary School grew steadily into a six-teacher school by the end of 1968, with its pass results improving each year. Because of the love and pride the tribal community showed for this school it bears the clan name of the tribe. By the end of 1968, arrangements were being made to upgrade this school into a high school¹ (Interview on 13 May 1991 with Chief J A Mabandla, born in 1931).

¹ Secondary school is a school with standards six to eight and a high school is a combination of all classes from six to ten.

CHAPTER 6

A SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS OF HISTORICAL PERIODS AND HOW THEY IMPACTED ON SECONDARY EDUCATION AMONGST THE XHOSAS IN THE CISKEI UP TO 1968

An overview of the last century and a half in the life history of the Xhosas suggests that several factors of a social, cultural, political and economic nature influenced the development of education in general and particularly of secondary education amongst the Xhosas in the Ciskei. These factors took different shades at different times during the history of education for Xhosas in the Ciskei and which falls into four periods as follows:

6.1 THE EARLY TRIBAL EDUCATION (+ 1715-1800)

During this period the education of the Xhosa tribal communities showed a grounding in traditional culture and custom. The main aim was to conserve and transmit from one generation to the other the cultural heritage of beliefs, behaviour patterns, emotional dispositions, skills, tools of knowledge as well as the appropriate ritual behaviour of the tribe. There was a series of rites which inculcated in the individual child the requisite beliefs, attitudes and feelings of the Xhosa people. The inculcation of knowledge happened incidentally, that is, it was gained through the contribution of anybody at anytime and anywhere. The traditional rituals played an all-important role in the life of the tribe. Each individual had to pass through several rites in order to live as part of the tribe as a youth, adult and after death as a spirit (Makalima et al

1930:221).

At eighteen years of age initiation ceremonies for the young men occurred. These covered a period of some months and even years. Similar ceremonies for young women who had reached their pubertal age were also conducted. This was the only kind of formal education that was found in the traditional form of Xhosa tribal life. Initiation ceremonies focused on the qualities of courage, endurance and cleverness which were requisite for patriotic citizenship. Discipline during these ceremonies was severe and strict (Duminy 1965:149).

Moreover, the principle of nationalism, which has a consequential influence on education, had a profound effect on the education of the Xhosa tribe in the Ciskei during this epoch. Their spirit of nationalism caused them to utilise their tribal form of education as a powerful means for the inception, preservation and perpetuation of their nationhood. Through their tribal institutions and representatives the Xhosas taught their young men skills of warfare. From simple stick fights they trained them to be dexterous assegai-users who could face death unflinchingly. The chief was considered divine and served as an object of national reverence. Loyalty, courage and patriotism were accepted as strong factors in the survival and stability of the Xhosa nation. For that matter the aim of the national spirit of the Xhosas was to glorify and to preserve the sovereignty of their nation which they regarded as a society organised primarily to protect its members from dangers of external attack and internal disintegration. Thus national unity, common traditions and ideals formed the core of the traditional education of the Xhosas in the Ciskei (Duminy 1965:150).

The early tribal system of education of the Xhosas which served as the foundation for the establishment of secondary schools during later times in the Ciskei, portrayed the following values:

Completeness

Not only was every child in the tribe subjected to the same unifying educational experiences but the process of education or socialisation was continued through the life of every person. It thus provided a common elementary education, an additional training for experts and adult education for all.

Social orientation

Social orientation secured the adaptation of the individual to the needs of the tribe and of his own nature so that he could become an adult, contented and happy member of society. The individual was taught social values, virtues and ideals which were essential to the life of the community.

Integration with life

The instruction of the young and even of the socially immature adults was accomplished not only in schools but by the tribal institutions such as the family. The course of instruction was life itself, whilst instructors were those who had experience of success and who portrayed rare personal qualities. Tribal education, therefore, was an integral part of the social life of the Xhosas. It was a vital aspect of tribal institutions (Bennie 1960:78).

Although this early tribal system of education of the Xhosas had many values it must be indicated that it also had its own weak points. It was not dynamic because it was tied up with tradition and to preserve the status quo. It existed in its simple form to meet the requirements of a simple, primitive society. As the society was destined to develop, with its demands becoming more complex, the system inevitably would have to become more dynamic and innovative to meet the new social demands. With the arrival of the Europeans in the Eastern Cape during the eighteenth century some aspects of the cultural life of the Xhosas underwent marked change. The meeting of the Xhosas with the European Colonists resulted in a new era, that of colonisation of the country by the Colonial Government (Bennie 1960:83).

6.2 THE PERIOD OF COLONISATION (1800-1945)

The arrival of the Europeans in South Africa ultimately led to the colonisation of the country by Colonial Governments. The process lasted for the whole of the period between 1800 and 1945. The governments of Caledon, Cradock, Lord Charles Somerset and that of Sir George Grey are known for their anglicising policies. When the early missionaries came to the Ciskei towards the end of the eighteenth century to evangelise the Xhosa tribes, the Colonial Governments of that time encouraged and supported the work of the missionaries. They regarded the Christianisation of the Xhosas as an effective method of softening and 'taming' them to enable the process of civilising the country to take place easily and quickly. In this endeavour the missionaries gained much favour and support from the government of Sir George Grey. They were encouraged to establish as many missions and mission schools as

possible and to cultivate habits of industry and Christian principles among the Xhosa tribesmen (Walshe 1970:101).

The Westernised system of education which the early white missionaries introduced among the Xhosa tribes during the period under view lacked clearly defined aims. Loram (1948:114) describes the positions assumed by the European population in this country under three headings, namely, Repressionists, Equalitarians and Segregationists.

Repressionists

The Repressionists wished to keep the "Natives" as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The appropriate education for them was that which made them obedient, carrying the instructions as given, and added to their usefulness as servants.

Equalitarians

The Equalitarians desired to give the "Natives" equal treatment and recognition in every way and to vary their programme of education accordingly.

Segregationists

The Segregationists believed in the development of the "Natives" to the fullest but that they should do it separately from Whites.

Because of the missionary trend the system of education of the Xhosas had vague aims. The Xhosas felt the influence of this system of education in mainly two ways, namely, in the social and the individual domains of their community life and of each member of the Xhosa people.

The social effect has been felt in the way in which indigenous social institutions have become emasculated by imposed white control. Chieftainship, for example, which was an institution of leadership in all affairs, was curtailed to such an extent that it became virtually incapable of the requisite guidance and inspiration for which the inherent local problems of the people called. Not only were the existing tribal institutions prevented from providing the necessary adaptation to the new conditions, the policy of both the missionaries and colonial governments was designed to weaken these and render them as useless (Pells 1954:176).

The result was that the Xhosas who accepted and followed the leadership of the "white man" were divorced from their own culture and their people. Thus the Xhosas were divided into Christians and non-Christians (Amagqobhoka and Amaqaba) respectively. The former were 'those whose hearts had been broken through', signifying a change of heart which had led them to abandon their old customs. The latter group, Amaqaba, were 'those who painted themselves', referring to the fact that a tribal Xhosa usually had his face or body painted with red ochre (Loram 1948:116).

The attitude of some Xhosas towards their own language is a case in point. Having learned English, they looked upon their language as inferior and some of them even

refused to speak it. Their clothing was another illustration. A Xhosa came from his own tribal community to work for a European in town. Very soon he learned to admire European clothing to such an extent that it became a passion with him. At the expiry of his term of service, when he returned to his tribal home, he found life there unbearable because his people were still wearing their tribal clothes. Eventually, he realised that he could not live with the Europeans because they rejected him and that he could not live happily with his people because he was perceived to despise their way of life (Tom 1967:30).

In this way the missionaries succeeded in destroying the faith of the Xhosa in himself. Since he had nothing concrete hitherto to replace the customs he had lost, the Xhosa had nothing to cling to and nothing to regulate his life and conduct. He had become an individual without a social heritage to anchor him (Cook 1956:16).

The total result of the colonisation policies of the Colonial Governments and the detribalisation trends of the missionaries was that the rate of development and progress in the secondary education of the Xhosas of the territory under view was slowed down. It lacked a drive, purpose, direction and spontaneity (Cook 1956:20-21).

6.3 THE PERIOD OF DECOLONISATION (1945-1960)

As a result of the strife and struggle during the years of the Second World War, 1939-1945, a new spirit developed among the nations of the entire world which caused them to adopt a new approach in solving their problems. The result was the call for the

abolition of colonialism and even all forms of imperialism (Loram 1948:119).

Among the Afrikaans-speaking section of the White population this period saw the rise of the National Party to power and its assumption of government in 1948. Thus the Segregationists, with their apartheid policy, gained control over the country. The National Party government allowed the fullest development of each population group in the country but only in separate geographical areas based on ethnicity. The underlying principle of the policy of apartheid was that every person was a being with human dignity and as such had the inalienable right to live and develop to the fullest extent at his own pace, according to his natural endowments and in his own right (Pells 1954:181).

Likewise, all the population groups in this country had the right to live and to develop side by side, each on its own way, and without interference from other groups. All had to show mutual respect by not interfering with the sovereignty of other groups. Harmonious living of all population groups and the prosperity of the country through the principle of co-existence had always been the ultimate goal of the Nationalist policy (Walshe 1970:97).

The profound philosophical concept of the Nationalist Party's policy which offered a new approach to the racial problem of the country quickly stimulated the latent spirit of nationalism among the Xhosas of the Ciskei. These people (Xhosas) had long looked forward to an opportune time when their nationhood would be vindicated, when they would regain their lost land under the British imperialists (Walshe 1970:97-

As an initial step on the road towards rebuilding their nationhood the Xhosa tribes of the Ciskei attached great value to education, especially secondary education. The policy of the Nationalist Government favoured nationalism. This provided a favourable climate for the development of this spirit among the Xhosa tribesmen who embarked on a venture of establishing secondary schools in their respective localities (Duminy 1965:149).

Moreover, leadership in education was only one of the needs of the envisaged developing homelands and as such for all the activities of authorities in these homelands, there was a need for trained specialist manpower in the civil services, agriculture, commercial, industrial, transport, management of towns, health and social services. The secondary school therefore would become a progressively important link in preparing the Bantu youth for the skilled tasks which lay ahead of them in the services of their communities. Secondary education had necessarily to become increasingly diversified and geared to the needs of the territorial authorities in developing their own areas (Duminy 1965:149-150).

These aims inspired the Xhosas of the Ciskei to organise their local communities to establish their own secondary schools. Thus the secondary education which was at first only available at the Missionary Institutions came to be decentralised. Town folk set the ball rolling and established their own secondary schools in the urban locations such as East London, Grahamstown and King William's Town. The success of the

experiment inspired and influenced rustic rural dwellers who, following this example, began to establish and maintain their own local community secondary schools (Ackerman 1960:83).

It must be borne in mind that this movement started in the late 1940's, that is, prior to the rule of the Nationalist Government. Because then the education of the Bantu had no clear aims and the support of the Government was not instantaneously available. The local communities did not all see their way clear to undertake the projects of establishing secondary schools. The establishment of such schools therefore became slow and even hazardous in some cases. But the perseverance of some communities did at last prevail. The Government was moved to adopt a clear policy in this regard and to give its financial support to those secondary schools that were being established. It even went to the extent of making proper plans for the establishment of more secondary schools in certain rural areas where the numbers of the local communities, warranted this (Brubacher 1960:93).

After the Bantu Education Act had been passed in 1953 the education of the Xhosa tribal communities in the Ciskei, as did happen elsewhere in the rest of South Africa, showed rapid progress. The trend of co-ordination, nationalisation and acculturation which the Act intended to put into practice in the hitherto aimless and unsystematised education of the "Natives" sparked off keen interest in the local communities. Bantu education became significant and meaningful to the majority of the people whose welfare it was designed to promote (Ackerman 1960:85).

The system of Bantu education was not only adapted for the present-day needs but also for the future circumstances of the Xhosas. It aimed at equipping the Xhosas for the imminent opportunities that were coming their way, bringing in their training responsibilities of national circumstances and enabling them to attain control over their environment in order to meet their particular requirements (Brubacher 1960:96).

With the aim in view of hastening the progress in the development of the Xhosas and to put these people on the road to self-realisation and independence the South African Government, through the Department of Bantu Education, made substantial grants available for the establishment of as many secondary schools as possible, especially in the rural areas. These schools, which were to be Christian in character were meant to harmonise with the already existing tribal institutions. Not only were they expected by their task to civilise but also to uplift and guide the local tribal communities through the process of development (Pells 1954:156).

Katiya (1977:56) remarks that the newly established secondary schools became schools which prepared Xhosa pupils for white-collar jobs. At their stage of development the Xhosas needed trade schools which could make a substantial contribution towards the fulfilment of their economic expectations. Thus the education supplied by these schools fell short of meeting the cultural, national and economic expectations of these people. The period of decolonisation, however, gave rise to a phase of nationalism which dominated the educational and political thinking of the Africans as from 1960.

6.4 THE PERIOD OF NATIONALISM (1960-1968)

For the practical purpose and precision of this work, the eventful period of nationalism is limited to the years 1960-1968. The reason for this is that until the end of 1968 the education of the Xhosas in the Ciskei was under the control of the Department of Bantu Education, as has been indicated in the preceding chapter.

The period of nationalising the education of the South African Xhosas started with the enactment of the Bantu Education Act in 1953. This trend was only hastened by the process of decolonisation the effects of which were felt strongest in the rest of Southern Africa round about 1960 when the Central African States such as the Belgian Congo, Uganda, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia and many others gained their independence (Brubacher 1960:107).

In accordance with its policy of helping the Xhosas on their way towards self-determination and independence the South African Government granted the Xhosas of the Ciskei more powers of self-rule in their homeland. The education of these people in the rural areas was transferred from the Department of Bantu Education to the Ciskeian Territorial Authority. This later became the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly with its own Department of Education. From the beginning of 1969 onwards the education of the rural Xhosas in the Ciskei entered a new era (Duminy 1965:154).

The study of the development of Bantu rural secondary education in the Ciskei has revealed that tribal education is an integral part of the life of the Xhosas. Some

changes which were brought about by the white missionaries and the Colonial Government in the tribal life of the Xhosas caused corresponding changes in their socio-cultural development. Although the Xhosa culture in its traditional form lost much that was valuable as a result of the process of cultural contact, it gained much to enrich whatever had been retained. Education, for example, became systematised and freed from restrictive tradition so that it could become dynamic to meet the demands of the contemporary time (Raum 1966:425).

CONCLUSION

The tribe is an institution with leadership and accepted authority among the Xhosas. For this reason tribal education in its modern form must form the starting point for all educational advances. Formal schools must be planned to form part of tribal life and the present Westernised system as an ancillary, must be harnessed to inculcate social values and to promote the culture of the Xhosa nation.

With unlimited opportunities having been opened for the homelander of the Ciskei, bringing moments of responsibilities in their training, it is vital that extended education programmes should be undertaken in this territory. Secondary education should certainly receive priority since it is that level of education which will form the necessary stepladder to higher education which should provide leaders, men and women with the know-how so indispensable for the development of the culture of the inhabitants of the former Ciskei and society at large.

With fifteen secondary schools having been established through the initiative and efforts of

the local tribal communities in the various rural areas of this territory between 1941 and 1968, a sound start in the right direction has been made. On this foundation the future should be built for the development, advancement and refinement of the social, cultural, economic and political life of the Xhosa tribes of this territory.

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5 July 1991 with the Gasela Secondary School Secretary, Mr P.N. Ngcelwane, born in 1941.

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