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A PORTRAIT OF A SCHOOL: HEALDTOWN MISSIONARY INSTITUTION (1925 - 1955) THROUGH THE EYES OF SOME OF ITS EX-PUPILS

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THES IS

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IN MEMORY OF MY FATHER AND MOTHER
WHO PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE
IN MY EDUCATION

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AN "ABSTRACT" OF THE THES IS

The study is on Healdtown Missionary Institution. A broad back-ground has been given from 1855 when the Institution was established by Sir George Grey. The emphasis has, however, been from 1925 when the earliest respondents were admitted, up to 1955 when the Department of Bantu Education took over from the missionaries. This period has been deliberately chosen since Healdtown was largely run by the Wesleyan Missionaries during that time.

It must also be mentioned that the administration side of Healdtown has not been covered, since Professor Hewson has given a broad picture of this aspect in his doctoral thesis (1959). Similarly, the situation in the classrooms has not been considered except where appropriate references have been cited by respondents. The stress is on the different activities that took place, mainly in every day life in the Institution. Some of these are the positions of responsibility held by respondents in the Institution and their effect on them (the respondents) in later life. This can be coupled with the contribution the respondents made to their communities after leaving Healdtown. The most important thing about the study is what has been revealed with regard to the three generations: the parents of the respondents, the respondents themselves and the children of the respondents. In this aspect a picture of how elite produces elite has been highlighted.

To add more flavour, the memories, both good and bad, have been analysed and in order to see whether these are common or peculiar, a comparison was made with similar day schools (secondary) in Soweto. In the conclusion, especially, the limited opportunities for Black pupils to have secondary education during this period is also highlighted. This goes with the eagerness and efforts shown by parents to give secondary schooling to their children. Last, but not least, in the conclusion to this thesis certain deductions from the study have been exposed. What the graduates think about the future of the Institution

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together with how they view the pupils of the eighties has received a place. It must also be mentioned that the graduates seem to view Healdtown as having prepared them for life.

INTRODUCT ION

Just north of the small Eastern Cape town of Fort Beaufort can be found a large complex of buildings which, over several decades, developed into Healdtown Institution. It was started in 1855 by Methodist missionaries and by the Twentieth Century it was offering secondary school and teacher training, with an eventual enrolment of over 1 000 scholars.

It is not always remembered how rare such institutions were in the first fifty years of South African educational history, nor how recent is the explosion of Black secondary school scholars. In 1986 there were over 6 million Black school pupils in schools in South Africa and the independent and semi-independent homelands. These pupils represented over three-quarters of the total school population of the country (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1987/88, p. 161). Of these Black pupils, over one million (1 291 125) were in the secondary standards (Stds 6 to 10) (Research Institute for Education Planning, 1986). These represented 20% of the Black school-going population. Those in Standard 10 totalled 127 500 of them, making up just 2% of the Black school population.

Over the past decade, the secondary school population has been growing approximately three times faster than the primary population, a complete reversal of trends in the 'fifties and 'sixties (Research Institute for Education Planning, 1986), when primary education numbers were increasing enormously rapidly. In 1976 secondary school numbers accounted for fewer than half-amillion pupils. In other words, secondary school provision more than doubled in the decade (Research Institute for Education Planning, 1986).

These figures need to be compared with those of 50 years previously when, in 1945, the total black school population (in all standards) was just over half-a-million (588 000) (Horrell, 1963, p. 38). In 1959, just 30 years ago, there were only 1 000 Black pupils in Standard 10 in the whole

country. In the first 50 years of the Twentieth Century the numbers were infinitely smaller. The Welsh Report, for instance, showed that by the mid-'thirties there were only some 20 schools which provided full secondary classes for Black children, and the majority of these were combined with teacher training institutions, recruiting "students" who had completed either a Std 6 or a Std 8 examination (Welsh, 1936,pp. 38,44). Further details of the slow and painful increase in Black educational provision between 1900 and 1950 are given in the final chapter of this thesis.

Virtually all the educational opportunities for Blacks were provided by Missionary Societies, especially those linked to Methodist, Congregational or Presbyterian and Anglican churches. Many schools, especially in the Cape and Natal, had their origins in the Nineteenth Century: Lovedale, Wesleville, Mount Coke, Clarkebury, Shawbury, Healdtown, St Matthews, All Saints (Engcobo), St Cuthberts, Blythswood and Tigerkloof (in the North-Western Cape) were well-known Cape institutions. The American Board Mission (Congregationalist) in Natal was an important pioneering activity, centred on Adam's Mission and Inanda, with their elementary feeder schools. The Church of Scotland worked at Pholela and Catholics at Marriannhill. A couple of missionary schools were started in the Transvaal in the 1880's, of which Kilnerton is a well-known example. Only one significant development in the Orange Free State can be cited: that of the Methodist Moroka Institute at Thaba 'Nchu (details of these developments can be found in Horrell, 1963, pp. 1-26).

At the beginning of the Twentieth Century, in anticipation of a closer union of the four colonies, a South African Native Affairs Commission (1905) examined aspects of educational policy for Blacks: The Commission noted that

"The witnesses who have given evidence have shown very marked divergencies of opinion upon the subject of Native Education. A large class of witnesses, while not absolutely hostile to some form of literary education, apparently have regarded it as of secondary importance as compared with industrial and manual training."

And some questioned the necessity of any education, because of its "effect of creating in the Natives an aggressive spirit."

The Commission claimed, however, that education

"...has had generally a beneficial influence on the Natives themselves, and by raising the level of their intelligence, and by increasing their capacity as workers and their earning power, has been an advantage to the community.

Apart from the consideration that there is a moral obligation upon the State to provide for the intellectual development of all classes of its subjects, there appear to be very sound reasons of policy for the adoption of a liberal and sympathetic attitude towards the subject of Native education."

They also noted that

"There is among the people themselves a growing desire for education, which cannot and need not be suppressed. Native witnesses have been strong on this point."

(Native Affairs Commission, 1905, pp. 66-73)

Few concrete recommendations appeared in the Report, 1 however, and, at Union, the new Provinces were given control of primary and secondary education for all races in their geographical areas. Provincial control gradually increased, and Provincial finance made some contribution to costs, but enormous responsibility, both financial and administrative, remained with the Missionary Societies.

By 1935 (a quarter of a century after Union) the Welsh Report (1936) summarized the situation in this way:

^{1 &}quot;The Commission does not recommend any measure of compulsory education for Natives, nor does it consider it advisable that any system of general public undenominational education, independent of existing Missionary organisations should be undertaken at present."

"The Government prescribes courses of instruction, conducts examinations, determines the conditions of service of teachers, exercises general supervision and control, and lays down minimum requirements with regard to buildings and equipment. The Missions on their part are expected to provide and maintain suitable buildings, provide a minimum of equipment and to nominate a Manager (superintendent/grantee) to exercise local control and to nominate and appoint teachers subject to approval by the Education Departments.

(p. 87)

This Report has significance for this study for three reasons. Firstly, it was published in the middle of the period investigated in this thesis (as will be explained later). Secondly, it reflected attitudes and beliefs current in the decade preceding the Second World War, showing that the ambivalence commented upon in 1905 had not yet been clarified. On the other hand, it pleaded for a more generous and clearly articulated Black education policy. Thirdly, it raised issues which also emerge from this present study.

The Report praised the extent of Missionary efforts, and their dedication and their "sterling work" (p. 67) and showed that of the £1 million raised by them in 1935, 41% had come from Black people themselves, 37% from Britain and Europe, and 22% had been raised by White South Africans. Several problems were clearly present. The first was inter-denominational rivalries (pp. 67-69) which reduced the efficiency of the missionaries' efforts. The second was their, understandably, proselytising and Christianizing task to which they gave priority.

"When the missionaries started to convert the heathen, they had no doubts; they tried to make sure, in the first instance, that the Native would gain salvation as a good Wesleyan, Anglican or Roman Catholic. They also taught him a few things that were useful to his mundane existence, e.g. the three R's and some manual work. Their aim was narrow, but clear-cut. It did not as such involve consideration of the wider question as to the Native's ultimate position in the economic and political structure of the country."

These factors contributed largely to five key administrative problems listed by the Commission's Report.

"(i) the relatively short school life of the Native - estimated liberally at an average of less than three years;

(ii) the necessarily small progress made during this short period - the majority of pupils not getting beyond Standard I; (iii) the high degree of "over-ageness" of Native pupils in comparison with European

pupils in the same standards - they are from 2 to 3 years older on an average.

(iv) the marked disparity between the designation of Native and European school standards (a difference in some cases as much as two standards) - owing probably to the lesser effectiveness per unit of time of instruction given in Native schools than that in European schools.

(v) the heavy elimination of Native pupils in the later primary and post-primary standards.

(p. 105)

Not all the blame for these problems, however, could be placed at the door of the Missionaries. More basic was the general South African policy (or lack of it) towards Black education. In a perceptive section, the Report noted that an indecisive policy could be partly attributed to political, economic and cultural problems.

"Education involves not only questions of custom, religion and language, but with it are almost inextricably bound up questions of land, agricultural and industrial policy, not to mention political policy. Relatively few people even of those who were engaged in Native education in the past, have consciously and squarely faced the double set of issues involved. Yet there is little doubt that unconsciously these social and economic implications lie at the root of the prejudices, fears and even antagonisms in the mind of the white South African whenever he is faced with the problem of Native education."

(p. 86)

It compared South African uncertainties with those found in Britain in the Nineteenth Century, as school provision began to be extended.

"Just as elementary education for the masses in England was strenuously opposed by the ruling classes even as late as the nineteenth century because of the economic and social inconvenience it might cause, so we find in this history of South Africa a similar attitude on the part of the White man towards the education of Natives."

In the same way, in South Africa,

"The introduction of elementary education on a wide scale amongst the "masses of heathen" might cause "social inconvenience" and might even be dangerous."

(pp. 86, 87)

Arguments usually centred on the role of education in relation to the "status" or "place" of the Black man in South Africa. The aim of most critics of educational development was that "we must give the Native an education which will keep him in his place." This, in turn, was varyingly interpreted in geographic or in status terms.

"Some seem to think of "place" in the geographic sense. That is, in the reserves. There, untrammelled by European contact the Native can develop "along his own lines" - developing presumably in his own culture, forms of Government and economic system without any interfering colour bars."

The second interpretation of "place" is in terms of "status". People are

"...perfectly content to let the Native continue to live amongst us, but feel that if the Native is to receive any education he should have as his aim the idea embodied in Dickens' version of the ancient prayer:

"Oh, let us love our occupations, Bless the squire and his relations, Live upon our daily rations, And always know our proper stations."

The Report noted that this second interpretation was not always so openly expressed (although it would be 15 years later) but clearly recognized the truth of the evidence of Edgar Brookes when he "summed up the general attitude of White South Africa as 'too humane to prohibit it (the status view)...(but) too human to encourage" any change in it (pp. 86-90).

Equally important as a more coherent policy for Black education was being developed, was the need to be aware of the effect of a "European" education upon Black culture.

"Close contact with a strong and dominating civilization often causes disintegration of the indigenous culture. Missionaries have not always realised the devastating effect which Christianity has had on Native social institutions. Christianity exalts the rights of the individual whereas tribalism stands for the rights of the group. And because of this, missionaries' teachings have acted like dynamite on tribal solidarity. Of course, there are, as has been pointed out before, other elements in our Western culture which have just as devastating results without offering any substitute."

(p. 90)

Yet it must also be remembered that there are also other "powerful agencies at work": the white man's

"...commercial system and all the regulatory and punitive functions of the Government in connection with Native taxes, pass fees, cattle, crops and crimes."

(p. 90)

In the intellectual climate of the 'thirties, differences between Whites and Blacks could not be ignored.

"The education of the White child prepares him for life in a dominant society and the education of the Black child for a subordinate society. There are for the White child no limits, in or out of school. For the Black child there are limits which affect him chiefly out of school. It is no use shutting our eyes to that fact and ostrichlike positing aims for Native education which the very circumstances of South Africa make impossible to realise, merely because these aims are laudable and we should like them to apply to the Black people as well. Limits are there and form part of the whole social and economic structure of the country, and it serves no good purpose to act as if they did not exist."

In its final plea, the Report claimed that education must not only preserve the existing order, ("it should not follow the social order blindly") but must be "a little ahead of present day needs and possibilities" to produce the "fruitful tension which is conducive to progress." (p. 90).

As part of the cultural transformation role of education, the Report noted the beginnings of Black impatience with missionary control. "They are becoming restive under the paternal form of control exercised by the missionary and look for emancipation to some other system", with some "direct association with school management" and some demands for the transfer of control to central Government (p. 67).

In these circumstances, the Report recommended greater Government financial contributions and that control should be centrally and not Provincially determined (p. 108), but that there are

> "...weighty considerations in favour of retaining the direct influence of the missionaries in a South African system of Native education."

> > (p. 69)

The Welsh Report has been examined in some detail, as has been said, because of its close relationship to the period being investigated in this thesis. The author was motivated by two things, The first was that, when Healdtown closed down at the end of 1977, there was a loud cry from a number of those who had been associated with it. This was discussed in schools, on street corners and it was a common thing to see groups of parents and young people talking about it after church services. The second also took place in 1977 in a hotel in Umtata. That afternoon, as the author and his elder brother were conversing with a graduate of Healdtown, a graduate of Lovedale Institution passed and remarked, "Ivaliwe inxukhwebe yenu. Nenza ntoni ngaloo nto?" iLovedalè yam yona iyaqhuba", meaning, "Healdtown, your institution, has been closed. Lovedale, my institution, is still going on. What are you doing about that?" These remarks had a profound impact on the author and influenced him to attempt to record something of the legacy of Healdtown,

a legacy which is very important to him, as he himself had been educated at that institution.

It was felt that some account should be developed of Healdtown in the decades prior to the passing of the Bantu Education Act in 1953 and the taking over of the Institution by the Bantu Education Department in 1955. The issues raised in the Welsh Report, which has just been described, emerged directly and indirectly many times in the investigation.

After an opening chapter describing the origins and early history of Healdtown, chapter two describes the method of investigation and the subjects who formed its basis. Chapters three, four and five examine the respondents' accounts of their Healdtown memories, and give special attention to their positions of responsibility in the Institution and their involvement in its cultural, religious and sporting activities.

The next three chapters (six, seven and eight) examine the educational and occupational background of three generations of people: the respondents' parents; the respondents themselves, and their spouses; and the respondents' children. These chapters help to answer the question as to how closely these generations match the educational and occupational backgrounds of the majority of Black South Africans. In broad terms, the answer can be anticipated: the respondents' families are clearly very different and the picture emerging from the three-generation study suggests the formation of an elite. Chapter eight is a small-scale investigation into the relationship between social class and educational and occupational mobility within the respondents' families. It is not, however, a major aspect of the thesis, but can be offered as the beginnings of further, more extensive, research.

Chapters nine and ten make specific use of some open-ended questions in the research instrument (described in chapter two) and face-to-face interviews with a smaller sub-sample to illustrate the findings of the earlier chapters.

The final chapter attempts to draw the thesis together and to relate, tentatively, the experience of Healdtown students between 1925 and 1955 with educational issues of the 1980's.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ORIGIN OF THE WESLEYAN (METHODIST) MISSIONARY SOCIETY IN ENGLAND, THE ARRIVAL OF THE MISSIONARIES AND THE CENTRES OF EDUCATION ESTABLISHED IN SOUTH AFRICA

Healdtown Misssionary Institution was founded by the Wesleyan Missionary Society in 1855. Some aspects of its background and history need to be noted. Since it was linked to the Wesleyans and run more or less on the same lines as Wesleyan schools in England, the origin of this Society will be briefly given first. Secondly, there will be a brief description of the arrival of the Wesleyan missionaries in South Africa, which will be followed by a short outline of centres of education established as a result of missionary work among the tribes. Finally, a broad outline of the background of Healdtown up to 1955 will be given.

The Wesleyan or Methodist Church originated from the Church of England (Established Church) and is linked with the brothers John and Charles Wesley. Both were Anglican priests, and both were educated at Oxford University. A late twentieth century writer (Davies, 1963) claimed, "It is wrong to think of Methodism as coming into existence in the time of the Wesleys. Methodism is, in fact, a recurrent form of Christianity, which is sometimes driven, or drives itself, over those frontiers to find a territory of its own..." (p. 1). Their fellow-students at the University gave them various nicknames, amongst them 'The Holy Club' and 'The Methodists'. "The latter was a term of derision which was to become a badge of honour." (Attwell, A F I, ND, p. 1). John Wesley, the elder of the two, during his first five years at the University, "tried to keep himself free, of course, from the grosser sins of his contemporaries. say 'of course', because it is very hard to think of him as giving way to sensuality." (Davies, p. 47). At Oxford he acquitted himself very well, showing excellence at classics and also showing skill in logic. "It was this perfect knowledge of classics which gave a smooth polish to his wit, and

an air of superior elegance to all his compositions. This was an admirable preparation for the task for which God had created him." (Holden, W C, 1877, pp. 35-36). It is said John Wesley himself was a very different man from the "prim and donnish clergyman who hurried to and from his devotions through the streets of Oxford. The Oxford 'methodists' were a company of rather priggish young men who were horrified by the things they saw around them and were determined to save their souls in the only way they knew." (Davies, p. 51). He had a desire to help others on the path which he had himself "Here are the poor to be relieved, children to be educated, workhouses and prisons to be visited; and lastly, here are the schools of the prophets, here are the tender minds to be formed and strengthened." (cited in Davies, p. 51). In the natural course of events, the members of the 'Holy Club' went down from Oxford one by one, and by 1735 less than half a dozen were left, including John and Charles Wesley. "It was at this point, when in any case John was probably looking round for new fields of useful enterprise, that the impressive personality of General James Oglethorpe made itself known to him. Oglethorpe was a truly remarkable man, remarkable for military daring..." (Davies, p. 52).

"Between 1735 and 1738, Wesley (at the request of Oglethorpe) went as a chaplain on a mission to the colony of Georgia (where he had hoped) to convert Indians and to save his soul. Although he believed that he failed in both purposes, he learned much about people and faith. After a long searching, Wesley was given 'saving faith' on May 1738, during a Moravian meeting in Aldersgate Street, London. His 'heart was strangely warmed' as he listened to a reading of Martin Luther's preface to the Epistle to Romans, a book of the New Testament. A short time later, he preached a sermon on Salvation by faith, a theme he emphasized for 50 years."

(The World Book Encyclopaedia, Vol 20, 1971, p. 163).

It is said

"From the point his heart was warmed. Wesley viewed his mission in life as one of Salvation by faith, which he did whenever a pulpit was offered him. The congregation of the Church of England, however, soon closed their doors to him because of his 'enthusiasm', (a term of disparagement to 18th century rationalists, who condemned any giving way to emotions at the expense of rational thought). In 1739 George Whitfield, who later became a great preacher of the evangelical revival in Great Britain and North America, persuaded Wesley to go to the unchurched masses. He preached to the poor who numbered in thousands all over England. (Such people had no priests, or had priests who could not relate to their needs.)"

(Encyclopaedia Brittanica, Vol 19, 1768, p. 760)

Wesley organized his preachers to spread the Gospel to the poor not only in England but to countries such as North America. His aim was to spread salvation by faith to the different parts of the globe. This was in keeping with his belief that "the world is my parish."

This ultimately led to missionary work, sending his preachers to North American colonies although after the American Revolution, most returned to England.

"Because the Bishop of London would not ordain some of his preachers to serve in the United States, Wesley took it upon himself, in 1784, to do so. In the same year he pointed out that his societies operated independently of any control by the Church of England."

(Encyclopaedia Brittanica, Vol 19, 1768, p. 760)

It must, however, be emphasized that both Wesleys were within the Church of England because "It was never Wesley's intention that Methodism should separate from the Church of England." Methodism, he frequently said, 'was raised up, by God to spread scriptural holiness throughout the land:, and he saw it as a spiritual movement within the Established Church. Both John and Charles Wesley lived and died as Anglican priests..." (Attwell, p. 1). The final breach with the Church of England is undated because it came after John Wesley's death in 1791, though the causes arose during his lifetime.

"One of the main reasons for separation was the phenomenal growth of Methodism. Converts became so numerous both in England and America that Wesley was obliged to train and ordain ministers to serve them, the Established Church being unable or unwilling to do so. These ordinations were adjudged by the bishops of the time to be violations Wesley had no desire to of canon law. act in an unconstitutional way, but he was placed in a quandary - either he had to ordain his own ministers or he had to watch his 'societies' disinte-grate for lack of pastoral care. After careful studies of the Scriptures and early Church history he chose the former course, and so the Methodist Church came into being."

(Attwell, p. 2)

Wesley's famous words, "the world is my parish", inspired his followers and filled them with missionary zeal after his death. They had a desire to spread Methodism beyond the boundaries of England. For example, Thomas Coke, formerly a clergyman of the English Church, was dismissed from his curacy because of his zealous labours and joined Wesley in 1777. He had a great passion for missions. His ability to help out of his own pocket, as well as by his fervent appeals to others for financial aid, were able to initiate a work which from that day onwards has been the crown and glory of Methodism. He visited West-Indies in 1792. In his old age he visited Ceylon (Shrilanka) against the wishes of others, but said, "I will rather be naked on the coast of Ceylon and without a friend than not to go." (Whiteside, J A, 1906, pp. 29-30).

The Wesleyan (Methodist) Missionary Society was formed in 1813, starting in a series of English cities such as Leeds and within a year included Halifax, York, Sheffield, Cornwall and Newcastle districts. As early as 1760 men were at work in Antigua and in the West Indies and on the Gold Coast (Ghana). (Hewson L A, 1959, p. 21).

It is recorded that Sergeant John Kendrick, a non-commissioned officer of the 21st Light Dragoons, one of the British regiments sent to the Cape at that time, had been converted at Leeds under the ministry of the Rev George Morley. He had been appointed a class leader and a local preacher at the Cape. He commenced religious services for the benefit of his comrades, and 120 soldiers became devout Christians, before he was troubled by ill health. (Whiteside J A, 1906, p. 35).

The British Conference of 1813 then designated the Rev John M McKenny, who was instructed to minister to soldiers and white inhabitants who might be willing to attend to his ministry and to pay special attention to slaves. Unfortunately, the Cape Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, prevented him from fulfilling his last commitment. This frustrated McKenny and finally led to his departure from the Cape to Ceylon.

The departure of McKenny was a sad incident for the soldiers in Cape Town because they had often appealed to the Missionary Committee in London for a missionary to be sent to the Cape. Their request forced the Wesleyan Conference of 1815 in England to appoint the Rev Barnabas Shaw, who had originally been assigned to Ceylon, to go to the Cape. He immediately commenced his study of the Dutch language so that he could communicate with the Dutch people of the Cape. He docked in April 1816 and after a short time in Cape Town proceeded to the Namaqua people in the western part of the colony. When he arrived there he was warmly welcomed. The following incident was recorded, though not dated:

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"As the Missionary and his wife cannot live without bread, as you do, will you allow him to cultivate corn for his own use? 'Yes, wherever he pleases; the land is before you, you may choose! Will you allow him to keep cows, goats, oxen for the use of the mission? 'Yes, as many as he pleases. Will you assist in the erection of a place of worship for public worship, where you may assemble to hear the word of God? 'Ja Meneer' (Yes sir).

(Shaw B, 1840, p. 90)

His work among these people was of so high a standard that he was regarded as a Champion of Methodism in this part of the Colony.

The next missionary who came to the Cape was the Rev William Shaw who was not related to Barnabas Shaw. His coming is linked to the economic problems which followed the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. There was a shortage of bread while flour was sold at famine prices. Trade diminished; labour was ill-paid and as a result a large number of people roamed the streets of England looking for employment.

Lord Charles Somerset was eager to increase the number of Whites along the Great Fish River which at that time was a boundary between the Whites and the Xhosas. He then requested that these people be encouraged to emigrate to the Cape. Although at first the British Government was reluctant to do so, it eventually acceded to his request.

Those emigrating to the Cape were divided into groups, each under a leader. Followers of the Methodist Church were in what was known as the Sephton or London Party with Rev William Shaw as their minister of religion. This London Party was the largest of the 57 parties that left England. The majority were poor, simple people from the industrial areas (in which Methodism was prominent). (Eveleigh W, 1913, pp. 4-5).

From Algoa Bay Shaw and his fellow-settlers were transported into the interior with the help of ox-wagons supplied by the Cape Afrikaners. It was here that Shaw started his missionary work. At Salem, a small English settlement approximately 25 kilometres from Grahamstown, Shaw looked across the forbidden frontier. He soon created a plan to set up a chain of mission stations that would carry both the Gospel and education into the East Coast of South Africa. One of the ideals he cherished was "a plan to train Black youths for leadership, teaching, evangelism and industrial occupations." (Garrett, A E F, 1966?, p. 75).

The early relations between the Wesleyans and the Colonial Government on the one hand, and the Xhosa chiefs on the other, were good. This is shown by correspondence between the Wesleyans and the Cape officials and discussions between the Xhosa chiefs and the Wesleyans. The following is an extract from one of the letters from the Government House to Wesleyan Missionaries I Cameron and E Cook on 29 July 1833:

"Gentlemen...my warmest acknowledgements and thanks are due to you for the regret you expressed at my approaching departure...benefits which you are pleased to say have been derived by the community in general during my administration of the colony. I have not been insensible to the zeal and dedication of the Wesleyan Missionaries..."

(Cape Archives)

The attitude of the Namaqua people towards Barnabas Shaw has been described. The same was apparent in the eastern districts. The respect that motivated the attitude of the chiefs and their subjects could not be doubted. On 9 April 1825, for instance, while William Shaw was on his journey of observation amongst the Xhosa tribes, he met Vusani or Ngubenchuka, the paramount chief of the Abathembu tribe. After an interview the chief and his councillors promised that if a missionary was sent to them they would receive him kindly and give him land on which

to found a station. Five years later, in April 1830, while on his way to Morley Station, William Shaw again visited Vusani and introduced the Rev Richard Haddy to the chief as his future missionary. Vusani received him with satisfaction and gave him leave "to scout the country and find a suitable site for a station." (Clarkebury Souvenir, 1830-1930, p. 8, Cape Archives).

The next Wesleyan missionary who played an important role in the eastern districts was the Rev John Ayliff who is particuarly linked with the Fingoes (Amamfengu). The Fingoes (Amamfengu) were destitute people fleeing from Shaka's wars of extermination about 1828. Since they were poor when they arrived in Transkei, where they were temporarily given shelter by Hintsa, chief of the Xhosas, they were referred to as Fingoes (Amamfengu), meaning the destitute people. It was believed by the Cape Colonial administration that they were kept as slaves by the Xhosas. This view influenced Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the Cape Governor, to 'emancipate' them from Hintsa. Rev John Ayliff who was working among Hintsa's people, led them over the Colonial borders where he settled them in places such as Peddie in 1835. An extract from Ayliff's records, as cited by Hewson, is as follows:

"Thus May 15th, 1835, a day full of interest to the Fingo (Mamfengu) Nation, for on it they were put in possession of the land which was to become their home, after the years of wandering, the settlement at Fort Peddie was formed, the fingoes (amamfengu) were located on lands promised them by Sir B. D'Urban, a strong military force was placed there for their protection, a most worthy and experienced Frontier Colonist - John Mitford Bowker Esq. was appointed the Magistrate of the Settlement, and myself as Missionary."

Every year on May 14th the Fingo Celebrations are held to commemorate this event. The functions usually centre upon

Emqwashini - the Place of the Milkwood Tree - for here there has been erected by the Historical Monuments Commission a monument carrying the following inscription, in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa:

"THE FINGO MILKWOOD TREE

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."

(pp. 99-100)

(The 14 May celebrations are no longer held because it is believed by some people that they cause a rift between the Black people. It must also be mentioned that the author himself is of Mfengu origin).

It must be emphasised that the Wesleyans from the beginning wanted the Gospel to go hand in hand with education. For instance, as soon as William Shaw had established his church at Salem in 1820, he built a school at Wesleyville, in the present Ciskei, in the same year, and very soon this school became very popular. He encouraged tribal chiefs to send their sons to it so that their heirs could be better leaders in the future. His 'memorial' to Governor Cole "...humbly sheweth: that two principal chiefs, Pato and Kama...have become very desirous that their two sons who will succeed to the authority...should be well educated and acquire knowledge of the English language..." (Extract from a letter William Shaw had written to Governor Sir Lowry Cole in November 1829). (Cape Archives). It would appear that the adults were also encouraged to attend some schools with a view to teach them reading and writing. It was recorded, for instance, in the Minutes of the Methodist Conference in 1840 that:

"At the commencement of the year some difficulty was experienced in this department of our work arising principally from the general inattention of adults, but to frequent appeals from the Pulpits on the importance and necessity of reading God's word, they have well responded. From forty to fifty adults are generally in the school, and during the week they usually congregate in the various kraals teaching each other to read and write, and the progress some have made afford ample evidence of their diligence."

(Cape Archives)

This was before some of the big centres of learning were established. On another occasion, for example, an old man said, "if we could read the Book, then when you are absent we could ourselves learn what God says to us. But as we have no Book we forget all that you tell us." (Garrett, ND, p. 74). It was this positive attitude of the Xhosas that encouraged the Wesleyans to establish centres of learning in earnest.

There was widespread activity in the present day Transkei - creating mission schools which still exist as schools in the late twentieth century. The following are some examples of these schools. These, however, are not strictly in chronological order. In the Transkei the Wesleyans established a number of institutions for learning. The Clarkebury Institution was founded in 1875 for the children of the Abathembu tribe in the Umtata, Idutywa and Engcobo area. This was a result of the expressed repeated plea, "for their desire to secure education for themselves and their children" (extracted from a letter to Sir Langham Dale, the then Superintendent General of Education at the Cape, 16 August 1873, Cape Archives).

The Bensonvale Institution was founded in 1876 on an old mission station. (Garrett, 1966?, p. 76). The Rev W J Hacker, stationed at Butterworth, established a number of schools.

He was convinced that industrial training was essential for the development of Black character. His Boys Industrial School was so popular that boys came from as far as Pondoland and Basutoland (Lesotho) to learn carpentry and building. (Whiteside, 1906, pp. 289-291). In 1890 Mr Hacker established the Lamplough Training Institution for Girls in Butterworth, giving them domestic work: cooking, baking, sewing, ironing and tailoring, in addition to the usual school subjects, to prepare them to be good housewives and mothers of the future. (Whiteside, 1906, pp. 289-291). Another well known example is the Shawbury Institution for the Amampondomise people. After some uncertain years sewing, tailoring, knitting, quilt-making, cooking and housework were taught. (Whiteside, 1906, p. 291). At Tshungwane (Osborn near Mount Frere) another institution was founded for the Bhacas. It offered Secondary education and later teacher training, (Garrett, 1966?, p. 76).

Of all the centres of learning established by the Wesleyans, Healdtown was regarded as the biggest and one of the most civilized communities in Africa south of the Zambesi. The information for the outline of this institution is found in four sources, two of which are housed in Rhodes University Library and the last two are in the State Archives in Cape Town. An important secondary source is Hewson's Doctoral Thesis (1959).

Birklands was founded by the Rev Henry Calderwood, an agent of the London Missionary Society, in 1845.

"When I was in search of a site for the station, I took an old caffre with me who knew the country well, to assist in selecting a spot where there should be abundance of water. A stranger cannot judge of this in such a country, and it is worse than folly to select a site for a station, and lay out a large sum of money, where there is not a permanent and abundant supply of good water.

... The caffre took me past several very likely fountains, and such as a stranger would probably have chosen. We at length came to one apparently not so good, and not sending forth such a stream as a neighbouring one was doing. He stood over the fountain, and said, 'This is the fountain. This does not die. It does not hear rain...' it's source was in the deep rock, and not affected by slight changes of weather, but when most required apparently most abundant. I was struck with the expression, 'It does not hear rain!' sat down and drank of the fountain, while I guided his mind to the blessed fountain that never dies and never changes... That was the site of my station, which became known as Birklands."

In 1845 he formed a station among the Xhosas and built a small church and school. (Hewson, L A, 1955, p. 7).

After the war of 1850-1852, the Governor of the Colony, Sir George Cathcart, gave Calderwood's people a new station on the eastern bank of the Tyhume river, a "superior location" near the town of Alice. The station formerly known as Birklands was reserved for the Fingoes under John Ayliff. In the draft of stations given in the Minutes of Albany and Kaffraria District Meeting held at Grahamstown in November 1853, 'Healdon' appears as a new circuit formed by division from Fort Beaufort. "...The Governor has, for political reasons, resolved that no Amaxhosa settlements shall exist on the western side of a line which he has drawn." (Shaw's account, 1853).

William Shaw explained to the meeting that:

"The chief object of my visit (to Fort Beaufort) at this time was to inspect the country in the immediate vicinity of the town, where about four thousand Fingoes are now permanently located in various kraals or settlements by the Government, and to mark out the site for the Mission buildings, etc, on the new Mission, which, at the request of

the Governor, we are about to establish for the religious instruction of the people."

(Fingoes who had been settled there)

Knowing of the Birklands site "I visited the spot; and selected the ground which we are to receive. I had objected to incur any expense in buildings for the new Mission till a title can be secured to the Society. The place is extremely well suited for the purpose of a Mission-village. A ride of five or six miles up a deep mountain-glen is terminated by a rocky precipice, covered with a forest of trees; the various streams which rise higher up the mountains...flow on to the Kat river at Fort Beaufort. The site of the village is on the top of this rock, on a kind of plateau, having a view down the entire romantic valley, with Fort Beaufort at the distance of seven or eight miles,...at a meeting of the Fingoes Shaw explained that the most material points, however, are, the soil is good; wood, water and grass abundant; and, above all, the Missionary being located on this spot, will be in the centre of the entire Fingo settlement of the Fort Beaufort divison." (Hewson, 1955, p. 8).

At the meeting of the Fingoes, William Shaw also stated that John Ayliff would shortly take up his residence there, as the Missionary for the entire Fingo Settlement.

Ayliff first lived in a little cottage on the other side of the stream, and built one hut for study and another for Mrs Ayliff's use, where the sick were brought to her for treatment, and where she held her women's meetings. At the same time Mr Ayliff commenced building the first church, and in that vestry the first Fingo men were trained by him as evangelists. They were James Umjela, Samuel Mtimkhulu, James Sakuba, Makayesa Sokumbela and Klaas Bungane. Mrs Ayliff instructed their wives. At the same time there was a large day school for boys and girls in a temporary building until the church was finished, and they were taught there.

Sir George Cathcart was then succeeded as Governor by Sir George Grey, who had had experience of Christian missionaries in New Zealand, where their work had been of great value in establishing peace and prosperity after the Maori wars. The new Governor hoped to achieve the same results in South Africa. The means he envisaged were:

"By employing them upon public works which will tend to open up their country; by establishing institutions for the education of their children, and the relief of their sick; by introducing among them institutions of a civil character linked to their present condition." His stated purpose was "to attempt gradually to win them to civilization and Christianity, and thus to change by degrees our, at present, unconquered and apparently irreclaimable foes into friends who may have common interests with ourselves."

(Citation from Hewson, 1955, p. 12)

On Sunday 4 February 1855, Sir George Grey, Governor; General Jackson, Lieutenant Governor and Thomas Stringfellow, Civil Commissioner of the district, visited the place. The children of the Sabbath-School were briefly examined, when Sir George Grey himself addressed the people and children of the school, and then called on his "friend", a Maori who had come with him, to address them. The address of this person produced a wonderful effect. The Fingoes had never seen or heard Christian men of colour from other lands; and hence the deepest attention was paid while he was speaking.

"He told the Fingoes what he and his people had been before the Missionaries came amongst them. That, amongst other abominations, they had been eaters of human flesh. "I shall not soon forget the appearance of the company present when he told them this. But then, he added, "It is not so with us now: we are another people. We wear such clothing as you see me wear. We have now our houses, our trades, and our ships. All

this has come to us through the Missionaries and the kindness of this man," pointing to Sir George Grey. "You must hear the Missionary, and obey the Governor, and it will come to you as it has come to us." Sir George then addressed the Fingo Chiefs, and thanked the Mission family for their labours, promising an Industrial School for the place."

(Hewson, 1955, p. 12)

On Monday 5 February his Excellency explained his plans of the Industrial School, and also promised them a watermill and improved instruments of agriculture. He then sketched the ground plan of the building, which consisted of a frontage of two hundred and twelve feet, and two wings running back ninety feet; the walls of stone and brick, and covered with corrugated iron, and estimated to cost £225. It was intended that the Mission family, the teacher and children should dwell under the same roof, and dine at one common table.

"I have every reason to hope, from present appearance, that we shall be able to get the number of children; for, as soon as the Governor's plans became known, we had several applications for us to receive the children of the Fingoes. In consequence of this, we built two very large huts, and provided for the reception of thirty children. These, I am happy to say, are giving us great encouragement. We have received the names of forty children, whom we shall receive when the building is finished."

(Hewson, 1955, p. 14)

In a historical paper read by T M Ndwandwa, an ex-pupil of Healdtown, on the occasion of the Jubilee Celebrations in 1906, it is recorded:

"Amongst the first students I may mention the following: Mahlutshana, Jacob Boom, Geo. Mazamisa, Bam and Alom Selana, Samson and Sam Ntílili. The girls were about one hundred. I still remember these: Sarah, Fielda and Ndlekazi Gcingca, Mityi Mhlanga, Elisa and Mary-Ann Mlanda."

(Jubilee Celebrations, 1906, p. 13) (Methodist Archives)

The foundation stone, laid on 9 May 1855, contains the following record:

"This Foundation Stone of the first Industrial School in South Eastern Africa was laid by Thomas Stringfellow Esq., Civil Commissioner of the Division of Fort Beaufort. This Institution was founded by His Excellency, Sir George Grey, K.C.B., Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, in the year of our Lord, One thousand Eight hundred and fifty-five, in the month of February 1855."

(Hewson, 1955, p. 14)

The first months were not easy. For instance, some parties either ignorant of, or prejudiced to the benevolent designs of the Government, claimed that the Government intended making the boys soldiers. Very soon, however, attitudes changed, and Fingoes (Amamfengu) began to regard Healdtown

"as one of the richest boons conferred on them by the Government...Natives from all parts of the Fingo Settlement and some Kaffir chiefs from British Kaffraria, have visited Healdtown, to see the institution, and the universal remark has been that of high admiration and thank-fulness..."

(Hewson, 1959, p. 165)

By May 1857 when the Industrial Institution was officially opened, thousands were expected to be present. A description

of the preparations for the ceremony is reproduced in Appendix 2. An address to the Queen of England was prepared:

"We, the Chiefs of the Fingoes of Healdtown, together with the Fingoes as a whole, thank you for what you have done, especially Sir George Grey who built this school where our children are taught different trades. We also thank you for supplying them with clothing, food and for placing them under the leadership of John Ayliff. We therefore all thank you, Our Queen. We shall keep you and your next of kin in our prayers."

(Extract from a letter to the Queen, Grahamstown Journal, 12 May 1857, Cape Archives)

By the end of 1857 it was possible to report that:

"The position now occupied by this institution is such that from various circumstances it has become evident that it is deservedly popular with the Fingo natives, and is highly calculated to promote their civilization and advancement, making them good and useful members of Colonial Society, of which they now constitute so important a position, being about 40 000 souls."

(Cape of Good Hope Reports on Native Industrial Schools at Healdtown, Salem and Lesseyton for the year 1857, Cape Archives)

Sir George Grey retained interest in Healdtown throughout his term of office as Governor, and his departure in 1859 caused great regret. In Appendix 3 letters to and from the departing Governor are reproduced.

At about this time the Rev Ayliff became ill, and left with his family. Soon afterwards came the news that he had died in the Orange Free State. There was general mourning at Healdtown but people were comforted by the erection of the memorial

tablet hung in the church. (Paper by T M Ndwandwa on the occasion of the Jubilee, 1906, p. 14) (Methodist Archives). In Appendix 4 the inscription on the tablet appears.

After Sir George Grey had been recalled, the Industrial School launched with such high hopes by Sir George Grey, did not prove a success, and when the financial support of the Government was withdrawn, the experiment was abandoned. The Rev Whiteside wrote:

"We rejoice to learn from the letter of the General Secretary and also from the Chairman, who has conveyed to the meeting the purpose of this interview with the Committee...that our long cherished wishes for the establishment of a training Institution for the benefit of our Native Candidates and local school masters, has at length met with the approval and support of the Missionary Committee (in London). We are now at present prepared to do more than record our satisfaction and gratitude for this..."

(Extract from Minutes of the Grahamstown Annual District Meeting, January 1867) (Methodist Archives)

At a meeting of the Committee held at Healdtown on 19 March 1867, it was unanimously agreed that: "(1) the object of the Institution should be for the training of Native Evangelists and young men to be trained as school masters; (2)...that this Institution be called 'The Healdtown Training Institution." (Methodist Archives). Amongst other things, the Committee resolved that the total number of pupils in all classes for the first year (1867) should not exceed twenty. It was further agreed that an entrance fee of £5 should be paid by each indoor student before his name was inserted on the books of the Institution. The salary of teachers was fixed at £200 per annum for a married european teacher in addition to the garden to be given and £40 for a married native teacher per annum. (Extract from the Minute Book). (Methodist Archives). It is assumed that it was during this

period that the motto of the Institution was introduced: "Alis Velut Aquilarum Surgent", meaning 'They shall mount up with wings as eagles'. (Isaiah Chapter 40, verse 31).

The period from 1867 to 1890 saw the steady growth of the Institution under the control of Revs William Impey (1867-1878); George Chapman (1878-1883) and William Holford (1883-1890). Until 1880 there were two European ministers resident at Healdtown; but in that year Rev John Kilner, Secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, made a tour of the South African field, recommended certain economics and retrenchments, and the second European minister was withdrawn from the Institution. (Hewson, 1955, p. 20).

The next stage in the growth of Healdtown coincides with the Governorship of Rev Richard F Hornabrook, and he has left an account of it in his own words:

"When I came here in 1890, there were only 33 boarders, and although the Missionary Society was contributing the large annual grant of £650 per annum, the finances were so straitened that, in order to lessen the cost, I was asked to take the dual position of Governor and Headmaster. Sir Langham Dale having signified his approval, I held this position for eight years, at the end of which time (1898) our number of boarders had grown to 120. Increased accommodation had been provided, and...had been paid for...Meanwhile, Dr Muir, the new Superintendent-General of Education, had foreshadowed his new scheme for the training of Pupil Teachers, and we all felt what a pity it was that we were unable to take a bold forward movement. Urgent as our need was, we felt we were not justified in going into debt. Then came one of the great surprises of my life. Mr Chubb (Chairman of the Conference) came up in a sort of casual way and inquired, 'How we were getting on with our

scheme for enlargement?' 'Very slowly', said I. 'How much more money do you require before you could make a start?', said he. 'At least another £400", said I. 'And you think if you had £400 more you would begin?' 'Yes'. 'Well', said he, 'I am authorised to sign you a cheque for the amount'. I looked at him in astonishment and said, 'Who has done this great thing for Healdtown?' He replied, 'There is one condition attaching to the gift, viz., that you are to ask no questions...'."

(Extract from a paper read by Rev R F Hornabrook, Governor of the Institution on the occasion of the Jubilee Celebrations, 1906, p. 39) (Methodist Archives)

The secret of this anonymous donor apparently died with Rev Theophilus Chubb. The gift of £750 from the Centenary Fund, made possible the erection of the Jubilee Buildings, which consisted of the central hall, flanked on two sides by four classrooms; The scheme was completed in time to be opened, free of debt, on the Jubilee of Healdtown, which was celebrated in 1906. (Jubilee Celebrations, 1906, p. 29) (Methodist Archives).

"On Friday 29 June 1906 the fiftieth anniversary of Healdtown Institution was as delightful as regards weather as in all its other conditions. A day of serene and perfect beauty harmonized with the happiness shining in the faces of the large crowd of old Healdtown pupils, who had assembled from every part of South Africa to refresh cherished recollections, and do honour to the place of their early education."

(Jubilee Celebrations, 1906, p. 1) (Methodist Archives)

In his welcome address the Governor, R F Hornabrook, said:

"It is my pleasing duty, as Governor of this institution, to assure you of a very hearty welcome upon your return to Healdtown, and I do so with all sincerity. It is a great pleasure to see so many of the old boys and girls, and to know that you are doing your duty honourably in the World. As President of the Wesleyan Conference, also, I extend to you a hearty welcome in the name of the whole Methodist Church of South Africa. Our Church is rightly proud of Healdtown, for its past history contains a record of work, which it is pleasant to look back upon..."

(Jubilee Celebrations, 1906, p. 1) (Methodist Archives)

A great deal of work was done by Mr W R Caley (Headmaster) in preparation for the celebrations of the Jubilee. Former students of Healdtown were invited to write their reminiscences and in this way a record covering the previous fifty years was produced. (Hewson, 1955, p. 25). (Methodist Archives).

When Mr W R Caley came to Healdtown in 1896 there were only 52 students. When he left in 1932 there were over 700. This rapid increase is probably due to the fact that pupils other than Fingoes came from all over South Africa, since it was then a well regarded teacher-training institution. The Girls' Boarding Department was established in 1898 when the Government grants were withdrawn from smaller establishments. Peddie, which up to that time had been the site of the flourishing Ayliff Institution for Girls, was closed, and some of its students were transferred to Healdtown.

"The Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1901, with the restrictions of martial law and the unsettled state of the country, generally gave rise to many difficulties in the maintenance of Institution work. Urgent building operations had to be suspended and the number of pupils was considerably reduced. Nevertheless, at the end of 1901 there were 74 students in the Training School and 409 in the Practising School..."

(Cited in Hewson, 1955, p. 30)

"From the arrival of the Rev R F Hornabrook for his second period as Governor in 1903, building operations went steadily forward. Old Practising School which had been in use for some 50 years was in a dangerous state, and was pulled down, and in its place a new school hall, with five classrooms was erected. The water difficulty was successfully solved by boring and a plentiful supply of water was found at a depth of 150 feet. A windmill was erected, and the water conducted by gravity to various buildings. A new teacher's house was erected in 1907, and the Church enlarged. The Training School was enlarged, a new Infant School erected, new teacher's quarters, increased dormitory buildings, extension at the boys' and girls' kitchens and a new woodwork room provided."

(Hewson, 1955, p. 30)

"The exacting nature of the demands of young African people with regard to the food they eat, both as to quality and quantity, constitute a problem which needs constant consideration. The Institution's Report for 1917 says: 'When it is stated that an increase in the cost of living of only ld (lc) per day per boarder means an increase of £380 (R760) in the course of the year, it will be seen that the financial management of the Institution calls for the exercise of the utmost vigilance and care.' There were 289 boarders at that time in the Institution."

(Hewson, 1955, p. 30) (Methodist Archives)

"The Rev R F Hornabrook ended his long association with Healdtown in 1917, when he handed over the reins to Rev J M Watkinson. During his administration further developments took place. A large double-storied building at the Girls' Hostel, with quarters for teaching staff, common room and prayer room, was erected.

Residences for European teachers were enlarged and improved, and the fine High School with its clock tower was planned and in the process of erection. In 1921 the number of pupils had increased to 337, of whom 225 were in training as teachers. A total of 628 were receiving education day by day. Numbers of applications had to be refused owing to the lack of accommodation. The 1924 Report refers to the appalling conditions of drought and starvation among the Native people generally. At Healdtown, the Institution lost its entire herd of cattle, and provision for mechanical transport had to be made at heavy cost. Miss M B Kayser, for some years lady Superintendent of the girls' hostel, left in 1924."

> (Hewson, 1955, p. 30) (Methodist Archives)

In 1925 a High School course was established. In this year Mr J J Kissack retired, after many years' service. In the Report of that year, high praise is given to this devoted teacher. To accommodate the High School course, a building was begun in 1926, and officially opened in 1928. In 1927 Mr J H Dugard, B Sc, joined the staff and Mr G Caley, BA, both of whom were to give fine service to the Institution. There was a prolonged drought during the period 1925-1928, and the Institution provided free breakfasts for 120 infants daily. Towards the close of this period a small grant of land from the Native Affairs Department enabled this work to be extended, and for a time free breakfasts were served for nearly 400 children from the adjoining locations. The administration of the Rev J M Watkinson came to an end in 1927. During his period at Healdtown he had been President of Conference 1924-1925, and Rev A E F Garrett had acted as his assistant at the Institution. (Hewson, 1955, p. 30) (Methodist Archives).

In 1927 Rev A A Wellington began his long term of administration, which closed in 1944. Mr Wellington was returning to Healdtown, for he himself had acted as President's assistant

to Rev Richard Hornabrook in 1906-1907. The 1929 Report notes that "the proximity of the co-operative packing sheds of the citrus orchards enables the purchase of a ton of oranges each week of the second session of the year, with the result that, among the students, there is a complete absence of scurvy and stomach troubles." In 1929 the development of the water system, ensuring an abundant supply of pure water, dispelled the anxieties of the past years. With a power pumping plant water was provided sufficient for domestic purposes, for baths, including a large swimming bath for the boys. In that year the Fort Beaufort Divisional Council voted £1000 for the cost of a deviation on the dangerous road between Fort Beaufort and Healdtown. The modernization of the Institution was taken a stage further when in 1930 electric light was installed throughout, and Fort Beaufort Municipality contracted to supply the current on satisfactory terms.

"Miss Dora Hornabrook (afterwards Mrs Watkinson) retired in 1929 after seventeen years devoted service 'adding lustre to a name which the Institution will ever hold in grateful remembrance.' To quote the Report, 'Miss Hornabrook's intimate knowledge of the students and her calm and expert handling of difficult situations made her retirement a very real loss'."

(Citation from Hewson, 1955, p. 31) (Methodist Archives)

It was part of the policy of Rev A A Wellington to entertain distinguished visitors at the Institution, thus gaining publicity for the work of Healdtown. In 1930 the Earl of Selbourne, High Commissioner for South Africa, visited Healdtown and laid the foundation stone of the Domestic Science block. His address on that occasion was that of a true friend of the Native people. By the figure of a three-legged pot he illustrated the stability of South Africa upheld by British, Dutch and Native people.

The Report of 1930 reviewed, with pardonable pride, the growth of the Institution which opened in 1855 with 95 scholars, 30 of whom were boarders, under a single teacher, "passing rich on £72 a year", and the residents housed in a building erected at the cost of £4000. In 1930, the student enrolment reached a total of 800, 464 of whom were boarders, with a staff of 32 teachers whose salaries aggregated £7 269, while insurance was paid on buildings valued at £45 000, all in first class condition and free of debt. The same Report commented on the conduct of students, which was on the whole most satisfactory. The students who remained for the advanced courses were a great help in maintaining tone and discipline. The English school system of prefects was working satisfactorily. (Hewson 1955, p. 32) (Methodist Archives).

In 1932 Mr W R Caley retired from the Headmastership of the Training School, after thirty-seven years' brilliant service, during which period he established the record of having trained, in his lifetime, more teachers than any other individual in South Africa. Examination results in Mr Caley's last year constituted a record, and surpassed in numbers and successes those of any Training College in the Union of South Africa. The number of students and the total income at Healdtown both constituted records in that year.

In 1933 Mr E A Ball, M Sc, resigned as Headmaster of the High School. Under his guidance, in nine years from its establishment, the school had developed to a position of great importance in Native education. In the same year the Institution obtained the services of a qualified European nursing sister; and in the following year a trained Native assistant nurse was appointed. A modern sanitation system was made possible by the discovery and utilisation of a hitherto untapped local water supply. Healdtown, this year, won first place in the Inter-Institutional Athletic Sports. (Hewson, 1955, p. 32) (Methodist Archives).

The outstanding event of the year 1934 was the visit, on June 19, of the Governor-General, His Excellency the Earl of Clarendon, who was accompanied by Lady Clarendon. In September of the same year the Hon J H Hofmeyr, Minister of Education, visited Healdtown for the laying of the foundation of the new Science block of the High School.

The efforts of the Institution to play a fuller part in the activities of the surrounding Native community deserve mention. A Sports Meeting for Native children, held in 1934, proved a great success, over 700 children being entertained by the Institution. Short refresher courses, each attended by some thirty Native teachers employed in schools in the vicinity, were held in 1933 and 1934. Members of staff willingly gave up their time to these outside services. Christian work in the locations, such as Sunday School teaching, prayer bands and preaching, never lacked volunteers among the male students.

Building expansion during 1934-1935 was remarkable and included a boys' dining hall enlarged to accommodate 600, new dormitories, Science block, Model school and completion of the modern sanitary scheme. 1935 saw the retirement of Mr J W Woodward and the Report records appreciation of his invaluable services as a teacher and preacher, and of his gift of song. In the same year the Matriculation and Junior Certificate examination results "were without equal in any African Institution for many years." It was also at this time that Sir William Clarke, High Commissioner for Protectorates, visited the Institution.

"The Report of 1936 records a severe hailstorm, after which 1250 panes of glass had to be replaced. This year the first two broadcasts given by the Healdtown choir from the Grahamstown studio proved so popular that a third was asked for."

(Hewson, 1955, p. 33) (Methodist Archives) During 1937 the Principal, Rev A A Wellington, became President of the Methodist Conference, and the Rev R Floweday, Supernumerary Minister, acted as his assistant. Mr J H Dugard was the Acting Principal and the Institution moved on with untroubled progress. Building operations, involving very considerable expense, were undertaken, enlarging the boarding establishment to accommodate 1 000 students.

The Rev S M Mokitimi succeeded Mr T Rangaka as the Housemaster of the boys' hostel. During the fifteen years of his appointment Mr Mokitimi made an inimitable contribution to the life and spirit of the Institution, and the three Principals with whom he served all came to rely greatly upon him for the maintenance of the discipline and morale of Healdtown.

Miss Workman followed Miss Smith as Superintendent of the girls' hostel. Pathfinder Scouts and Wayfarer Guides, under the new constitution proved most helpful. The Students Christian Association came to fill an important place in the life of the students.

The long administration of Rev A A Wellington ended in 1944. His successor was Rev Edward Grant. During the five years of Mr Grant's principalship there was an added emphasis upon the spiritual side of the work. The church and vestry were set apart for worship, the fabric restored, the surroundings of the buildings were beautified and these things made a great contribution to the spiritual life of the community, while the pastoral work of Rev S M Mokitimi became more important in the same sphere.

In keeping with the inter-racial nature of the work of the Institution an African lady Superintendent, Miss Mashiqa, was appointed and a nurse and matron were also appointed. The newly established Governing Council gave scope for the appointment of both African and European representatives of staff, past students, Government departments and other

similar institutions in the adjoining territory. The annual reciprocal visit of students and staff of the Grahamstown Training College, and serior students with staff members of Healdtown on their return visits, did much to widen the scope of inter-racial work, and was eagerly anticipated from year to year.

A continuous programme of improvement and extension of all buildings took place. Of special importance was the fully-equipped gymnasium (the only one in African education) erected to accommodate a specialist course and to provide facilities for developing this aspect of education among all students. The completion of the large new sports ground and the addition of further playing fields made it possible for a large proportion of students of both sexes to engage in sport. There was a marked development in sport and games among female students.

In spite of food shortages in the post-war years it was possible to improve the diet for students. Upgrading of the kitchens, dining halls and dormitories was undertaken and it included rewiring the complete lighting and power system and improving lighting in the larger buildings. After a long period of drought it was essential for the existence of the Institution and the neighbouring community, that a new supply of water be found. This included the sinking of a borehole and the installation of a new pumping plant.

Another sign of the growing needs of the community was the provision of postal facilities. Full services were housed within the Institution. An African Postmaster and assistant were appointed by the Department of Posts and Telegraphs. The building programme included sanitary blocks for both men and women, the erection of several additional staff houses and the improvement of all existing houses. For the administration of the Institution, a suitable building, centrally situated, was adapted to house the administrative staff in comfortable offices. A new Bursar was appointed.

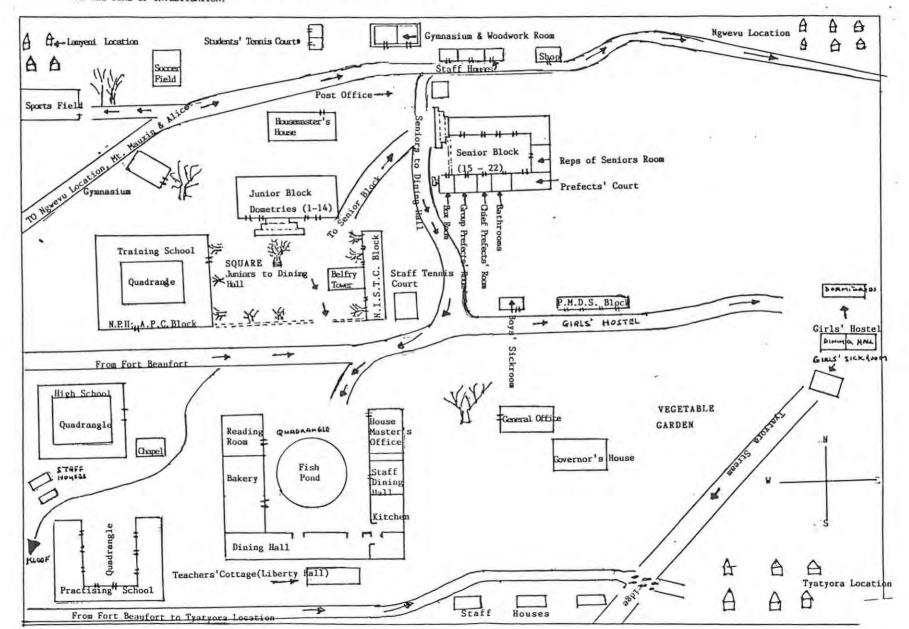
In addition to giving full status to the African Superintendent already mentioned, a local doctor was appointed as Medical Officer who held a clinic regularly at the Institution. There was a further positive development of the excellent prefect system, giving greater powers to responsible prefects under the Housemaster and Lady Superintendent.

The Rev E W Grant relinquished the principalship of Healdtown in 1950 and was succeeded by the Rev Stanley G Pitts, BA, who was still in office during the period. In the sphere of the African Education, the impending changes resulting from Government policy had been viewed with uncertainty and concern by African people, and wise, tactful and strong leadership had been essential during the five years that concluded the first century of Healdtown. The Methodist Church and the African people alike owe a great deal to the work of the Rev S G Pitts during this period. (Hewson, 1955, pp. 34-35) (Methodist Archives). The list of principal teachers during the hundred years appears in Appendix 7.

To give the reader some indication of the lay-out of the buildings of Healdtown a diagrammatic sketch (not to scale) is shown (see Figure 1) at the end of this chapter.

When the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953 was promulgated the education for Blacks fell under the direct control of the Government with its own ministry as from 1 January 1954. Since Healdtown was a missionary institution, this meant that it would change. So the period up to 1955 was deliberately chosen, since the Institution during this period was largely under the direct control of the missionaries. The account in this chapter is an attempt to give a straightforward account of the chronological development and reputation of the Institution, particularly the period from 1925 to 1955, which will be investigated in this study.

Chapter two will describe the courses offered, staffing and the way investigation was undertaken. It will also give some broad background to the people who took part in the investigation and the places from which the respondents came.



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CHAPTER TWO

THE RESPONDENTS AND THE QUESTIONNAIRE

From the 'twenties to 1955 Healdtown Missionary Institution comprised the Practising School, the High School and Teacher Training School. The first was established for the children of the surrounding locations and to give practice to pupil teachers who were in the Training School. It covered an eight year span - from Sub-standard A to Standard Six and offered tuition to both boys and girls. The majority of these pupils did not stay in the hostels provided by the Institution since they were, as stated, from the neighbouring locations.

The High School offered the Junior Certificate course (JC), which at that time was a three-year course: Standard Seven (Form One), Standard Eight (Form Two) and Standard Nine (Form Three). The second was the Senior Certificate course (Matriculation) which was a two-year course: Standard Ten (Form Four) and Standard Eleven (Form Five). Both courses admitted both men and women who had passed either Standards Six or Nine. Within the courses leading to Junior Certificate and Matriculation, pupils could choose a Science or a General course. The first group followed a curriculum which included Mathematics, General Science, Biology, Latin, History, English and Xhosa. In the General course the curriculum consisted of History, Geography, Biology, Physiology and Hygiene, Arithmetic, Xhosa and English. At the Junior Certificate level, the pupils could choose an extra (optional) subject to write a sevensubject examination. The normal Matriculation course was a six-subject curriculum. Biology and Arithmetic were not offered at this level. Arithmetic was dropped completely, while Biology was replaced by Zoology. At the end of these examinations, successful candidates could either leave the Institution or proceed to the Training School. Those who wished to proceed to the Training School were expected to apply while they were still in the High School, preferably

before the end of September. Those Matriculation candidates who could not obtain university entrance passes were allowed to sit for supplementary examinations, usually in February or March of the following year.

In the Training School there were a number of courses for pupils who wished to be teachers. The Native Primary Lower Certificate (NPL) was a three-year course after Standard Six. There was also the Native Primary Higher Certificate (NPH) which was also a two-year course, but this one was of a higher standard than the former since the entrance qualification was Junior Certificate. The last course to be introduced during the period was the Advanced Primary Course (APC) which was also a two-year course. It was of the highest standard because its entrance qualification was Matriculation, and despite the title, it prepared people for post-primary schools up to Junior Certificate.

In addition to these courses there were some specialist courses for teachers. These were open to all teachers, even those who had left the Institution and had been teaching for some time. At the same time those who had qualified as teachers elsewhere but wished to qualify in these courses were admitted as long as they possessed a teachers' certificate. The first of these specialist courses was the Native Infants School Teachers Certificate (NIST). This was a year's course and was for women who would specialise in infants' education. It could be taken after Native Primary Lower or Native Primary Higher. The second was the Post Matriculation Domestic Science course (PMDS) which was also a year's course. It was taken by women after Matriculation and it specialised in cooking. There was, in addition, a Physical Training course (PT) for men. It, too, was a year in duration and the entrance qualification was any teachers' certificate.

Since the majority of púpils came from distant places, both men and women were housed in hostels. The hostel for women was approximately two hundred metres from that of men. A

minister of religion, who was appointed by the Methodist Church Conference, was responsible for the men's section, while a Lady Superintendent looked after the women. The three schools mentioned earlier had their own principals who were independent of one another. These principals had teaching staff consisting of both Black and White men and women. The minister of religion for men had to be Black though the Lady Superintendent need not necessarily be Black. All these authorities were, however, under the Governor who was also appointed by the Methodist Church Conference. He had to be White and was the principal of the whole Institution. Non-teaching staff consisted of Black and White. Up to about 1940 there were comparatively few pupils, but between 1940 and 1955 there were, on average, no less than one thousand pupils in the hostels in any one year. The reason is probably that in the earlier years of the Institution there was insufficient hostel accommodation, but as the Institution advanced in years, together with the introduction of new courses, the pupils and staff population increased remarkably. The teaching and non-teaching staff were accommodated in the Institution. Although Fort Beaufort was approximately fourteen kilometres from the Institution, no teachers stayed there except a few who were either temporary or part time teachers.

The study is concerned with the experiences and the background details of men and women who had been pupils at Healdtown. The author, who was himself a pupil of this Institution during this period (1951 to 1955), was in a good position to make contact with a large number of graduates of the Institution. Contact was made with the education departments (Department of Education and Training, Transkei Education Department and Ciskei Education Department) and the offices of the local Administration Boards, asking for the names and addresses of ex-pupils of Healdtown up to the end of 1955 who might be in their areas. Three hundred and fifteen such names and addresses were obtained and a questionnaire was sent to each person. To each questionnaire a letter was attached, ex-plaining why the information was needed. Assurance was also

given that the information would be kept strictly confidential. A self-addressed and stamped envelope was also included. A request was then made to return the completed forms as soon as possible. Some were posted while others were delivered by hand to local people.

In this process certain problems were experienced. Some people were reluctant to complete the questionnaire because they feared that the information might be used against them, in spite of the assurance that the information would be treated confidentially. Some questionnaires had eventually to be collected by hand, but in the end one hundred and seventy one completed forms were ready for analysis. Of these, twenty men and ten women were selected for further face-to-face interviews, in which some aspects of the questionnaire were taken further. These interviews lasted between thirty and forty-five minutes and took place either in the respondents' homes, or in the author's office, after office hours.

It can be seen that the one hundred and seventy one respondents comprised 54,3% of the original population (315) and represent a satisfactory return rate. Some respondents were known to the author; others were contemporaries of his brother or uncle, both of whom were graduates of Healdtown. These personal links clearly helped to encourage many respondents to reply. Of the one hundred and seventy one replies returned, ninety-nine (58%) were men while seventy-two (42%) were women. The respondents were at least fifty years of age, because the last year in which they could have been at Healdtown was 1955, thirty-six years before the fieldwork for this thesis was begun. Assuming they had left the Institution at about the age of twenty, this would make them at least fifty-six years old in 1986. Table 2.1 shows occupations of respondents at the time of investigation.

TABLE 2.1
OCCUPATIONS OF RESPONDENTS AT TIME OF INVESTIGATION

Occupations	Men	Women	Total	%
Teachers (including Principals)	57	40	97	56,7
Inspectors of Schools	4	2	6	3,5
University Lecturers	1	1	2	1,2
Nursing Sisters/Charge Nurses	8	12	20	11,7
Hospital Matrons	-	2	2	1,2
Medical Doctors	4	1	5	2,9
Social Workers	2	4	6	3,5
Ministers of Religion	6	9	6	3,5
Training Officers in Industry	3	-	3	1,8
Politicians	3	14	3	1,8
Self-employed	5	4	9	5,2
Housewives	-	6	6	3,5
Labourers	6	40	6	3,5
TOTAL	99	72	171	100,0

If a respondent had retired his last occupation was used in compiling this table.

The bias in the sample towards the teaching profession is clearly seen from this table, with over 60% of the group involved in that occupation. The number of people linked to the teaching profession is even greater than would appear from the table, as some of the nurses and some of the social workers were originally trained as teachers. Ministers of Religion were often also teachers before they joined the ministry because teaching in those days was a very strong recommendation for ministry. At the same time some of the housewives were also teachers, because in the past married women were not allowed to teach. Even some of the politicians were teachers before they entered politics since self-government is a new development among the Blacks. It needs to be remembered, however, that the teacher fraining side of Healdtown was one of its best known features and a large number of pupils throughout the twentieth century were attracted to it for this purpose. On the other hand, it must also be remembered that the author's easiest contacts were with his colleagues in the teaching profession. It could also be expected that teachers might have positive attitudes towards their own training and this could have influenced them in responding to the requests. It is, therefore, important to keep this heavy bias in mind as the questionnaire is further analysed.

All the respondents entered Healdtown for Junior Certificate, Matriculation or Teacher Training. Some, after acquiring Junior Certificate, did a teachers' course and thereafter came back to do Matriculation. The majority, however, came to Healdtown after they had obtained Junior Certificate and entered for the Matriculation studies or for teacher training.

The questionnaire which supplied the bulk of the information for analysis was organised in such a way that it covered the most important aspects of work of the Institution. Apart from general information (Questions 1 to 4) (Surname, Christian names, Home Address and Telephone), it had nine parts.

Part One was concerned with the school activities: positions of responsibility, such as a Prefect, and membership of cultural and sporting clubs. This section comprised five questions: this information was to be used to see if there was a link between what the respondents had undertaken while at Healdtown and their activities in later life. Had their school experiences provided any stimulus or particular training for their contribution to their communities in adult life? For this analysis, links were made with the answers to the questions in Part Seven of the questionnaire which will be described later. The answers also gave some indication of what the respondents' school days were like.

Part Three established the religious denominations to which the respondents belonged and included two questions. The missionary origins of Healdtown have already been described and the Methodist influence on all school activities remained strong throughout the period in which the respondents were pupils. Not all students, however, came to Healdtown as practising Methodists. It seemed important to discover how the religious influence of the Institution operated. Answers from Part Seven would also give some indication of the continuation of Methodist influence after the respondents had finished their schooling or training.

Part Four (Questions 19-26) had to do with the respondents' parents and their children including the siblings of the respondents. Homes of respondents, jobs held by parents and schooling were included. Information about brothers and sisters of respondents included highest school standard, further education and present or last job held: it has already been shown how limited the opportunities were for Secondary education in the years covered in this thesis. It would clearly be unlikely that many of the respondents' parents would have had opportunities for attending the higher levels of schooling. It was important to discover, however, whether the parents had had greater experience of education than had the vast majority of the Blacks in South Africa at the turn of the century, and for the first thirty years of the century when the parents themselves had been children. If the parents had had some educational experience, this might have motivated them to seek yet greater opportunities for their own children, some of whom were the respondents. Similar reasons for seeking education might be found if jobs held by parents were somewhat better than those held by the majority of South African Blacks. Another important consideration was the extent to which the parents sought good education for all their children, or whether there was a tendency for the respondents in particular to have been specially selected or favoured. Finally, from this section, the idea could be explored whether the jobs held by the respondents and their siblings was related in any way to the education they had received.

Part Five, on the respondents' own career, included eight

questions on jobs held, marital status and, finally, education levels of their spouses: the thesis clearly concentrates most upon the respondents themselves, and so some of the possibilities for analysis which could emerge from Part Four of the questionnaire could also be used to obtain a more detailed picture of the respondents. A new departure here is that the respondents were asked about the education levels of their spouses to see if there was any link between the partners as far as schooling was concerned.

Part Six, on the respondents' children, asked for present age, their education levels and their occupations. It might be that the education experiences of the respondents had influenced them in seeking good education for their own children, and again whether in the period from about 1950 to 1980 (when the respondents' own children would have been entering the job market), their occupations were related to their education levels.

As a further possibility for analysis developed from Parts Four, Five and Six of the questionnaire, it became possible to make a cross-generation comparison over three generations, both in terms of education and also of job levels.

Part Seven was concerned with the services given by the respondents to the community: if Healdtown had had a positive influence upon the lives and values of the respondents, then it would be expected that they would make a positive contribution to their own communities in their adult lives. By this analysis, as has already been explained, links would be made with the answers to questions about their particular Healdtown experiences which came from Part Two of the questionnaire.

The final section gave respondents opportunities to write about their good and bad memories of the time they spent at Healdtown, the influence the Institution had had upon them and the criticisms they had of their time there. In contrast to the earlier questions, most of which could be answered by

ticks or by single words or phrases, these last questions were open-ended and several lines were left to allow the respondents space to enlarge on their answers. It was hoped that these more freely-expressed memories would give a qualitative and human flavour to the more detailed quantitative analysis.

A copy of the questionnaire, together with the letter attached to it, appears in Appendix 1.

It is now necessary to look at the background of the respondents themselves. It will be remembered that of the one hundred and seventy-one respondents, ninety-nine (58%) were men, while seventy-two (42%) were women. Table 2.2 shows where the respondents' homes were before they went to Healdtown. It should be noted that these are the areas where the majority of the respondents were still living when they were contacted for the present investigation.

TABLE 2.2

HOMES OF RESPONDENTS DURING TIME AT HEALDTOWN

Area	Men	%	Women	70	Total	. %
Eastern Cape	41	41,4	17	23,6	58	33,9
Border	14	14,1	21	29,1	35	20,4
Transkei	18	18,1	12	16,7	30	17,5
Cape Midlands	9	9.0	13	18.0	22	12,9
North Eastern Districts	11	11,1	5	6,9	16	9,3
Western Cape	2	2,0	-1	1,3	3	1,7
Transvaal	1	1.0	1	1,3	2	1,1
Orange Free State	2	2,0	-	2	2	1.1
Natal	-	102	1	1,3	1	0,5
Not stated	1	1,0	1	1,3	2	1,1
TOTAL	99	99,7	72	99,5	171	99,5

The first thing that attracts one's attention is that of the thirty respondents from Transkei. Notmore than fifteen came from the big towns: three came from Butterworth, which today is a big industrial town, four were from Idutywa, while three were from Umtata, the present capital. Five came from Willow-vale which is a comparatively small place. The other fifteen were scattered over smaller districts, such as Ngqamakhwe,

Tsolo, Mount Ayliff, Lusikisiki. The second thing one notices is that of the fifty-eight that came from the Eastern Cape, thirty-one came from Port Elizabeth and eleven came from towns such as Grahamstown, Alexandria, Port Alfred and Humansdorp. It is interesting to see that in the Border area there were thirty-five respondents. Of these, nineteen came from the Peddie area, while the rest were scattered over areas such as Middledrift, Keiskammanoek, King William's Town and East London. What is interesting is that one graduate of Healdtown attributes this high number from Peddie to the fact that there were many Fingoes in that area. The reader will remember that it was stated in the previous chapter that Rev John Ayliff had settled at Peddie with the Fingoes he had brought from Transkei. It was under the Mawashu tree (Milkwood tree) at this place that the Fingoes made their three vows: that they would be loyal to the Government, that they would worship God and that they would educate their children. She notes further that she was told by her grandmother that one of the reasons that increased the number of pupils at Healdtown, particularly the girls, was that the Government had decided, in 1898, to close all smaller education centres, one of which was at Peddie. Those from Peddie were transferred to Healdtown. That school at Peddie, she claims, had been established probably with a view to fulfil one of the vows of the Fingoes. This is an endorsement of what was quoted from the Methodist Archival records in the previous chapter, that Healdtown was built initially for the Fingoes. She then infers that it was the attachment the people in the Peddie area had to their vow that is responsible for this high number of respondents from Peddie.

The Cape Midlands had twenty-two respondents. Of these, eighteen came from the surrounding locations of Healdtown and four from near Fort Beaufort. From the North Eastern Districts there were sixteen respondents in the sample. Of these, eleven came from Queenstown, while five were scattered over smaller areas such as Lady Frere, Maclear, Glen Grey, Aliwal North

and Burgersdorp. Only three came from Western Cape, i.e. Cape Town.

Of all the respondents only five were from provinces other than the Cape, while only two did not give any details. It can be seen that Healdtown in the years under discussion would seem still to be serving the eastern half of the Cape Province: over 70% came from the Port Elizabeth and Albany areas, the Border towns, the Transkei and the North Eastern Districts. It should be noted, however, that the author's easiest contacts were with colleagues in the teaching profession. It must therefore be emphasized that it is possibly the proximity of the author to respondents that is responsible for the composition of this table. It is clear that pupils of Healdtown came from all over Southern Africa, including the Protectorates. This particularly occurred as its reputation for its teacher-training grew. It is not, therefore, possible to say whether the respondents are a representative sample of all pupils in the period being investigated. As the analysis of the questionnaire proceeds, however, it will be seen that the respondents are reasonably homogeneous in many of their characteristics. It would not be unexpected, therefore, to find a similar homogeneity if a wider geographical sample had been available.

Table 2.3 refers to those respondents who entered Healdtown in the first year of a course and the classes to which they were admitted.

TABLE 2.3
RESPONDENTS' ADMISSION LEVEL

L.	Men	Women	Total	%
Sub-Standard A to 6	4	7	11	6,7
Form One	30	26	56	34,5
Form Four	14	5	19	11,7
Native Primary Lower One	13	27	40	24,6
Native Primary Higher One	28	1	29	17,9
Advanced Primary Course One	3	1	4	2,4
Post Matric Domestic Science	-	1	1	0,6
Physical Training Course	2	-	2	1,2
TOTAL	94	68	162	99,6

Only nine respondents entered Healdtown in the middle of courses having transferred from other institutions. This analysis is in Table 2.4.

TABLE 2.4

PUPILS ADMITTED EITHER IN THE MIDDLE OR

TOWARDS THE END OF COURSES

	Men	Women	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
Form Two	3		3	33,3
Form Three	1	-	1	11,1
Native Primary Lower Two	-	2	2	22.2
Native Primary Higher Two	1	2	3	33,3
TOTAL	5	4	9	99,9

Healdtown clearly preferred to admit pupils in the beginning of courses. It did, however, in exceptional cases, admit them either in the middle or towards the end of courses.

Although 46% entered Healdtown for Secondary School courses, another 46% had completed schooling elsewhere, and came to train as teachers. This distribution suggests the high reputation the Institution had for its teacher training courses. It should also be noted that very few of the respondents came to do only specialist courses, although some might have stayed on, or returned, to obtain these qualifications. The vast majority were given either conventional Secondary schooling or pre-service teacher training or both.

Table 2.5 is concerned with the dates at which the respondents entered Healdtown.

TABLE 2.5

DATE OF ADMISSION TO HEALDTOWN

Year	Meņ	Women	Total	%
1925 to 1929 1930 to 1934 1935 to 1939 1940 to 1944 1945 to 1949 1950 to 1955	4 5 24 17 16 33	1 7 22 13 18 11	5 12 46 30 34 44	2,9 7,0 26,9 17,5 19,9 25.7
TOTAL	99	72	171	99,9

It is interesting to note that five pupils entered some 60 years before the investigation was undertaken and must, therefore, be in their 70's or early 80's. The high percentage of entrants in the five years preceeding the outbreak of the war should be noted. It was to be expected that the largest numbers of respondents (some 45%) came from the last decade of the investigation period. It has been mentioned that the author, his brother and his paternal uncle were graduates of Healdtown. The uncle, whose fees were paid by the author's father, attended from 1934 to 1938, but he had already died by the time this investigation was started. The author's brother attended Healdtown from 1944 to 1952 and was one of the respondents. Once he had started working he helped find the fees for the author's schooling. The author was a pupil from 1951 to 1955.

The length of stay of respondents, shown in Table 2.6 varied widely from as short as one year to as long as ten years. The two most frequent lengths of time were two years (corresponding with final preparation for the Matriculation examination and for some teaching courses) and five years (which could either cover a full Secondary course or a Secondary and a teaching qualification). Some 45% of the pupils fall into these two categories. Over 40% of the pupils were there for five or more years, giving them a wide experience of the Institution and a considerable opportunity for extended assessment of it. The average length of stay was 4,3 years. Table 2.6 shows the length of stay of respondents at Healdtown.

TABLE 2.6
LENGTH OF STAY OF RESPONDENTS AT HEALDTOWN

Years	Men	%	Women	%	Total	_%
1	1	1,0	3	4,2	4	2,3
2	27	27,3	8	11,1	35	20,5
3	12	12,1	16	22,2	28	16,4
4	7	7,1	17	23,6	24	14,0
5	22	22,2	18	25,0	40	23,4
6	21	21,1	3	4,2	24	14,0
7	5	5,1	1	1,4	6	3,5
8	2	2,0	1	1,4	3	1,8
9	2	2,0	2	2,8	4	10 A SA
10	-	-	1	1,4	1	2,3
11	4	-	-		-	-
12.	-	-	1	2,7	2	1,2
TOTAL	99	99,9	72	100,0	171	100,0

It can be seen from Table 2.7 that in practically every case the pupil obtained the certificate he or she had originally registered for. It must be noted, however, that many people who might have failed their courses at Healdtown would be uninterested in the Institution or reluctant to complete the questionnaire, or their names would not have been on any of the lists available to the author.

TABLE 2.7
NUMBER OF CERTIFICATES OBTAINED

Certificates	Men	<u>%</u>	Women	%	<u>Total</u>	%
Yes	97	97,9	70	97,2	167	97,6
No	2	2,0	2	2,8	4	2,3
TOTAL	99	99,9	72	100,0	171	99,9

TABLE 2.8

TYPE OF QUALIFICATION OBTAINED

	Men	Women	Total	%
Teachers' Certificates	40	44	84	49,1
Teachers' and Academic Certificates	32	13	45	26,3
Academic Certificates only	25	13	38	22,2
Without Certificates	2	2	4	2,3
TOTAL	99	72	171	99,9

The reader will remember that earlier it was stated that the teacher training side of Healdtown was one of its best known features and large numbers of pupils throughout the twentieth century were attracted to it for this purpose. This table confirms that view. Only a quarter of the pupils in the sample did not follow teacher training courses. All these pupils were boarders.

The last thing to be mentioned is that of the one hundred and

seventy-one respondents, eighty-nine (52%) had furthered their studies after leaving Healdtown- Of this group fifty-five (55,6%) were men and thirty-four (47,2%) were women. Many trained further to obtain university degrees; nursing qualifications, social science, medical and theological training were all mentioned. This is shown in Table 2.9.

TABLE 2.9
FURTHER EDUCATION AFTER LEAVING HEALDTOWN

Further Education	Men	Women	<u>Total</u>	%
Nurses	8	12	20	11,7
Social Workers	2	4	6	3,5
Medical Doctors	4	1	5	2,9
Ministers of Religion	6	-	6	3,5
University Degrees	35	17	52	30,4
TOTAL	55	34	89	52,0

It would seem that their Healdtown experiences had provided some incentive for further education and that much of this was of a demanding nature. The 52 respondents who simply listed university degrees without further details would largely have been teachers, using such qualifications for promotion purposes.

Now that a broad picture of the background of the respondents has been given, a more detailed examination can be made of the actual experiences while at the Institution. This is done in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RESPONDENTS' POSITIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY AT HEALDTOWN

Although this chapter is specifically concerned with the roles the respondents played in the life of Healdtown while they were in the Institution, it was possible to obtain a general picture of the way the school operated from some of the respondents' answers to the open-ended questions and from the oral interviews which some gave to the writer. Where appropriate, the author's own memories, together with those of his uncle and older brother (also Healdtowners) have been used. Apart from the detailed picture that these comments provide, this will also make the role of Prefects and Monitors more understandable and show the way in which extra-curricular activities were organised and appreciated.

From Saturday afternoon to Monday morning at the beginning of the school year, late in January or early in February, Fort Beaufort station would be full of students. The Institution's open-ended lorry would carry students and their luggage over the dusty fourteen kilometres of gravel road from Fort Beaufort to Healdtown. Upon arrival it delivered the women students and then the men students to their respective hostels. During an interview, one of the respondents recalled the excited groups around each new lorry load, keen to meet old friends and sum up the new students. He remembered how the newcomers would have to carry old students' luggage into hostels, while old friends were busy conversing.

During the first few days, organisation was fairly relaxed, while the authorities selected those who were to hold positions of responsibility. Regulations were few, and informal groupings of students (both for sleeping in the dormitories and seating at tables for meals) usually based on home districts, were formed. For the first few days all men students crowded into the Junior Hostel Block, leaving the

Senior Block empty until the full control measures, applicable for the rest of the year, were instituted. There was one hostel block for women.

Several respondents remembered how food served at meals was still being considerably supplemented by special food brought from home. Although the returning students enjoyed the relaxed atmosphere of the first few days, it could be a bad week for those who were there for the first time because of the initiation which they experienced. The initiation, however, will be described later in the thesis. By Friday of the first week the authorities would have finished selecting students for positions of responsibility.

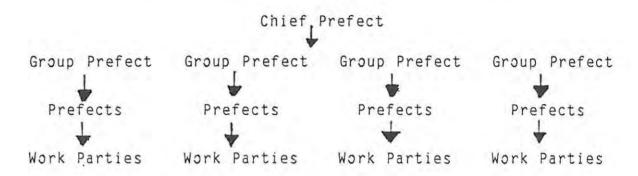
When people look back on their educational experiences it is often the organisational structure of the Institution which they remember first. Central to that organisation was the approach towards control and the imposition of discipline. Most educational institutions in the period covered by this investigation made extensive use of Prefects and Monitors, and Healdtown was no exception. Question 12 of the questionnaire was concerned with positions of responsibility held by respondents. Several of them made comments upon this aspect of the organisation, either in theopen-ended questions or in the informal face-to-face interviews. The following part of this chapter will be concerned with an analysis of these responses.

On the following morning the bell would call all the students. Men students would assemble in the square. This square was approximately fifty by fifty metres in front of the Junior Block. Women students assembled in their dining hall. The square was surrounded by trees with wooden benches underneath them. At the centre there was a solitary tree with four wooden benches surrounding it.

The author remembers how, during his time, the Housemaster would stand under the central tree with his hard-covered exercise-book tucked under his arm and his assistants next to him.

The male students would surround the square. One respondent who spent nine years at Healdtown said that during his time this was usually a tense morning because of interest in who would be given powers. He reported that some "silly" boys would come to this gathering with bottles and buckets full of water to help 'revive' those who would 'faint' after having not been given the powers they had hoped for. He said in both hostels the order of the positions of responsibility was as shown in the following diagram.

 $\frac{ \texttt{FIGURE 2} }{ \texttt{THE ORDER OF THE POSITIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY} }$



(There were approximately 30 Prefects for men and 30 for women)

One respondent explained that the senior students had what was called, in his time, Representatives of Seniors. The Prefects had no authority over the Senior Students. The Housemaster appointed four students amongst the seniors to be their representatives. In choosing these the Housemaster tried as much as possible to make each representative come from a particular area; for instance, one was usually from Transvaal, one from Transkei, one from either Port Elizabeth or Uitenhage, while the fourth was usually from Western Cape. These were to liaise with the Housemaster. For instance, whenever seniors had any request they wanted to make, they put it to the Housemaster via these representatives. He explained further that while the Prefects had powers to give order marks, the representatives did not have these powers. Instead. if a senior student misbehaved, they talked to him and showed him that what he was doing was not expected from a

senior student. He also explained that during his time these representatives attended the same meetings with the Prefect body and Housemaster.

The Housemaster would then read the name of the Chief Prefect first. As he trotted to take his place next to the Housemaster. the rest of the students would excitedly clap their hands while some, at the same time, called him by his nickname or clan name. The names of the four Group Prefects would then be read and as they also took their places next to the Chief Prefect, the same excitement and cheers would be repeated. Finally, the name of each Prefect would be read, followed by the names of his work party. After the Housemaster had given them their duties and dormitories, there would be a rush as the group ran to select the best bed positions in each dormitory. Their Prefect, however, slept next to the door. At the same time as dormitory allocations were made, so the students were given specific jobs such as window-cleaning or table-setting. These will be described in more detail later in this chapter. The Housemaster would continue until all the junior and intermediate students had been allocated. It can be seen that each Group Prefect was an overseer over a certain number of Prefects who themselves had companies under them. Four final lists of names would then be read. These were the representatives of Senior Students. Each Group Prefect and the representatives of Seniors was given the privilege of a smaller bedroom. Finally, the Chief Prefect had a single room.

This whole organisation from the Chief Prefect down to dormitory Prefects was repeated in the women's hostel. One of the respondents reported that at Healdtown, during his time, seniority was by academic attainment. In the High School, Form Fives were Seniors. In the Training School all those who were in NPH2 and NPL3, together with those who had come for special courses, were in this category. Intermediates comprised those students who, in the High School, were in Form Four, while in the Training School NPH1 and NPL2 also fell into this category. All those in the High School who were in

Form One to Form Three, together with those in the Training School who were in NPL1 were categorised as Juniors. Since the entrance qualification for APC was a Senior Certificate, APC1 students were also senior students. This was the situation in both hostels. The second respondent reported that from 1954, probably as a result of the unrest period in 1953, seniority was by age. All students above the age of 20 years were seniors. Those between 17 and 19 were intermediates and those who were 16 years and below were juniors. This was the same procedure even in the women's hostel. When interviewed further this respondent stated that some of the male students who were 20 years and over, and yet categorised as juniors, drew the attention of the Housemaster to the fact that that arrangement was not fair. He remembered that they quoted that, for instance, a junior who was beyond 20 years was not allowed to smoke in the Junior Block while a boy of 18 years, by virtue of his academic attainment, was allowed to smoke in the Senior Block. (This was one of the privileges of the seniors).

Several respondents remembered the induction of the Prefects, which was usually held on the first Monday of the week following the selection of Prefects. One respndent reported that all students would attend and all staff members were invited. The Governor, together with the Housemaster and the Lady Superintendent, would take their places on the stage. As their names were read the Prefects would come onto the stage and have their badges pinned on the lapels of their blazers and receive a pocket book from the Governor. The rest of the students, during the ceremony, clapped their hands rhythmically. The Governor then addressed the students and the ceremony ended with a prayer. Soon afterwards group photographs of the Prefects would be taken.

Another respondent remembered that a day or two after the induction students would again assemble in their respective dining halls to be told what the rules and regulations of the Institution were. These were mainly concerned with the boundaries, conduct and general routine.

It has been explained that in each hostel companies had duties. Younger pupils, below the age of 16 years, would prepare tables before meals, serve meals and clean tables after meals. A few of them would weigh sugar for the tables while others added sugar to warm water which would be served to students during meals. Pupils between 17 and 18 years would clean windows; those between 18 and 19 would wash dishes after meals. Some, also 19 years of age, made fire in the kitchens as early as 4.30 a.m. They removed ash from the stoves and brought firewood and coal.

Some duties were done only by male students. Those who played in the Institution band cleaned bugles and drums. In both hostels there were two students whose duty was to ring the bell at the following times: for morning rising, sleeping, breakfast, lunch, manual work, evening studies and parade. Men who had come to the Institution for the Physical Training course would be meat cutters and also baked bread. They were referred to by other students as 'Amaggala', meaning old men. One respondent who was at Healdtown for seven years described the last company to be called. This consisted of all the wellbuilt men who were above the age of 22 years. It was called the GC (General Company) and it performed all rough work, such as repairing wire fences, digging trenches, felling unwanted trees or using the mower to cut the grass of the sports field. He remembered now the names in this group would be greeted with shouts of 'Awukh'umgubo', meaning that 'there was no flour'. This originated from the time during and immediately after the war when there was a scarcity of flour. The students therefore meant that the Institution had not the flour to bake enough bread and satisfy the hunger of such huge men.

During one of the interviews held for this study one respondent reported that Prefects duties started in the dormitories, which had to be kept neat. Prefects were also to see that in the Junior Block there was no smoking. At half past nine at night the last bell would be rung. After that it was their duty to see that there was no talking. At six in the morning the first bell would be rung. When the second bell was rung

at half past six all students were to get up and prepare for breakfast. At quarter to seven it was the duty of the Prefect of the Setters to see that they were on their way to the dining hall in order to prepare for breakfast. When the breakfast bell rang at five minutes to seven, it was the duty of all the Prefects to see that the dormitories in the Junior Block answered the bell and assembled at the square promptly, where Prefects would stand next to their companies or dormitory groups. Each Prefect would check that the line was straight and there was no talking. The procedure was the same in the women's hostel except that women assembled in front of their dining hall. In the square one of the Prefects would then stand on the bench under the central tree so as to be in view of everyone, and would call them to attention. All the groups would respond and he would then order them to "march off". The first group with the Prefect behind would march towards the dining hall in silence. When there was enough distance the second would be instructed to follow, until all companies had entered the dining hall. Students who occupied the Senior Block were, however, exempted from this procedure. In the women's hostel the "military" procedure was not followed.

Inside the dining halls each Prefect had to see that members took their places quietly at table and remained standing until prayers had been conducted by the Housemaster, Lady Superintendent or the Governor. Each table accommodated fourteen people with the Prefect at the head of the table. After prayers, meals would then be served. In the men's dining hall students could then converse as they were eating but in the women's dining hall there was to be perfect silence throughout the meals. During meals Prefects had to see that table manners were observed. Male students had to have their jackets on, except on very hot days when Prefects gave permission for their removal. Prefects were also to see that students who had received letters were not to read them during meals. The fear was that some news might disturb students and as a result affect their appetite. The last duty

in the dining hall was to see that no student left the hall before announcements had been made. Last, but notleast, no student was to stay away from the dining hall, even if a student did not feel like eating. The Prefects then checked that all students had left dormitories for school. In the classrooms, class Monitors then started to function.

Some respondents produced a wide and varied list of Prefects' responsibilities for behaviour outside the classrooms and dining halls. There had, for instance, to be no loud shouting, no spitting, no jumping over fences, no walking on lawns. They had to check that no one left taps running, no one dressed shabbily, no one threw litter on the premises and no one visited the toilets barefooted. They were to supervise studies also in the evenings from seven to nine. Male students studied in their classrooms while women students studied in their dining hall.

There were three official periods of manual work for students during the period under investigation: on Monday and Thursday afternoons from four to five, and on Saturday from nine to twelve noon. On these days all companies had to assemble at the square while women assembled in front of their dining hall, and then would leave for their various duties. If it was too windy or rain was imminent, they were still expected to answer the bell and assemble so that the Housemaster or Chief Prefect could officially dismiss them for that day. It was the duty of Prefects to supervise their companies when working. Women students performed duties such as scrubbing, sweeping and cleaning of windows.

There were regular meetings (called Prefects Courts) chaired by the Housemaster and the Lady Superintendent. One respondent, who was a Prefect for three years, reported that during his time these meetings were held on Thursdays at nine in the evening. He explained that before the meetings Prefects would give their respective Group Prefects an idea of the reports they would be making. At the opening of the Court, the Housemaster would start with a short prayer and the Secretary of the

Prefects would then read the Minutes of the previous meeting. After these had been accepted the Housemaster would sign them. Matters arising would be discussed, followed by the reports for the week. Prefects would take turns in reading names of students who had broken the rules and regulations during that week. There were two kinds of offences: minor offences and serious offences. Serious offences, such as sleeping out, violence on other students (e.g. wielding a knife), theft or refusal to accept punishment were referred to the Disciplinary Committee. (This will be described later in the chapter.) All minor cases, such as lateness at lines, talking after lights out, bullying, visiting the toilets barefooted, were dealt with by this Court. For every order mark given a student had loads of quarry stone which was to carry two wheelbarrow used for ground levelling and making paths. The Secretary would record all these names in a book. If there was anything that was to be drawn to the attention of the students, it was discussed and finalised. Finally, the Housemaster would pronounce the benediction and the meeting closed.

It was then the duty of each Prefect to tell the members of his dormitory about matters affecting them. On Friday before supper the Secretary would ascend the stage and, in the presence of the Housemaster, would read the names and punishments of the offenders, and would then read names of students who had been granted permission to visit Fort Beaufort or neighbouring institutions, such as Lovedale or Fort Hare, during the coming week-end.

If a student was not satisfied with his punishment he could appeal. One respondent who was a Group Prefect remembered that, in order to appeal, a certain procedure had to be followed. The student had first to report to his Prefect, who in turn would inform the Prefect who had given the order mark. The Prefect in charge of the alleged offender would give the name of his man to the Secretary of the Prefects who would record it in a special book. The student would then appear before what was called a 'Court of Appeal'. This consisted of

five Prefects who were permanent members of this Court. The Housemaster would act as a judge while his assistant prosecuted. The Prefects who had given the order marks would have to be present and the complainants would then be allowed to enter and defend themselves. If it was necessary, witnesses would be called to give evidence. Finally, the Housemaster would dismiss them while he, with the assitance of the Court members, considered evidence. On Saturday morning during breakfast the results of the Court of Appeal would be announced in the dining hall. The common results were: "You have been excused," "your marks stand," "your marks have been reduced," "your marks have been doubled." It was only if a student had been given order marking by a staff member that he could not appeal. Although this was rare, a staff member could give an order mark to a student and give the name to any Prefect.

On Saturdays in the afternoon the offenders bell would be rung to call all the offenders. The Prefects would take turns to supervise them. While others were going to play or watch sport, offenders had to carry their wheelbarrows guarry stone. If a punishment was not finished on the first Saturday, it was expected to be completed on the following Saturday. If the Institution needed a job done urgently, this was called 'stockwork' and was undertaken by all offenders for that week. In this case the number of order marks given was not taken into consideration. Stockwork was usually supervised by the Housemaster himself or his assistant. The procedure was the same in the women's hostel, except that during the later years of the period being investigated, women students did not carry wheelbarrows of quarry stone. Instead they scrubbed dormitories or dining halls, cleaned windows, swept and dusted dormitories.

It should be noted that corporal punishment has not been referred to in this section of the chapter. It was used rarely in the Institution for actions such as bullying, smoking being under age (20 years), obscene language, etc. Instead the emphasis was on "service" punishments rather than corporal punishment. Corporal punishment was, however, not used

in the women's hostel. As will be shown, expulsion would be the preferred punishment for a really serious misdemeanour.

During an interview one respondent who was a Prefect for two years remembered the Disciplinary Committee which dealt with serious misdemeanours. He reported that it consisted, in his time, of the Governor, who was the Chairman, the Housemaster, Lady Superintendents and the Principals of Training School and High School. It apparently met fairly infrequently, as the respondent recalled that it was rarely possible for its findings to be less than expulsion of the convicted student.

In the classrooms there were Monitors who were selected by the Principals of the Training School and the High School. In most cases the Principals deligated this duty to the class teachers, who decided on the number of Monitors, and their duties. Some class teachers appointed these themselves, while others were more democratic in that they allowed members of their classes to nominate and vote on those names.

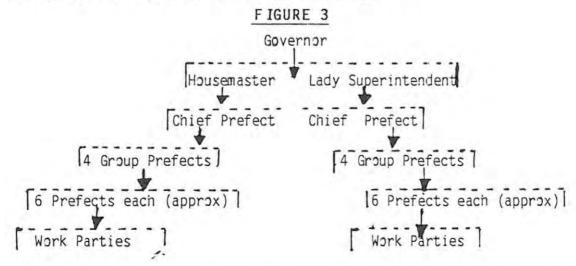
Some of their duties were to clean the chalkboard, open windows in the morning and close them after school, to take homework books to, and fetch them from, the staffroom, to see that there was no noise and moving up and down during change of periods. They reported the offenders to the classteachers who punished them by sending them to the detention class which was usually for an hour every Friday afternoon. The class teachers took turns to supervise offenders who had to do their homework or study during detention. (Prefects were confined to hostels and out of school activities.)

It is likely that the strict organisational structure by which Healdtown was run could partly be explained by the link between the Institution and its Governors and boarding, usually Public Schools in England, where in the late 19th and early 20th centuries great use was made of Prefects and wide powers were given to them. It should be remembered that several of

the British Public Schools founded in the middle and later years of the 19th century, for example, Wellington, Hailebury and Marlborough, had links with army officers' training and stressed military preparation during school years. Such schools laid stress on order and organisation.

Another factor is that during the years covered by the investigation the school was large, so a complex and apparently rigid control system might have been considered essential. Finally, the author himself remembers the frequent pleas that as Methodists, the pupils should do things "methodically". The school was attempting to inculcate a way of life in its pupils which stressed order, discipline and control. The Prefects' roles, therefore, might be seen as an outward example of this inner attitude. Some respondents' comments on this form of organisation are given later in this chapter.

Clearly, the senior administrators of Healdtown delegated authority to the Prefects, so it is possible now to show in a diagram the complete hierarchical structure as it existed throughout the period under examination.



It was considered important for two reasons to discover the extent to which the respondents exercised positions of responsibility during their time at Healdtown. Firstly, it would give an indication of the extent to which the respondents themselves showed leadership during their student days. This information was obtained from Ouestion 12 of the questionnaire.

Secondly, by comparing this information with the evidence about the respondents' contribution to their communities, it would be possible to assess the links between leadership experience in the Institution and the contribution of this role into adult life. This will be examined in a later chapter.

TABLE 3.1
POSITIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY

	Men No.	% of 99	Women No.	% of 72	Total	% of 171
No positions	31	31,3	24	33,3	55	32,2
Class Monitor	37	37,3	34	47,2	71	41,5
Prefect	40	40,4	30	41,7	70	40,9
Group Prefect	9	9,0	5	6,9	14	8,2
Chief Prefect	1	1,0	-	i e	1	0,6
Represenative of Seniors	8	8,0	5	6,9	13	7,6
TOTAL	126		98		224	
					-	

It should be noted, first of all, that 126 positions of responsibility were recorded by men and 98 positions were recorded by women. This number is greater than the number of respondents because some respondents held more than one position during their time at Healdtown. The percentages recorded in this table, therefore, cannot be totalled to make 100%. The high percentage of respondents who reached responsible positions should be noted. For instance, 2 out of 5 were Prefects and less than 1/3rd of the men and the women held no position of responsibility at all. The exact distribution of the 99 men and 72 women in the sample over positions of responsibility is reflected in the following table. In this table each respondent appears in one and only one category and so the percentages do total 100%.

TABLE 3.2
POSITIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY HELD BY RESPONDENTS

	Men No.	% of 99	Women No.	% of 72	Total	% of 171
No position of responsibility	31	31,3	24	33,3	55	32,2
Class Monitor only	20	21,2	11	15,2	32	18,7
Monitor and Prefect	12	12,1	11	27,7	32	18,7
Monitor and Group Prefect						
Monitor and Chief Prefect						
Monitor and Rep of Seniors	4	4,0	31	4,1	7	4,0
Prefect only	19	18,1	7	9,7	25	14,6
Prefect and Group Prefect	7	7,0	3	4,1	10	5,8
Prefect and Chief Prefect	1	1,0	(5)	4	1	0,6
Prefect and Rep. of Seniors	2	2,0	-	4	2	1,2
Group Prefect only	I	1,0	2	2,7	3	1,7
Group Prefect and Chief Pre- fect						
Group Prefect and Rep. of Seniors	1	1,0	12	, i	1	0,5
Chief Prefect						
Chief Prefect and Rep. of Seniors						
Rep. of Seniors	1	1,0	2	2,7	3	1,7
TOTAL	99	99,7	72	99,5	171	99,7

In any one year there would not have been more than 30 Prefects for each of the two sexes in the Institution as was shown in the earlier table in this chapter. The high percentage of the respondents selected for such positions reflects the elite

nature of the sample and is likely to affect the interpretations the respondents give to work of, and their memories of the pupil responsibilities at Healdtown.

Another point that should be noted is that the percentage of men and women who recorded that they had reached the positions of responsibility were very similar. The only exception to this is the larger percentage of the women than the men who were class Monitors. It would be seen, therefore, that both the men and the women in the sample were members of the elite group in the Institution.

In commenting on Table 3.2 it was said that some respondents occupied more than one position of responsibility. The following table differentiates between levels of authority within positions of responsibility. Table 3.3 is arranged on the asumption that the position of class Monitor was of a lower position of responsibility than the other positions analysed, and that each of the positions fits into a hierarchy of responsibility.

TABLE 3.3

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN LEVELS OF AUTHORITY WITHIN POSITIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY

		No	Men % of 99	Wom No	nen % of 72	Total	% of 171
(a)	No position SUB TOTAL	31	31,3 31,3	24 24	33,3 33,3	55 55	32,2 32,2
(b)	Class Monitor alone Class Monitor and	21	21,2	11	15,3	32	18,7
another position SUB TOTAL (c) Prefect alone	16 37	16,1 37,3	23 34	31,9 47,2	39 71	22,8 41,5	
(c)	Prefect and Monitor Prefect and a	18 12	18,2 12,1	7 20	9,7 27,8	25 32	14,6 18,7
higher position SUB TOTAL	10 40	10,1 40,4	30	4,2 41,6	13 70	7,6 40,9	
(d)	(d) Group Prefect alone Group Prefect and a lower position Group Prefect and a higher position SUB TOTAL	1	1,0	2	2,7	3	1,7
		7	7,0	3	4,1	10	5,8
		1 9	1,0	<u>-</u> 5	6,9	1 14	0,5 8,0
(e)		-	-	- 2	4	-	-
	Chief Prefect and a lower position Chief Prefect and a	1	1,0	-	150	1	0,5
	higher position	_	-	-	34, 1		
	SUB TOTAL	1	1,0	-	in nan	1	0,5
(f)	Rep. of Seniors alone Rep. of Seniors and	1	1,0	2	2,7	3	1,7
	Monitor Rep. of Seniors and any Prefect	4	4,0	3	4,1	7	4,0
	position	3	3,0		-	3	1,8
	SUB TOTAL	8	8,0	5	6,9	13	7,5
	TOTAL	126	-	98	-	224	

It can be seen that 37% of the men reported that they had been class Monitors, but nearly half of them filled that position and another higher position during their time at Healdtown. The likelihood of a Prefect holding another position of authority during school days was even greater: more than half of the men fell into this category. Only one-third of the women who held positions of authority held one such position only. The rest held two or more. In fact, the like-

lihood of multiple position-holding seems greater amongst the women than it does among the men. This becomes clear when sections 3(b) and (c) are examined. Capacity for leadership often appears at many different levels but the elite quality of the sample in this thesis appears particularly clear in this table.

Prefects seemed (at least in retrospect) to have enjoyed their duties. In many cases they were respected by fellow students.

No respondent reported any open confrontation between students and Prefects. Prefects themselves seemed to respect one another.

A respondent who was a Chief Prefect suggested that there were both good times and bad times in this system. He reported that the most difficult times were during unrest periods, such as strikes. (Other respondents' memories of the effect of these periods are described in chapter nine. In this section the emphasis is upon the actions of the Prefects themselves). The respondents explained that the unrest periods they remembered were in 1936, 1939, 1946, 1952, 1953 and 1954. They said these were, as far as they could remember, a result of diet or spontaneous clashes between students from Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage on the one hand, and those from Transkei, on the other.

One respondent had retained a set of notes he had made when, as a Prefect, he attended a Prefects' Assembly in October 1953. The Assembly had considered a series of complaints or demands made by junior students. These covered "military discipline" at lines, "strenuous manual work", smoking rules, poor food, visiting rules in the girls' hostel, standing in the dining hall during prayers and the ways in which students could be expelled. After each complaint the Prefects' response was indicated. These notes are reproduced in Appendix 5. The attitude of the Prefects, that students are expected to make the best of the opportunities afforded by Healdtown, is clearly shown in one part of the notes: "Best thing to do - stay up to the end of the year and not come back to Healdtown.

Students forget to mention good things done for them by the Institution and only mention bad points." No student seemed to remember any unrest period that started in the girls' hostel during the period being investigated. One of the respondents reported that it was the junior boys (Form Ones and Form Twos) who seemed to make things difficult for the Prefects. He remembered the days they went to sleep as late as midnight after trying to appeal to the juniors not to resort to violence, (in one case, a threat of arson). He also remembered long meetings held with the authorities in an attempt to normalise an unrest situation. Another respondent remembered how they once spent almost the whole night appealing to students not to manhandle the Housemaster during one of the unrest periods.

Four respondents' reports give an idea of how bad it was at Healdtown during the unrest periods: "Kwakubanzima ngathi inkwenkwe iseSuthwini." Meaning, "It was so difficult as if a boy was in the initiation school." (This originated from the fact that a boy in the initiation school experiences physical suffering during that period). The second reported, "Ngexesha lonxunguphalo wawuthi ulele umcinge umzali wakho ekude neNxukhwebe." Meaning, "During unrest periods one used to think of one's parents who were far from Healdtown." The third claimed to have remembered "...theirs was not to reason why but to do and die..." (The Charge of the Light Brigade). The origin is that during unrest periods, there was no turning back, the Prefects were the people who had to face the trouble makers and always had to help the authorities in normalising the situation. The difficult thing was that while authorities slept safely at their homes, the Prefects had to sleep with the same people they did not side with. They had at times to bear with embarrassing remarks and negative insinuations directed at them. For example, "There comes that bunch of sell outs." Meaning "collaborators". The fourth gave the following report:

This respondent, who was over 70 years of age, explained in an oral interview, that he could remember the title of the poem but had forgotten the author.

"Ububaphakathi kwenyama nozipho ngoba kwelinye icala kufuneka ukuba uthethe ulwimi olunye neeAuthorities, kwelinye abafundi bakujonge nje ngomngcatshi. Enye into ebibanzima yeyokuba xa sirana ukuba kuzakwenzeka into, bekufuneka siye kwiiAuthorities sixele. Ndikhumbula mhla sathi sakurana saxelela uGovernor u...emi phantsi kwalaa mthi ungaseGeneral Office. Wathi xa ephendula Wasebenzisa igama esingazange silive ngaphambili.":

"Do you mean we must be on the quivive?" Meaning your life as a Prefect was at stake because on the one hand Prefects had to share the same views as the authorities while on the other they were viewed as traitors or collaborators by the student body since they (the Prefects) did not side with them. Another difficult thing was that whenever we suspected that something bad might take place, we had to tip the authorities. I remember the day when we suspected that something bad might happen. When we drew the attention of Governor... who was standing under that tree which is near the General Office, in his response he used a word we had never heard before, "Do you mean we must be on the quivive?"

The other respondents who were not Prefects reported as follows: "Ndandiye ndibavele usizi abethu abaziprefects ngexesha lonxunguphalo. Ndithi xa ndilala ndibathandazele ndicela ukuba uThixo abasindise kwizikrelemnqa ezazifunza eweni." Meaning, "I used to feel sorry for those of us who were Prefects during unrest periods. When I went to bed I used to pray for them and ask God to save them from unmerciful terrorists." The second reported, "Bendiye ndive kakubi xa kusezintlanganisweni, iiprefects zizama ukunqanda ukuba kuyo yonke into makungatshiswa isinala. Ngelo xesha ke iijuniors azifuni nokuva zifuna into ebilapha. Phakathi kwaloo ngxolo yemob ziqine iiprefects zingajiki kwisigqibo sazo. Bekuba lusizi xa ubona ukuba kwezinye akungeni nokutýa ngenxa yemeko ezaziphantsi kwayo. Ndaqonda ngoko ukuba inkokheli akufuneki ukuba ibe libhetyebhetye." Meaning, "I used to feel sorry for Prefects when

they had meetings with the strikers. The Prefects would try to prevent violence (arson). In the midst of noise from unruly juniors they used to be firm and abide by their decision. It was a sorry sight to notice that some of them (Prefects) seemed not to have appetite because of the circumstances they had to cope with. It was then that I realised that a leader must have a backbone." Another respondent reported that politics outside the Institution seemed to be influencing students during the later years of the period being investigated. For instance, one Sunday morning in 1952 at the parade, almost all male students refused to sing God Save the King (the English National Anthem). They all joined in the singing of Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika (God Bless Africa) (Xhosa National Anthem). Normally both anthems were sung at the parade and on other occasions at Healdtown. That incident apparently worried the authorities because that evening the Prefects were called to a special meeting with the authorities and some teaching staff members. He remembered how, after a lengthy discussion, one of the white feachers exclaimed, "I sympathise with the boys because I imagine myself having to sing every Sunday morning requesting God to give strength and health to somebody to rule over me for ever and ever." He seemed to be of the opinion that that remark might have influenced the authorities to substitute for the English National Anthem one of the songs in the Methodist English hymnary. God Save the King was never again sung at Healdtown during the last days of the period under investigation.

Another respondent remembered the day all Prefects refused to undertake their duties. This developed from the inexperience of the new Housemaster who had refused to accept advice given to him by the Prefects. The seriousness of the situation culminated in the decision by the Methodist Conference that he should resign his post and leave the Institution within three days. This respondent emphasized that he never forgot the words of the Housemaster as he and his fellow Group Prefects were

helping him pack: "Even you...I had thought the students would walk over your dead bodies to me..."

The majority of respondents who were in these positions of responsibility seemed to agree that unrest periods were challenging times to them because then their sincerity and diligence were being tested. They all seemed to agree, however, that there were also good times in the system. The happiest moment, according to one respondent, was at the end of the year, when the Prefects' Social was held. On this particular evening Prefects from the women's hostel with the Lady Superintendents would march to the boys' dining hall, where they joined the male Prefects, members of staff and their families. The Governor, who had inducted them, delivered the main address, after which he presented first-year Prefects with Methodist Church Xhosa hymn books, and second-year or more Prefects were presented with English Bibles. Some respondents recalled that the rest of the students also enjoyed that evening because no one was given order marks as all Prefects were occupied in the social.

Almost all those who were Prefects at Healdtown claimed that their experience helped them by giving them practice in holding positions of responsibility in later life. Even those students who were class Monitors were thankful for the opportunity.

One respondent who was a Prefect for two years said, "In later life this made me not to sacrifice the truth for popularity." Another, who was a Prefect for one year claimed, "Healdtown taught me in this regard to give instructions and to make sure they are carried out." One, who was a Group Prefect for three years, said, "Today I am holding a responsible position. I acquit myself fairly well and confidently because I know what is expected from me by my superiors."

One of the respondents emphasized that even handling unrest periods taught them something: "Today, as a school Principal, I sometimes experience unrest periods (riots, class boycotts, stay-aways, misunderstanding among certain staff members) but I always keep a cool head, size up the situation and make decisions. This, I attribute to the practice I got at Healdtown as a Group Prefect."

One of the respondents who had left Healdtown after five years without having held any position of responsibility reported on the good influence of Prefects upon the rest of the student body:

"That is why we are not a problem to our superiors because we are used to work under other people. We are not rolling stones just because we do not want to take instructions from other people. We were trained to work under others and take instructions in good spirit. This we learnt from the Prefect system at Healdtown."

Another explained that through the Prefects' system they learnt "to stay and work well with others." All respondents seemed to agree that the Prefect system was a very effective organ in maintaining discipline. They claimed that if it were not for the Prefect system probably Healdtown would not have been the success it was by 1955.

During an interview one respondent reported that the Prefects were supported to a large extent by students associations in maintaining discipline in the Institution and at home during holidays. He said these associations were based on home districts. For instance, students from Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Grahamstown, Alexandria, Alicedale, Port Alfred, had an association called Zonophone. Those from East London, King William's Town, Peddie, Middledrift, Debe Nek, Keiskammanoek, named theirs Border. Cradock, Somerset East, Graaff Reinet, Fort Beaufort, named theirs Midlands, Transkei was for those from the various districts in the Transkeian territory. The name given to the association of students from Healdtown area was Swallows, while those from Queenstown, Tarkastad, Burgersdorp, Aliwal North, Dordrecht, belonged to the North Eastern Districts. He remembered that students met at places called 'Ezipotini' (meaning 'at the spots) in the neighbourhood of the Institution. Once a month, usually the last Sunday, members of the women students associations joined their counterparts for an hour or two. The Housemaster and the Lady Superintendents jointly drew a programme for the combined meetings of the associations. Beyond that no staff member had anything to do with them. The students elected their own office bearers and drew up their own agendas. If a student was either constantly neglecting his work in class or punished regularly in the hostel, other students drew the attention of the Chairman of the association to which that particular student belonged, and the matter was raised at their next meeting. In most cases the student would reform. If a student misbehaved either at home during the holidays or on the way to the Institution or from the Institution, the same procedure was followed. Sometimes if a student had committed an offence which could lead to expulsion, the Housemaster referred him or her to his or her association and informed the Chairman that next time he or she would be taken to the Disciplinary Committee. Another important function of these associations was to liaise with the éx-students of Healdtown with a view to arrange for a concert during the holidays. It was in these concerts that a report was given by the students to the exstudents. It must be stated, however, that there is no proof that this last function was practised by all associations, but there is enough evidence that it was implemented by the Zonophone association. One last thing to be understood is that all meetings at Healdtown and concerts at home were run through the medium of English.

The respondents who were interviewed had varied comments on these associations. One reported as follows:

"I am today a head of a school. When I hold staff meetings I know how to run them."

Another who spent five years at Healdtown, commented that

"They taught me the procedure and helped me in keeping time."

"Associations meetings", said another, "taught me to respect other peoples' opinions even if they clash—with mine." All respondents interviewed agreed that the association meetings were not only an additional organ of maintaining discipline, but also a very strong factor that bound the students together and made them meet high standards.

One respondent gave an extended account (during an oral interview) of how the rivalries between the associations came more into the open during the unrest periods of 1952 and 1953. At these times, the "Port Elizabeth" and the "Transkei" groups seemed to despise and look down upon each other. The former group, for instance, would usually refer to the latter group as "izikapi" (sheep) from an Afrikaans word 'Skape', insinuating that they were 'stupid'. On the other hand, the latter group would sarcastically refer to the former group as 'ookleva' (bright ones), when in actual fact they were not necessarily so. It was probably this attitude, he claimed, which prevented the majority of grievances being taken

seriously by the authorities, since at no stage did all students speak with one voice. This prevented the strikers from presenting their case as a united front, and so they rarely achieved any positive results. He cited two examples to support his view. When, for instance, it was decided to boycott the military procedure (marching to the dining hall), the majority of those of the "Port Elizabeth" group would stand in front of the Junior Block and shout and jeer at some of those of the "Transkei" group as they were taking their usual positions at the square. It was common to hear remarks such as "Khangelani ezi zikapi" (just look at these 'skape' (sheep)), while the other group would respond. "Siyekeni siziqhubele ngokubona kwethu, kaloku asinakuba kleva sonke" (leave us alone to do as we see, by the way we cannot all be 'clever'.). In the dining hall some of those in the one group would be quiet and not sing during prayers, while some of the others would. "Yithani cwaka zinyhwagi" (shut up porcupines). Porcupines was a word used by African National Congress at the time, for those who did not co-operate. The latter group would respond again, "Siyekeni sicule asizange size nani apha eNxukhwebe." (leave us alone, allow us to sing, we did not come with you to Fealdtown.).

These geographical rivalries were also, in this respondent's memory, linked to rival external adult political organisations. He reported that during his time three political organisations were popular among students: African National Congress, Pan African Congress and All African Convention. He remembered that students from towns, especially Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, were supporters of African National Congress (especially in 1952), while those from the rural areas (especially Transkei), supported Pan Africanist Congress and All African Convention. It was a common thing to find groups of students arguing about these organisations, each group trying to show how good its organisation was in comparison with the others. (The author, himself, for instance, remembers how during one such argument, he heard a supporter of the

African National Congress saying to a supporter of the All African Convention, "you will never pass Matric as long as you reason this way, because people who reason the way you do cannot pass Matric."). It can be seen that such interchanges often reflected more of adolescent contempt than of a genuine understanding of political differences.).

At times, however, students at Healdtown came more directly under the influence of outside forces. The same respondent (himself from Uitenhage) recalls his experiences, first as a senior student, and then as a Prefect, of the 1952 and 1953 period when students from Fort Hare University College often visited Healdtown during week-ends. Amongst other things, they used these opportunities to propagate the ideologies of these rival political organisations. He reported that in an attempt to protect the young students from Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage from these ideas. Prefects and senior students from these two towns often held meetings in order to warn their juniors against involving themselves. He has no knowledge, however, of whether similar pressures and similar responses occurred amongst the women students. (The author, who at this time was fifteen years of age, remembers how, at such meetings, a senior often said: "iingqondo zenu azikabikho kumgangatho wokuphulaphula izimvo zale mibutho, kuba zakuniphazamisa niphoswe yile nto niyizeleyo. Ndinicebisa ukuba okwangoku, jongani imfundo le niyizeleyo, nithi nakuphuma apha ningangena ke nakowuphi kule mibutho." (You are still immature to listen to ideologies of these organisations, because they will disturb you and as a result you will miss what you have come here for. I advise you to concentrate on education which you have come for at the moment. After you have completed your studies them you may join any of these organisations.). The concern, at this time, to maintain, undisturbed study purposes of Healdtown was clearly an important issue for, at least, students who had been given positions of responsibility. It must also be noted, however, that the respondent himself was of a conservative disposition. This will be clearer when his final comments are quoted in a later chapter on memories of Healdtown.

The impression given in this chapter might seem to reflect strong control, order and discipline, even though this was not particularly resented by the respondents. It would be wrong to suggest, however, such control was the main feature of Healdtown life. Many of the students' free hours were spent in organised extra-curricular activities. These will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

CULTURAL, SPORTING AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES OF THE RESPONDENTS

The previous chapter has examined the ways in which, and the extent to which, the respondents took leadership roles in the Healdtown community. From the questionnaire it was also possible to assess their contributions to the fairly wide range of cultural, sporting and religious activities provided at Healdtown. These three kinds of activities will be examined separately and in this order.

All boarding institutions have potential for providing many extra-curricular activities with active membership, as students have time to attend and take part. Healdtown, during the years covered by this investigation, was no exception because it believed that for a complete healthy being, the mind, the body and the spirit had to be equally developed. It will be seen that the respondents were very active in this aspect of Healdtown life, as students were encouraged to take part in activities which would enrich their culture. One of the most important cultural activities was the choir.

One ex-pupil who was a member of the Institution choir for four years recalled the intensive rehearsals before it was in good shape. Every Tuesday morning, during his years at Healdtown, there was mass singing in the mens' dining hall for two periods. This was the time when teachers who had a good ear for music could select promising pupils. On Friday mornings pupil-teachers would also assemble in the dining hall for the same purpose. Once a number of students had been assembled the conductor and the pianist would be responsible for choosing the number of voices needed for the choir. Girls were not to be younger than eighteen years of age, while boys had to be

twenty years or over. He explained that no matter how good students were at singing, they could not be choir members if they did not meet these age requirements.

Staff members from the whole Institution who had helped in the selection of voices were invited to give help in the training of the Institution choir. Eventually outsiders with choral experience would be invited to attend some practices and their criticisms and suggestions were considered. One of the key people in this regard was the music master from St. Matthews College near Keiskammanoek, which was reasonably close to Healdtown. Then came the first rehearsal before the Healdtowners. The respondent recalled the scene in considerable detail. Boys and girls who were in the choir would assemble in the boys' dining hall and staff members and their families were invited to attend. Along the left hand side of the dining hall staff members and their families would sit. The choir on the stage was dressed in Sunday uniform: boys would put on grey trousers, white shirts, ties and black blazers with maroon and gold eagle badge attached. Girls would have black skirts and white blouses. All choristers put on black shoes. The Governor would then make a few opening remarks and immediately the conductor would take out his baton and face the choir. He recalled that there was not a sound in the dining hall. If the audience was satisfied with the performance, preparations would be made for the first outing.

The first place visited was usually Fort Beaufort, where the performance would be in the town hall. Alice, which was also reasonably near Healdtown, was often the second centre. After those two visits, the choir would travel to more distant places such as Grahamstown, East London and Port Elizabeth. Another ex-member of the choir recalled that in one year a male solo singer so impressed a visitor from England that he gained a scholarship to further his studies. From these concerts profits were donated to charity organisations, as the aim was to arouse the interest of students and also develop their talents in music, not to make money.

The second cultural activity was the debating society. This was organised by the language teachers in the schools. The Xhosa teachers would alternate with English teachers in running debates. Topics were chosen by teachers. In English popular topics were 'country life versus town life', or 'whether girls should be educated separately from boys', or 'whether girls should receive the same education as boys'. Although a number of respondents reported that they enjoyed debates, these meetings were apparently confined to the Institution because no one reported debates being held with other institutions.

The third type of cultural activity was the discussion group. One respondent who spent nine years at Healdtown and was a member of the discussion group for four years explained that it was not the same as the debating society. The discussion group was confined to senior students only. There were, during his time, two meetings a month. Like the debating society there was a staff member who was a permanent member of this cultural society. He would select a topic and ask one of the members to introduce it. It was then open for discussion. At the end of the discussion, he would summarise and a new topic was chosen for the next meeting. He reported that at times a staff member in the Institution would be given a topic and then invited to lead the discussion on it. The respondent suggested that the discussion group meetings were popular because interesting topics were often chosen. He remembered some: 'what is education?', 'what is truth?', 'was Judas Iscariot justified in betraying Jesus Christ?', 'are Africans the true citizens of South Africa?' 'is history a science or an art?', 'what qualities must one look for in a marriage partner?', 'is it, a blessing or a curse to have children?' Unlike the debating society's meetings, the discussion group meetings were held only in English.

The fourth cultural activity was the entertainment committee with a staff member at the head whose main duty was to advise the students. Both the men and the women students served on it. A respondent who served on this committee for four years explained that its main function was to draw up the programme

for the two long week-ends. The students were present at Healdtown for two terms: from late January to June and from late July to the end of November. To keep them occupied during two short breaks (the Easter week-end and in the middle of September) the Institution arranged what was called long weekends. These long week-ends were too short to enable students living a long distance away to return home. Those who lived in the immediate vicinity were allowed to go home, but many respondents commented that the organised activities were so popular that very few of the local students were prepared to leave Healdtown. A respondent who also served on this committee for three years gave further details. She explained that long before the week-ends, students would form music groups ranging from two or four to six "ii co" (short form of companies) and choirs to prepare choral pieces, while some prepared dramatic sketches. Approximately two weeks before long week-ends the entertainment committee auditioned all the pieces and decided which were good enough to be presented, and eventually published a list of the ones that had been selected.

The normal Easter week-end would start with the first concert on the Thursday evening. On the following day the students would attend the Good Friday services in the morning and afternoon. That evening there would be a religious film. On Saturday morning it would be working parties as usual. On the Saturday afternoon there would be a rugby match, sometimes between High School and Training School. In most cases this match would be between newcomers and older students. The reason was that this match acted as part of the trials for the rugby season. Girls would be invited to come and watch this "battle". As the girls appeared in groups of threes, or fours, from their hostel to the rugby field, one would hear the loud shouts and yells from some of the boys in the Junior block, "Uzile, walamba mntu wenye indawo." This meant implying that those boys who had no the girls have come, girls friends were going to have a bad time. On Saturday evening there was the second concert. In this concert some would dress as Indians; some would imitate the Cape "Coon Carnivals", while others imitated dragoons. This concert was

known as a fancy-dress show. The Sunday lunch was a special one because some boys were invited to the girls' hostel and some girls joined the boys in their dining hall. After lunch visits from one hostel to another were continued. During these visits, which were called 'general survey', preparation of beds and neatness of dormitories in both hostels was a great attraction. (The author, who was still very young and unable to prepare his bed properly, remembers how, during one of these visits, he was laughed at by his dormitory mates after one girl had remarked, as she was looking at his bed. "Le ifana ngwa nengcwaba", meaning "This one looks exactly like a grave." On Sunday evening the church service would be attended as in the morning. On the Easter Monday morning there would be outdoor games on the sportsfield. In the afternoon there would be a programme of indoor games arranged in the hostels themselves. The week-end would finish with a film show on the Monday evening. Staff were encouraged to attend all these activities. A similar programme was followed in the middle of September, except that on the Monday a picnic would be held on a nearby hill, called Mount Mauxin, which was approximately eight kilometres from the Institution, and would end late in the afternoon as all the students. Housemaster and the two Lady Superintendents walked slowly home. In Appendix 6 a short account of a Form IV student's reaction to a long week-end in 1951 is reproduced from the Eagle, Healdtown's magazine.

The school magazine (Eagle) was another cultural activity which was claimed to be popular. Written articles were invited from all students. These were to be confined to life at the Institution. The articles ranged from short stories and poetry to jokes, and were edited by staff. At the end of the year those selected would appear in the magazine and all students would be supplied with copies. No respondent gave any details about its compilation. It could therefore be inferred that students were not involved in it other than contributing articles. This was probably the case throughout the period under review.

The next cultural activity was Boy Scouts and Girl Guide troops with staff members at the head. The author remembers that during his time it was Mr Noble, whose nickname was "Mafan' avele", which meant "just appear from the blue". In the girls' hostel the Lady Superintendents were guide leaders. One of the respondents recalled that during his time, older men (over twenty years of age) were grouped together in a rover unit (following the common pattern of scouting organisation), but does not recall any great differences in their activities. They followed the usual programme for scout troops throughout the world.

It is now possible to analyse the respondents' membership of these societies and participation in their activities. The details were provided from answers to Question 13. The large number of leadership positions among the respondents has already been noted. A similar high level of activity can be found in their society membership. In the following analysis the same approach will be made as was done with the positions of responsibility: six aspects of cultural activities have been described and Table 4.1 reflects the membership by the respondents of the societies. It can be seen that 99 men supplied 127 memberships of the societies and 72 women suppplied 106 memberships. In other words, there is a considerable number of multiple memberships. It can be seen that only 20 men and 9 women had no membership. In the table, the percentage columns refer to the total numbers of respondents, and not to the number of memberships. It is not possible, therefore, to total these.

TABLE 4.1

MULTIPLE MEMBERSHIP OF CULTURAL SOCIETIES

	Men		W	omen		
	<u>No</u> .	% of 99	<u>No</u> .	% of 72	<u>Total</u>	% of 171
No membership	20	20,2	9	12,5	29	16,9
Choristers	44	44,4	45	62,5	89	52,0
Debating	33	33,3	26	36,1	59	34,5
Discussion	19	19,2	6	8,3	25	14,6
Entertainment	12	12,1	8	11,1	20	11,7
Magazine	I	1 .	-	-	1	0,5
Boy Scouts/ Girl Guides	18	18,2	24	33,3	42	24,5
TOTAL	147		118		265	

By examining the table it can be seen that proportionally the women outnumbered the men in membership of the choir, debating society and Boy Scouts/Girl Guides organisations. The very high membership, from both the men and the women in the choir is noticeable, as is the fact that a considerably higher percentage of men than that of women had no membership of any society.

Table 4.2 presents a further analysis of membership of societies. In this table the correct total of respondents and the society membership is given. It can immediately be seen that the greater overlap with other societies comes with membership of the choir and the debating society.

TABLE 4.2

INDIVIDUAL RESPONDENTS' MEMBERSHIP IN SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

	Men	Women	Total	%
No school activities	20	9	29	16,9
Institution choir alone	14	9	23	13,5
Choir and debating	15	22	37	21,6
Choir and discussion	6	2	8	4,6
Choir and entertainment	6	5	11	6,4
Choir and scouts/guides	3	7	10	5,8
Debating alone	2	1	3	1,8
Debating and discussion	11	1	12	7,0
Debating and entertainment	2	1	3	1,7
Debating and magazine	1	-	1	0,6
Debating and scouts/guides	2	1	3	1,7
Discussion alone	-	1	1	0,6
Discussion and entertainment	1	@ JI	1	0,6
Discussion and scouts/guides	1	2	3	1,7
Entertainment alone	3		3	1,7
Entertainment and scouts/ guides	_	2	2	1,2
Boy scouts/Girl guides	12	9	21	12,2
TOTAL	99	72	171	99,6

The previous tables have shown the high level of involvement of the respondents in cultural activities. It is not, therefore, surprising that the vast majority would have found considerable satisfaction from this membership. Question 14 in the questionnaire asked whether these activities made a respondent a better person after leaving Healdtown. Table 4.3 analyses the responses.

TABLE 4.3

DID SCHOOL ACTIVITIES AT HEALDTOWN MAKE YOU A BETTER

PERSON IN ADULT LIFE?

	Men	Women	Total	<u>%</u>
Yes	76	60	136	79,5
No	8	-	8	4,7
Do not know	4	1	5	2,9
No response	-11	11	22	12,9
TOTAL	99	72	171	100,00
			-	

This table shows that the majority of the respondents claimed that the cultural activities at Healdtown had a profound impact on their lives after leaving the Institution. Question I5 asked the respondents to comment briefly on their views.

There were many respondents who commented. There will, however, be ten selected for citation. The first reported that, "The Institution choir motivated me to join choirs. I am in charge of a hospital choir. On Sundays I am in charge of the church choir, while during Thursday evenings I sing in the interdenominational choir. This love for music was unearthed and developed at Healdtown."

The second reply, also from an ex-chorister, reported that, "The Institution choir developed in me love for music. I was in charge of the church choir at Shawbury Institution where I taught from 1967 to 1984. I am also in charge of the church choir where I am and in addition I conduct my school choir. All this contribution resulted from Healdtown."

One of those who were in the debating society said, "This society taught me to respect another person's point of view. This is due to the coaching I got during my student days at Healdtown." The fourth reported as follows: "I can speak in any gathering with confidence. I have always been prominent and a success. I was, for instance, once a President of the

womens' section of a teachers association. I was also a delegate to WCOTP (the biggest World Council of Professionals) in Nigeria in 1977. I am YWCA President and a pre-school chairperson. I owe all this to the debating society and discussion group which gave me the necessary training in public speaking."

The fifth respondent, who was in the discussion group, said, "It was my ability to discuss that earned me a position in the community council. This I owe to Healdtown where I learnt the skills and gained confidence in myself." The sixth was also in the discussion group and said, "It was my ability to discuss that made me the chairperson of South African Nursing Association branch."

The seventh respondent was in the entertainment committee and said: "I have always been in the entertainment committee in hospitals and in the community where I stay." The eighth was a Boy Scout. He reported as follows: "Boy Scouts taught me leadership, neatness and love for anything that has life."

The ninth was a Girl Guide. She said, "If I were to dictate to the Department of Education and Training I would instruct them to introduce it in all schools because as a movement it makes a girl a complete being."

The last respondent reported as follows about the Eagle: "I am a playwright and a novelist today. I get a lot of money as a result. This is due to the articles I used to contribute to the Eagle magazine. Even now I can show you my own copies of the Eagle in which my articles appear. This is due to the Eagle." It will be remembered that the organisation and the editing of this magazine seemed to have been in the hands of the staff. This respondent's memories seem to confirm this, as she talks only of submitting contributions, not editing them.

Healdtown, in addition to cultural activities, offered a variety of sporting activities for both sexes. Boys played soccer, rugby and cricket. Girls played netball and tenniquoits. Both sexes also played tennis and softball and took part in

athletics. One of the respondents interviewed orally on sporting activities at Healdtown reported that during his time, rugby and soccer and cricket and tennis went together. Softball was played mainly by girls.

Another ex-student who was at Healdtown for seven years recalled that sport was partly in the hands of staff. For example, the equipment for the various games was provided by the Institution from money included in the school fees; staff members were responsible for coaching all the games; they arranged fixture matches on the usual home and away basis and also handled matches played at home. The players, on the other hand, elected their captains and committee members who, together with the coaches, selected teams to represent the Institution.

The athletics season ran from January to March. A respondent recalled that the students in both hostels were divided into four houses named after former Governors of Healdtown: Ayliff, Chubb, Hornabrook and Watkinson. During the first quarter of the year inter-house athletic sports would be held. From these performances a Healdtown athletics team was selected for the Inter-Institutional Athletics Sports Meeting in March. In the dining halls the athletes would occupy separate tables where special food was served. After the athletics sports, trials would start for the rugby and winter sports season.

As in cultural activities, which have already been described, some students did not take part in any sport, as will be clear from the following tables. The distribution of the respondents' interests over the six sporting activities is shown in Table 4.4

TABLE 4.4
MENS' SPORTING ACTIVITIES

<u>Sport</u>	Number	Percentage
No sport	4	2,3
Soccer	24	14,4
Cricket	21	12,6
Rugby	65	38,9
Softball	8	4,8
Athletics	25	15,0
Tennis	20	12,0
TOTAL	167	100,0

It is clear from this table that most of the men respondents took part in sport, and only 4 (2,3%) of them recorded no activities. It has been suggested that the respondents in this study formed part of the elite of the Institution. It is commonly found that elites take part in a large number of diverse activities. It is also noticeable that rugby was the most popular sport among boys (65 - 38,9%), while the percentage of students playing the other games was more or less equal, ranging from 12% to 15%. The unequal distribution over sporting activities is also found among women respondents, as can be seen in Table 4.5.

TABLE 4.5
WOMENS' SPORTING ACTIVITIES

Sport	Nu	umber	Percentage
No sport		7	6,3
Netball		42	37,8
Softball		22	19,8
Athletics		18	16,2
Tennis		17	15,3
Tenniquoits		5	4,5
TOTAL		111	99,9
		(——)	-

This table shows that among the women respondents, netball was the most popular (42 - 37,8%), while softball, athletics and tennis were played by between 15% and 19% of the girls. Tenniquoits clearly had a very small following. The same elite nature of the respondents has again been revealed as only 7 (6,3%) did not take part in sport.

It was to be expected that some students played more than one sport, as is shown in the following Table 4.6.

TABLE 4.6
MULTIPLE SPORTS MEMBERSHIP

Sport	Men		Wom	en	Tota	1
	No.	<u>%</u>	No.	<u>%</u>	No.	<u>%</u>
No sport	4	4,0	7	9,7	11	6,4
One sport	25	25,2	26	36,1	51	29,8
Multiple sports	70	70,7	39	54,2	109	63,7
TOTAL	99	99,9	72	100,0	171	99,9
	_					

It is clear that if a student was involved in sport, he took part in a number of activities. Those who took part in only one sport are comparatively few (one quarter of the men and one third of the women). The men were more likely to take part in several sports than were the women (70% as compared to 54%). One of the respondents orally interviewed reported that many students enjoyed playing in all games. He remembers matches being arranged between Healdtown and neighbouring institutions such as Lovedale, Fort Cox, St Matthews College and Fort Hare University College. He remembered that, because Fort Hare used to have a very strong side, teachers at Healdtown were allowed on to the teams for those matches. Sometimes matches between Healdtown and Fort Hare University College were so rough that press reports often highlighted this. He remembered, for instance, when in one year Fort Hare came to play Healdtown and Healdtown, after lagging behind for the greater part of the match, came back strongly towards the closing stages. This final effort eventually made Healdtown

take the lead. He remembered how each time the Fort Hare pack was being pushed backwards there were loud shouts from Healdtown students: "Awukh'umgubo, awukh'umgubo", meaning "there is no flour, there is no flour". (The implication of this was explained earlier in the thesis). He recalled how, for a few minutes before the final whistle, the match nearly developed into a free-for-all. Again loud shouts came from the stands: "Trample them boys there are no BA's in rugby." He claimed to remember the article from an Imvo newspaper of the following week criticizing Healdtown supporters for unsporting behaviour during that particular match. Sometimes matches were played against teams from Port Elizabeth, East London, Grahamstown, Cradock and Adelaide. One respondent recalled that on two occasions during his period at Healdtown (once in Port Elizabeth and once at Uitenhage), students had arranged to play matches without the knowledge of the authorities. On both occasions the Healdtown teams were not allowed to attend. Another respondent recalled that if a student's performance was skilled enough to be selected for a provincial side or tournament, written permission for leaving Healdtown had to be given by that student's parents. The strong centralised control over sport can be clearly seen from these memories.

Many respondents recalled their enjoyment of these sporting activities, whether they were spectators or participants. Even if an away match was scheduled, some Healdtown supporters accompanied their teams, provided they made a contribution towards transport costs. Some respondents recalled the shouting from the stands. During a cricket match, for instance, if the home batsman hit the ball to the boundary, the spectators would shout, "Hlała akuyazi ingalo yakho?", meaning, "Do not attempt to run, don't you know the strength of your arm?" If he hit a six almost all the supporters in the stand would be on their feet and shout, "eAustralia kwedini", meaning "At Australia boy". The implication was that that particular batsman had played like Australians. This originated from the students' belief that the Australians were the best cricketers in the world. The same thing happened during soccer matches.

If one of the opponents, for instance, kicked the ball over the goal posts, spectators would yell, "Zathotywa", meaning that the goal posts had been lowered. If the ball just missed the entrance they would shout, "Zasuswa apho", meaning "the goal posts must have been shifted". If an opponent missed the ball almost the whole stand would shout excitedly, "Wayiphos'iAfrika ibotshelelwe", meaning, "You missed the continent of Africa tied to a string". During athletics the spectators would clap their hands slowly at those who lagged behind in a long distance race, saying, "Nyamezela Fort Cox", meaning, "persevere Fort Cox". Fort Cox athletes had a reputation at the time of arriving last at the tape during long distance races. One respondent recalled how, during high jump events, as one of the Healdtown jumpers moved slowly towards the crossbar, a student from the spectators would shout, "Yichwechwele de la Chi", meaning, "creep towards it chisana" (chisana was a clan name of this particular jumper). Another respondent reported that during rugby matches the stands were usually filled to capacity. He remembered the scene in detail, especially when Healdtown played their rivals Lovedale at home. A match between these institutions was regarded as a test match. He recalled how a few minutes before Healdtown and Lovedale second teams finished playing a loud shout from one of the spectators would be heard, "Wakhuphe Referee sibone abhetele", meaning, "finish that match referee so that we may see better ones". The implication was that second teams were mere curtain raisers. He also remembered how at that time the majority of the supporters of the Healdtown team would surround their team as it was warming up, singing songs to give their team courage. Some of the songs were interpreting the political situation of the time. After the Nationalist Party had won the elections in 1948, for instance, the popular song was, "uDoctor Malan unemitheth' wenzima", which meant, "Doctor Malan (the Prime Minister) has difficult laws". After many people had lost their lives during unrest periods in the early fifties, the popular song was, "ingcwaba le ndoda lisecaleni kwendlela asazi apho sofela khona", meaning, "a man's grave is next to the road,

we do not know where we shall die". He recalled how, at the height of excitement, several intermittent yells from the spectators would be heard, "Wafake Referee angade oyikane", meaning, "let the two teams start Referee before they become afraid of each other". Another yell would come, "Watsale Sbonda", meaning, "lead them onto the field Sbonda". (Sbonda was a nickname of the Healdtown captain at the time). He also remembered the struggle and hard tackling on the field of play. He claimed to remember shouts from the Healdtown supporters, "ivili Sbonda, khawubethe ibenye ivili bazokuqonda apho bakhona", meaning, "wheel Sbonda, use the wheel to one of them so that they know where they are". This 'wheel' was a high and a very hard type of tackle at which, apparently Sbonda (their captain) was good. He also seemed to remember the match in which he (the respondent) was playing during which Sbonda, after having tackled hard the opposing captain, a smell of blood was 'all over' the field. He claimed to remember the words of the opposing captain as he was making a reply in the dining hall after the match, "Rugby is a hard game. It is a game of men." He also remembered how it was when the Healdtown team had been beaten at home. He said there was usually a feeling of dispondency and despair in the whole Institution. He remembered how Nyawuza, one of the first team players in one year, and who was in the same team as Sbonda, consoled the students in the dining hall, "the spirit was there, but the guts were not there."

One respondent recalled the excitement of away matches, especially at Lovedale, when the lorry would be crowded with spectators. When it entered Alice the spectators would shout in their lorry: "Unganyebelezeli Kuzakudlalwa", meaning, "Do not sneak away, there is a hard match to be played". If they had beaten Lovedale they were all keen to get back home so as to bring the best news of the year. They would shout to the lorry driver, "Yinyathele Leta asinabafazi", meaning, "Accelerate, driver, we have no wives". (Leta was the clan name of one of the lorry drivers of Healdtown). The implication was that even if the lorry were to capsize and all the players died, no widows would be left behind. As they reached the

square, the players and spectators would be carried shoulderhigh by other students.

The author remembers some of his contemporaries who played rugby well enough to obtain provincial colours and Black South African colours. These men, when interviewed, attributed their success to good coaching they had received at Healdtown. One respondent, who was interviewed orally, recalled how, after one hard match at Healdtown, he heard one of the visitors conversing with the Housemaster: "Sbonda is playing such good rugby this season that I am keen to see how he is going to perform when he leaves Healdtown." Sbonda, who was also interviewed orally, reported as follows: "When I left Healdtown, I captained Fort Hare University College. While at Fort Hare I was selected to represent Border provincial team, which I captained. Thereafter I went to Port Elizabeth where I was selected to represent and captain Eastern Province provincial side. Very soon I was selected to represent and captain Black South African Springboks. Last, but not least, I was selected to represent Eastern Province Federation Fifteen2, in which I was a vice-captain. After playing I became a President of the Eastern Province Rugby Board and a delegate to South African Black Rugby Board." When he was asked to what he attributed his success, he replied, "to the coaching, discipline and opportunities afforded me by Healdtown to develop my skills and talents to the full."

The reader will recall that earlier it was stated that the authorities desired that the mind, the body and the soul had to be developed equally for a healthy being. As such, the spiritual side of students was also fed.

Among the students at Healdtown there were Methodists as well as non-Methodists. The following table shows the distribution of denominations during the period under review.

² A mixture of best Black and best Coloured players.

TABLE 4.7
DENOMINATIONS OF STUDENTS

Denominations	Men		Wo	Women		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Membership of other denomi-nations or							
affiliation	33	33,3	22	30,6	55	32,2	
Methodists	62	62,6	44	61,1	106	62,0	
No indication	4	4,0	6	8,3	10	5,8	
TOTAL	99	99,9	72	100,0	171	100,0	

The similarities in the distributions of the mens' and womens' religious affiliations is clear. Although Healdtown was primarily a Methodist Institution, other denominations were also accommodated. While Methodists accounted for three out of five of the respondents, all students were allowed to participate in the religious activities irrespective of denominations.

Descriptions of activities with a religious basis will be described first and then the routine of Sundays will be examined. The religious activities were confirmation classes, Manyanos (Young Mens' Guild and Young Womens' Guild), SCA (Students Christian Association), IOTT (Independent Order of True Templars - a temperance society) and Sunday School teachers. One respondent interviewed on these activities reported that the Institution held confirmation classes once a week. These prepared students to be full members of the Methodist Church. Both sexes attended these classes voluntarily for approximately nine months. At the end of September, during his time, one of the Methodist Church ministers from outside the Institution would be invited to officiate at the confirmation ceremony, and issue certificates of membership of the Church.

It is recorded that these classes were not confined to students from Methodist families. He also recorded that the

procedure was the same as far as Manyanos members were concerned. He recalled how men who were on training for Manyanos membership met in the Housemaster's office every Friday evening for an hour to hold prayer meetings. On Sunday evenings they were encouraged to go and preach in the neighbouring villages (Tyatyora, Ngwevu, Lamyeni). One respondent recalled that when the Methodist Church held its annual convention of Manyanos, Healdtown sent some students to represent the Institution. He also recalled that every Sunday morning before breakfast the Manyano members used to conduct prayers for those students who were in the sick rooms. At the same time as confirmation in September they would be admitted to full membership of the Manyanos. The visiting Methodist minister and his wife would do the robing and pinning on of Manyano buttons. He explained that throughout the year the Housemaster and the Lady Superintendents were responsible for training students for both confirmation and Manyano activities.

Another respondent remembered SCA activities. He recalled that there was a staff member at the head and the students elected their committee to run the society. Members usually met every Sunday afternoon. During their meetings they discussed certain topics in the Bible, such as "Was Pontius Pilate justified in handing over Jesus Christ to the Jews?". "What is the importance of the crucifixion and ascension of Jesus Christ?". "Was the brother of the prodigal son justified in criticizing his father?" Towards the end of the year the committee would arrange a concert to round off the year. The IOTT was run in exactly the same manner.

Some students volunteered to be Sunday School teachers. They were led by a staff member who guided them in their activities. One respondent recalled the two kinds of undertakings of the Sunday School teachers. Boys and girls who were below fifteen years of age would attend Sunday School classes in the Institution. In the afternoons some older male students would hold Sunday School classes in the surrounding locations. He also recalled the end-of-year Sunday School picnic for all the

herd boys and girls.

When one respondent was asked why the Institution encouraged students to be Sunday School teachers, he reported that, in his opinion, the Institution wanted to fill the students with missionary zeal and spirit, so that when they had left the In stitution they would help spread Methodism to distant places. He said the policy followed at Healdtown was in keeping with that of John Wesley himself who claimed that, "...the world is my parish..."

One respondent recalled the detailed Sunday programme at Healdtown. He reported that during his time, at half-past six in the morning, all students who were full members of the Church went to chapel for holy communion. This is a far more frequent celebration of communion than was common in ordinary Methodist Church in these years. At half-past seven members of Manyanos would conduct prayers in the two sick rooms. From nine to ten o'clock there would be Sunday School classes. At quarter-past ten the band would be on its way to lead the women students from their hostel to the boys' hostel for the parade. She recalled that as the girls were marching from their hostel behind the band, the boys would have already been standing in fours at the square. The women students would then take their positions and the whole Institution would be at attention facing the Eagle with the Governor and the Housemaster in front facing the students. At first, the two national anthems: God Save the King and Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika would be sung, but during the latter years of the period under investigation, only one hymn from the Methodist English Hymnary was sung. The band would again play and the whole Institution would march into the chapel in an orderly manner. She said the name "parade" was also changed to Church Assembly during the latter years of the period under review. The respondent recalled the beauty of that organisation which attracted visitors from all over the country. One respondent recalled how one of the parents remarked after seeing it that "Abantwana bethy bafana neeNgelosi", meaning, "Our children look like angels". The beauty of parade will be more clear when one reads the comments of one of the

respondents: "The Sunday parade was the best...the Institution band...the beautiful lines of marching students in their neat black skirts and white shirts, their snow white crocheted hats and black hat bands, the boys in their grey trousers, white shirts, ties, black blazers with that maroon and gold Eagle on them..." Other memories of the "Parade" are reported in a later chapter.

In the chapel the service was in Xhosa to accommodate people from the neighbouring locations. In the afternoon, organisations such as SCA and IOTT would hold their meetings. In the evenings, there would be an English service which would be attended only by staff and students. One respondent recalled interesting sermons either by the Governor, the Housemaster or a visiting preacher from Lovedale or Fort Hare. He also recalled the high standard of music, led by the Institution choir and the organist. The evening service was the last item on Sunday.

As stated earlier, students, irrespective of denominations, took an active part in the religious activities. The following table shows the involvement of students in these activities. In examining this table it is important to note that only the membership of the religious activities is given. Some students took part in more than one. In these circumstances, it is clear that only a minority of students took part.

TABLE 4.8

INVOLVEMENT OF STUDENTS IN THE RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

OF THE INSTITUTION

Society	Men	Women	Total
Manyano	12	9	21
SCA	16	12	28
Sunday School teachers	10	7	17
TOTAL	38	28	66
	-		

TABLE 4.9

EXTENT OF RESPONDENTS IN ACTIVITIES

OF THE INSTITUTION

Positions of	. M	en		Worr	ien	Grand	%
Responsibility and Activities	No.	<u>%</u>	Total	No.	<u>%</u>	Total	_
No position of responsibility and no activity	÷	21	2	1	1,4	1	0,5
No position of responsibility but one activity	3	3,0	3	5	6,9	8	4,7
No position of responsibility but more than one activity	27	27,3	27	17	23,6	44	25,7
Position of responsibility but no activity	1	1,0	1	Ī	1,4	2	1,2
Position of responsibility and one activity	1	1,0	1	-	(-)-	1	0,5
Position of responsibility and more than one activity	67	67,7	67	48	66,7	115	67,3
	99	100,0	99	72	100,0	171	99,9
	-		_	-	-	_	_

The last line of this table reveals the complex and widespread involvement of the sample in the various activities provided by Healdtown.

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The first thing revealed by this table is that of the religious activities the most popular was SCA. It was followed by Manyano (21 respondents) and finally Sunday School teachers (17 respondents). It must also be pointed out that the difference between male and female participants in the religious activities was negligible. When the respondents were asked to explain the comparative lack of interest, one reported that a large number of students belonged to other denominations and appeared, during his time, to either have had little or no interest in specific Methodist religious activities. He assumed that if attending church services had been optional, there would have been a strong possibility that those who had no links with Methodism might not have been regular church-goers. The reader will remember that of the 171 respondents, 106 (62%) were from Methodist homes, 55 (32,2%) had no links with Methodism, while 10 (5,8%) had not indicated.

This chapter has examined the extra-curricular activities available at Healdtown, and the involvement of the respondents in them. It could either be straightforward membership of a group, or the respondent could have held a position of responsibility in the group - such as a member of a committee organising a group or a captain of a sporting activity. Table 4.9 analyses these possibilities.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ROLE OF THE RESPONDENTS IN ADULT COMMUNITY LIFE

From the information presented in chapter four and with a further analysis of the answers to question 36 in the questionnaire, it was possible to examine the possibility of whether the experience of extra-curricular involvement at Healdtown influenced the respondents in their adult lives. To what extent, in other words, did Healdtown specifically influence its pupils in their attitude towards and responsibility for the communities in which they lived.

One of the aims of Healdtown was to produce people who adult life would become respectable and responsible citizens. It wanted them to be able to contribute in all respects to their communities. With this aim in view it placed at the disposal of its pupils a number of activities which, in addition to what was taught in the classroom, would supplement the development of the mind, the body and the spirit. Most of these activities have already been analysed and described at length. If Healdtown had a permanent influence on its pupils, one would expect these experiences to continue into adult life. This chapter, therefore, looks at the relationship between school activities already described and adult community activities. It will be looked at in several stages: the types in particular of positions of responsibility in the adult community and then the respondents' involvement in cultural, sporting and religious activities in their adult lives. An analysis will also be made of the relationship between the different kinds of positions of authority held by the respondents while they were at Healdtown and any similar contributions to affairs in the adult community.

Question 36 of Part VII in the questionnaire asked the respondents to record their contributions to community life after

they had left the school. These contributions could be at any level or type or could have been made any time. A respondent, for instance, could have been a player in a team, a committee member up to a position of leadership such as Chairperson or President. The contributions will be categorised as Service to Community, Church, Culture and Sport. All contributions considered by the author to be of service to the community will be under the first column: for example, members of Red Cross Society, Committee for the Welfare of the Aged. University Faculty members. In the second column those activities that are related to church are recorded: for example members of Manyanos (Guilds), Independent Order of True Templars, class leaders in the case of Methodists. culture there will be placed those activities which enrich a people's way of life: for example, Boy Scouts/Girl Guides, Music or Discussion groups. Under sport will be categorised such contributions as members of teams, founders of clubs or coaches. The material will be presented normally through separating the sexes, but at times all the respondents will be analysed together.

The first stage of this chapter, therefore, will give the reader an idea of the total number of contributions recorded by the respondents. This will, however, be preceded by a short table showing the number of respondents who did not contribute in any respect to adult community life. In other words, this comprises those respondents who did not record any contributions in the questionnaire.

TABLE 5.1

RESPONDENTS WHO DID NOT INVOLVE THEMSELVES IN COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES IN LATER LIFE

Men % Women % Total % 43 43,4 24 33,3 67 39,2

It should be noted that more men than women failed to make significant contributions to adult community life. One possible explanation is that, particularly in the period in which the respondents had been educated, fewer women than men could have had the opportunity of receiving Secondary education. In such circumstances a well-educated woman is likely to be in demand in a community, as there would be fewer such women to call upon. Such a possibility, clearly, could not be examined further in this thesis.

TABLE 5.2

CONTRIBUTIONS OF MALE RESPONDENTS TO COMMUNITY LIFE

No of Con- tributions Per Re- spondent	Service To Community	Church	Culture	Sport	No of Re- spondents in each block	Total No of Con- tributions
1	11	20	-	6	15	37
2	13	11	2	10	11	36
3	31	15	5	6	13	57
4	15	13	2	8	6	38
5	17	4	3	6	6	30
6	5	2		-	2	7
7	7	5	2	2	3	16
0					43	
	_	-	1	-	-	-
TOTAL	99	70	14	38	99	221
	-		4			-

The majority of their contributions were of service to community. This is followed by work for the church, sport and lastly culture. The average number of contributions of these 56 respondents who had become involved in community life was 3,95 or nearly four. This seems to suggest that, where a man accepted a community responsibility, he accepted it wholeheartedly. The small total of cultural contributions is worth noting. It should be remembered that there were really only two cultural activities offered at Healdtown in the period under investi-

gation: music and debating or discussion societies. Equally so, opportunities for cultural activities in Black urban townships are very limited. Indigenous drama is a very recent development. Even most musical activities are likely to be found in churches. In these circumstances, the small number of contributions in this category is understandable. The number of activities directly linked to the fine and performing arts is even smaller than this table suggests because, it will be remembered, contributions involving Scouts and Guides were also included under this heading.

TABLE 5.3

CONTRIBUTIONS OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS TO COMMUNITY

Contributions Per Respond- ent	Service To Community	Church	Culture	Sport	No of Re- spondents in each block	Total No of Con- tributions
1	7	8	_	÷.	9	15
2	4	6	2	4	6	12
3	11	17	-	-	9	28
4	10	5	1	-	4	16
5	6	3	1	-	3	10
6	8	6	4	-	4	18
7	9	7	4	-	3	20
8	3	9	1	-	6	13
9	2	5	2	÷ .	2	9
10	14	1	1	-	2	16
0					24	
TOTAL	74	67	16		72	157

The average number of contributions of those 48 women who had given evidence of community involvement was 3,3, a slightly lower figure than that found for the men. Although a higher percentage of the women than the men had become actively involved in their communities, they apparently had not, in their individual cases, made as wide a contribution.

In the case of women, service to community comes first, followed by church and finally culture. The complete absence of sporting activities is worth noting. This result was not expected and so no supplementary question was asked about reasons for non-participation. It is not unusual in any society for more women than men to drop sporting activities after leaving school, but the complete non-participation here deserves further examination. One possibility is that the sporting activities followed by many adult white women are tennis and squash, golf and bowls. Facilities for these are almost non-existent in Black township areas.

TABLE 5.4

SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS OF BOTH THE MALE AND THE FEMALE

RESPONDENTS TO ADULT COMMUNITY LIFE

Contri- butions Per Re- spondent		vice to unity	Chu	rch	Cu	lture	Spo	ort	spor in	of Re- idents each ock			Grand To- tal of Contribu- tions
	M	<u>F</u>	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1	11	7	20	8			6		15	9	37	15	52
2	13	4	11	6	2	2	10		11	6	36	12	48
3	31	11	15	17	5		6		13	9	57	28	85
4	15	10	13	5	2	1	8		6	4	38	16	54
5	17	6	4	3	3	1	6		6	3	30	10	40
6	5	8	2	6		4			2	4	7	18	25
7	7	9	5	7	2	4	2		3	3	16	20	36
8		3		9		1				6		13	13
9		2		5		2				2		9	9
10		14		1		1				2		16	16
0									43	24			
	-						_			_			1
TOTAL	99	74	70	67	14	16	38		99	72	221	157	378

The total number of contributions is reasonably high (378) - giving an average contribution of 3,64 contributions per respondent. Up to this point in this chapter, all possible

contributions to the adult community have been presented in composite tables.

The first comparison with the respondents' activities at Healdtown can now be made. In the following tables the questionnaires have been examined so as to place all respondents into one of four categories, reflecting some or no participation in the adult community.

TABLE 5.5

SUMMARY OF INVOLVEMENT OF ALL RESPONDENTS IN ANY ADULT

COMMUNITY ACTIVITY REGARDLESS OF TYPE

	COMMUNITY AC	ITATIA	REGARDLESS U	FIYPE		
	No Positions in adult community	% of 171	One or more positions in adult community	% of 171	Total	%
One or more positions at Healdtown	48	28	68	39,7	116	67,8
No positions at Healdtown	19	11,1	36	21,0	55	32,1
TOTAL	67	39,1	104	60,7	171	99,9

 $x^2 = 0.733$ (df, 1) not significant.

A X² test was applied to the figures in this table. It can be seen that no statistically significant difference was found. In other words, the involvement of the respondents in extra-curricular or responsible positions at Healdtown did not necessarily relate to their later involvement in adult community life. The high rate of involvement of these men and women, however, has already been shown in the earlier tables in this chapter. It could be argued, as was done when the high involvement of women shown in Table 5.3 was discussed, that, in broad terms, the need of the community to call on any educated person, when comparatively few such people existed, was the main reason for involvement. Specific experience of leadership roles or commitment to societies, in the school circumstances, was not relevant.

The next two tables show the same relationship but only in as far as it affects the male respondents and female respondents separately.

TABLE 5.6

INVOLVEMENT OF MALE RESPONDENTS IN ANY ADULT COMMUNITY

ACT IV ITY AT HEALDTOWN REGARDLESS OF TYPE

	No positions in adult community	One or more positions in adult community	Total
One or more positions at Healdtown	30	38	68
No positions at Healdtown	13	18	31
	_	-	_
TOTAL	43	56	99
	-	===	_

 $X^2 = 0,038$ (df, 1) not significant.

TABLE 5.7

INVOLVEMENT OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS IN ANY ADULT COMMUNITY

	ACT IV ITY AT HEALD	TOWN REGARDLESS OF TYPE	
	No positions in adult community	One or more positions in adult community	Total
One or more positions at Healdtown	18	30	48
No positions at Healdtown	6	18	24
	-		-
TOTAL	24	48	72
	_	-	-
$x^2 = 1, 1$	25 (df, 1) not :	significant	

It was to be expected that if the combined relationship shown in Table 5.7 was not significant statistically, similar results could be expected when each sex was treated separately. This lack of significance occurred despite the slightly wider adult

community activity of the women and the greater average involvement in the adult community of the men.

These tables considered the broad relationship between any involvement at Healdtown and any involvement in adult community life, regardless of type. The answers to the questionnaire enabled a more detailed analysis to be made, however, by examining the specific contributions to executive community service, community cultural and community sporting life in relation to their involvement at Healdtown.

The first area to be examined is that of executive community service. Positions of adult responsibility are divided into a small number of categories - the most frequent being Chairpersons, Secretaries, Treasurers or members of committees or councils. In other words, these people held executive positions at Healdtown: monitors or one of the various types of prefect. This analysis is shown in Table 5.8.

TABLE 5.8

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POSITIONS INVOLVING DISCIPLINE HELD AT HEALDTOWN

AND THE TYPES OF EXECUTIVE POSITIONS HELD IN COMMUNITY LIFE

Positions of discipline at Healdtown	Men	Number Women	Total	Types of Executive Positions in community	Men	Number Women	Total	% of those re- spondents with community exec- utive position who held disci- pline positions at Healdtown
Class Moni- tors only	20	11	31	Presidents Chairpersons	2 5	1 3	3	
cors only				Secretaries	4	5	9	
SUB TOTAL	20	11	31		11	9	20	64,5
Monitors & Prefects	12	20	32	Presidents Councillors Chairpersons Secretaries	1 1 2 1	2 - 3 2	3 1 5 3	
SUB TOTAL	12	20	32		5	7	12	37,5
Monitors & Reps. of Seniors	4	3	7	Presidents Chairpersons Secretaries Youth Leader	1	1 - 1	1 1 1	
SUB TOTAL	4	3	7		2	2	4	57,1
Prefects	19	7	26	Presidents Chairpersons Secretaries Treasurers	3 1 -	I 1 1	4 2 1 1	
SUB TOTAL	19	7	26		4	4	8	30,7
Prefects & Group Prefects	7	. 3	10	Presidents Church prop- erty keep- ers	2	1	3	
SUB TOTAL	7	3	10		3	1	4	40,0
Other Combi- nations of Prefects	6	4	10	Presidents Chairpersons Secretaries	1 1 -	- 3 -	1 4	
		4.		Treasurers	-	1	1	
SUB TOTAL	6	4	10		2	4	6	60,0
Any Disci- plinary Position	68	48	116	Any Execu- tive position	27	27	54	46,5
No Positions	31	24	55	Presidents Chairpersons Secretaries Treasurers	4 1 1 2	2 3 1 1	6 4 2 3	
SUB TOTAL	31	24	55		8	7	15	27,2
TOTAL	99	72	171		35	34	69	40,3

On first examining this table it would seem that there was an important relationship between Healdtown experience and the acceptance of community executive positions. Nearly half (46%) of the respondents who had held a discipline position at Healdtown had continued to exercise some executive responsibility later. This suggests a high degree of community involvement, although no corresponding evidence is known to the researcher as to whether such a high percentage is likely to be found in other racial groups. Set against such a relationship, however, is that which shows that 27% of those who held no disciplinary position at Healdtown had attained executive positions later.

Without statistical analysis, therefore, the existence of a clear link between school experience and adult life is impossible to deduce. X^2 tests were applied, therefore, to the figures from Table 5.8 when they were reduced to 2 x 2 tables for men, for women and for the total sample. It can be seen from these tables that in each case there was no statistically significant relationship.

TABLE 5.9

INVOLVEMENT OF MALE RESPONDENTS IN AN EXECUTIVE

POSITION IN THE ADULT COMMUNITY AND IN A

DISCIPLINARY POSITION AT HEALDTOWN

		r more positions dult community life	No positions in adult commu- nity life	Total
One or more po- sitions of re- sponsibility at Healdtown		53	17	70
No positions at Healdtown	1	23	6	29
TOTAL		76	23	99
		-		

 $x^2 = 0,148 (d.f, 1)$ not significant

TABLE 5.10

INVOLVEMENT OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS IN AN EXECUTIVE POSITION IN THE ADULT COMMUNITY AND IN A DISCIPLINARY POSITION AT HEALDTOWN

er	One or more positions in adult community life	No positions in adult community life	Total
One or more po- sitions at Healdtown	31	16	47
No positions at Healdtown	15	10	25
TOTAL	46	26	72
	<u></u>	4 	-

 $X^2 = 0,249$ (d.f, 1) not significant

TABLE 5.11

INVOLVEMENT OF ALL RESPONDENTS IN EXECUTIVE POSITIONS IN THE ADULT

COMMUNITY AND IN DISCIPLINARY POSITIONS AT HEALDTOWN

	One or more positions in adult community life	No positions in adult community life	Total
One or more po- sitions at Healdtown	84	33	117
No positions at Healdtown	38	16	54
TOTAL	122	49	171
	-		

 $X^2 = 0,036$ (d.f, 1) not significant

The next stage to be viewed is the involvement of the respondents in cultural activities of the community. The following table will illustrate their role in this respect. It performs the same function as did Table 5.8.

TABLE 5.12

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES AT HEALDTOWN AND THE TYPES

OF CULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN WHICH THE RESPONDENTS INVOLVED THEMSELVES

			IN L	ATER LIFE				
Cultural Activities at Healdtown	Men	Number Women	Total	Types of cul- tural activi- ties in later life	Men	Number Women	Total	% of respondents with community cultural activities who took part at Healdtown
Institution	44	45	89	Choir Comm.	1	-	1	
Choir				Choristers Trainers of	8	9	17	
				Choirs	19	12	31	
				Choir Masters Choir Estab-	11	7	18	
				lishers Music Com-	1	3	4	
				posers	1	-	1	
				Soloists Members of In- stitute of		ī	1	
				Music therapy	-	1	1	
				Actors	1	-	I ^E	
SUB TOTAL	44	45	89		42	33	7.5	84,2
Other Combi- nations of Cultural Activities	35	18	53	Taking part in discussion groups Girl Guides	2	4	6	
VCCIAICIE2				Commissioners	- 2	2	2	
				Members of en-		-	7	
				tertainers clubs	3	1	4	
SUB TOTAL	35	18	53		5	7	12	22,6
Any Cultural Position	79	63	142		47	40	87	61,3
No Activity	20	9	29	Choir Masters Secretaries	1	2	3	
	1			of Cultural Clubs		3	3	
SUB TOTAL	20	9	29		1	5	6	20,7
TOTAL	99		171		48	45	93	54,4

The very high percentage of those who continued with their Healdtown choral activities (84%) is immediately noticeable, although further work in the discussion and debating societies and guides and scouts is very much lower. Nevertheless, the final sub-total figure, which shows that 61% maintained an interest in some form of cultural activity, is very high. The men's maintenance of interest in choral work (42 out of 44) is also striking, but their continuing interest in other activities is lower (5 out of 35). Equally so, very few of those who did not participate at Healdtown developed interest in later life (only one out of 20). This can be contrasted with the women where 5 out of 9 took part later. It can be noted that one of the men became a well known composer and one woman claimed to be the only Black member of the Institute of Music Therapy.

Tests of statistical significance would clearly be necessary to assess the relationships revealed in Table 5.12. As was done with the executive and disciplinary relationships earlier in this chapter, the figures were reduced to 2 x 2 tables, and χ^2 tests were applied. The figures were analysed for men, and then for women, and finally for all the respondents.

TABLE 5.13

INVOLVEMENT OF MALE RESPONDENTS IN THE CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNITY AND IN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES AT HEALDTOWN

	No Activity in later life	One or more activities in later life	Total
No activity at Healdtown	8	12	20
One or more activities at Healdtown	38	41	79
TOTAL	/ 46	53	99
	-	, -	_

 $x^2 = 0,418$ (d.f, 1) not significant

TABLE 5.14

INVOLVEMENT OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS IN THE CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNITY AND IN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES AT HEALDTOWN

	No Activity in community life	One or more activities in community	Total
No activity at Healdtown	8	1	9
One or more activities at Healdtown	40	23	63
TOTAL	48	24	72
			

 χ^2 = 2,28 (d.f, 1) not significant

TABLE 5.15

SUMMARY OF THE INVOLVEMENT OF ALL RESPONDENTS IN THE CULTURAL

ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNITY AND IN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES AT HEALDTOWN

Involvement in Cultural Acti- vities at Healdtown	No Activity in the community	% of 171	One or more Activities in commu- nity	% of 171	Total	%
No Activity at Healdtown	16	9,3	13	7,6	29	16,9
One or more Activities	78	45,6	64	37,4	142	83,0
TOTAL	94	54,9	77	45,0	171	99,9
			_	-		-

 $x^2 = 0,006$ (d.f, 1) not significant

The pattern of results of these three χ^2 tests is similar to that of the disciplinary and executive comparisons: no statistically significant differences were found.

The reader will remember that in the beginning it was stated that Healdtown also wanted to encourage the physical development of its pupils. With this aim in view it offered a variety of sporting activities which have already been described in the

previous chapter. What the reader needs to see in this chapter is whether the respondents also carried what was learnt in this respect into adult life. As it was with the activities already described, some respondents took part in one or more sports while others were inactive. It must be emphasized that the reader needs to see, in particular, their involvement in community sport in later life.

TABLE 5.16

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPORTING ACTIVITIES AT HEALDTOWN AND POSITIONS

OF RESPONSIBILITY HELD IN THOSE SPORTS IN THE ADULT COMMUNITY

Sporting Activities at Healdtown	Men	Number Women	Total	Types of Execu- tive positions in sporting act- ivities in adult community	Men	Number Women	Total	% of respond- ents who took part in sport at Healdtown
Soccer	24	-	24	Presidents	1	4	1	
				Secretaries	1	-	1	
				Treasurers	3	-	3	12,5
2.71.52.08	76			14 2000			_	12,5
Cricket	15	-	15	Presidents	4	-	4	
				Comm. Members	4	-	4	
				Captains	1	-	1	
					9	-	9	60,0
Rugby	49	-	49	Presidents	9	-	9	
				Comm. Members	7	-		
				Secretaries	5	+	5	
				Captains	9	-	9	
				Coaches	6	-	6	
				Treasurers	2		2	
					38		38	77,5
Tennis	-	5	5	Presidents	-	2	2	40
Other Sports	-	59	59		-	-	-	154
Any Sporting Activity	. 88	64	152		-	-	-	-
No Sport Played	11	8	19		-	-	-	
TOTAL	99	72	171		50	2	52	30,4

It has been explained that the complete absence of the womens' adult sporting activities was somewhat surprising, but that a full analysis of reasons for this was not possible because questions on this had

not been included in the questionnaire. Nevertheless, a small number of women respondents were interviewed later on this topic. Some reported that the games in which they took part at Healdtown were not played by adults in the Black townships. For instance, netball, athletics, soft ball or tenniquoits were non-existent. If anything, they passed on their skills to children at school as coaches or referees if they were practising teachers. When the same question was put to a few male respondents they tended to give a different response. They also suggested that tennis would be one sport to which women could have contributed either as players or administrators.

The procedure which has been followed in the earlier analysis in this chapter was repeated for the examination of the continued involvement with adult sporting activities. The information from Table 5.16 was condensed into a 2 x 2 table to enable a χ^2 test to be applied. The information is given in Table 5.17.

INVOLVEMENT OF MALE RESPONDENTS IN SPORTING ACTIVITIES IN THE

COMMUNITY AND AT HEALDTOWN

	No involvement in any sporting activities in community	One or more positions in sporting activities of the community	Total
One or more sports at Healdtown	53	35	88
No involvement in any sport at Healdtown	3	8	11
TOTAL	56	43	99
TOTAL			

 $x^2 = 4,315$ (d.f, 1) significant at the 5% level.

This test was the only one carried out in this chapter which revealed a statistically significant difference. The cell which contributed most to the χ^2 figure was that which reflected no Healdtown involvement but some activity in later life.

From the analysis made in this chapter it was shown that respondents were strongly involved in their adult communities. For both men and women, community service occupied most of their attention. Some activities in the cultural and sporting areas were mentioned but in the case of both sexes the number of such activities fall far below those of community services.

It could be claimed that the broad aims of Healdtown, to prepare their students to be worthy members of their communities, had been reached. What has not emerged, however, is a clear-cut direct relationship between active involvement in particular areas of interest at school and similar activities in adult life. It has been argued in this chapter that pressures to contribute would be placed on any educated person in social situations where the total number of educated citizens would be small. Education rather than direct school experience would be likely to be the criterion which was used in asking people to make a direct contribution.

It could also be argued, however, that the respondents were reacting to the general spirit of service, which was the important aim of Healdtown, and it was in response to this ethos, rather than the building upon specific school experience, which encouraged the respondents to serve their communities. It was clearly impossible, however, for these two hypotheses to be explored quantitatively from the information obtainable from the questionnaires.

It is now possible to turn to a further analysis of the education levels of the respondents' parents, of their spouses and of their children in an attempt to see how the education level of the respondents' immediate families related to their own educational achievement.

CHAPTER SIX

EDUCATION OF PARENTS AND THEIR FAMILIES

In this chapter the education of the parents and their families will be discussed. Where appropriate, comparisons will be made with the general educational provision for Blacks in South Africa in the years being discussed. However, the first point to be noted is that the grandparents and parents of the respondents had lived in an era that was very different from that of the respondents and their families.

It will be remembered from Table 2.5 that the oldest responddents (five of them) had started at Healdtown in 1925. A further quarter of them (44 in all) had been scholars between 1950 and 1955. A broad range of dates, during which the respondents' parents would have been of school-going age, can now be calculated.

If it is assumed that entrance to Healdtown would be unlikely, in most cases, to be younger than 15 years old then the scholar's parents must have been at least 35 years old at the time a child entered the Institution, provided the parents had had their first child as young as 20, and that the respondent was the first child in the family. In such a case the parents themselves would have been of school-going age at least 20 years earlier. By subtracting 20 years from the respondents' entrance dates to Healdtown, it can be assumed that the parents would have at least been of school-going age at the turn of the century, for the 1925 entry group, and in the 1930's for the 1950 to 1955 entry group.

The conditions under which the parents lived and their way of thinking would have reflected their own educational limitations. For example, some respondents, talking of their parents' memories, reported that there were very few schools, which were often far from their parents' homes. These were

housed not only in poorly-built structures but also lacked facilities which would make education prosper. One respondent reported that emphasis was often placed more on the value of livestock than on education. As soon as a boy had learned to read and write he might be taken out of school to herd livestock, which would make "one's future bright."

As recently as 1935, when some of the respondents themselves were in the Junior Primary school, 51,72% of the total Black school population in South Africa were in Sub-Standards A and B (200 000 out of 387 000 pupils). (Union Statistics, 1960, p. E.23). The situation would have been even worse in the first two decades of the 20th century when many of the respondents' parents were in school.

The respondents themselves, however, spoke, over and over again, of their parents' strongly positive views of the importance of education, and the encouragement they gave their own children. These attitudes might have been influenced by slowly improving educational opportunities and facilities. One respondent remembered how his father told him that "Hamba uye eNxukhwebe ufunde kangangoko unakho. Uze wazi ukuba wena unethamasanga lokuba nabazali abangwenela ababo abantwana bayifumane imfundo." (Go to Healdtown and get as much education as possible. You must know that you are fortunate to have parents whose wish is for their children to have education). Another respondent reported that his father said to him, "Eli lenu ixesha lifuna umntu ofundileyo. Abethu abazali babengayikhathalele imfundo, beyithatha nje ngenkcitha xesha, abakho ke bacacelwe ligalelo lemfundo. Hamba ke ulisebenzise eli thuba ulifumanayo." (This period needs one who is educated. Our parents saw no value in education. They took it as a waste of time, yours see the value of education. Go then and use this opportunity profitably). Another respondent reported that his father told him that, "Elethu ixesha lalilelobumnyama kusithiwa imfundo yenza abantu babengosithubeni. La mfuyo babezingca ngayo abethu abazali ayisekho kule yenu imihla. Siyibona ke thina imfundo isisitshixo senkqubela. Uze ufunde ke ubuye naso eso sitshixo sokhanyo ukwenzela uncedise ekukhupheni isizwe

sakowenu ebumnyameni." (Our time was the time of darkness and education was held responsible for making some people not have a fixed abode. That livestock which our parents boasted of, is no longer there these days. You must therefore go and get educated and come back with that key of progress so that you may help in leading your nation out of darkness). The author himself remembers how his father used to say, "Hamba kwekwam wazi ukuba usishiya sizakutya amanzi." (Go my boy must know that we are going to eat water behind). This implied that there would be insufficient money to buy food at home, since all available money was used in school fees, train fare and books. He remembers also how his mother used to say, "Ndingafundanga nje mna ndakubafundisa rogo abam abantwana." (Although I am not educated I will keep on educating my children). This originated from words in one of the Stewart Xhosa Readers for Primary schools.

By analysing answers to questions 22 to 35 in the questionnaire, it was possible to calculate the educational level of three generations of people in the respondents' families: their parents, the respondents themselves, and their wives or husbands, and their children, and to see the relationship between these generations.

In doing this, however, some simplification of the teaching and academic qualifications of the respondents had to be made. It will be remembered from chapter two that the professional qualifications offered at Healdtown were dependent upon minimum academic qualifications. In the rest of this chapter, the educational level of those respondents who were teachers will be based upon these academic entry qualifications. Those who recorded a Native Primary Lower Certificate will therefore be rated as having a Standard Six certificate (the entry level); those with a Native Primary Higher Certificate will be rated as having Junior Certificate (Form III); and those who had obtained the Advanced Primary Course and the Post Matriculation Domestic Science Course will be credited with a Form V or Matriculation level. It was therefore possible

to place the respondents into one of three educational categories: Senior Primary (Standard Three to Six), Junior Secondary (Forms I to III) or Senior Secondary (Form IV and V). In all the subsequent comparisons in this chapter these categories will be used for the respondents. They are reflected in Table 6.1.

TABLE 6.1

EDUCATION OF MALE RESPONDENTS VERSUS THAT OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS

Education	Male Respondents	% of 99	Female Respondents	% of 72	Total	% of · 171
Senior Primary (3 to 6)	6	6,0	34	47,2	40	23,3
Junior Secondary (Form I to III)	60	60,6	24	33,3	84	49,1
Senior Secondary (Form IV to V)	31	31,3	14	19,4	45	26,3
No response	2	2,0			2	1,2
TOTAL	99	99.9	72	99.9	171 -	99,9

 $x^2 = 5,364$ (d.f.2) p > 5% level = 5,991.

It is clear from this table that a much higher percentage of the male respondents had reached a higher educational level (Senior Secondary) than the female respondents, and that nearly half of the latter had received no more than a Senior Primary education, as opposed to only 6% of the men. A χ^2 test was applied to the figures which revealed that the χ^2 value was approaching the 5% level of significance, but did not actually reach it. In other words, the relationship between the sex of the respondents and their educational levels was not as clear as the raw figures would suggest. The greatest contribution to the χ^2 value came from those cells

reflecting the men and women who had had no more than Senior Primary academic qualifications. There is, however, a tendency for girls to have been given fewer educational opportunities than boys.

The majority of respondents interviewed on this point were of the opinion that this reflected the culture of the Blacks at the time. Earlier generations, they reported, believed that giving too much education to girls was a "waste of time and money." This belief, they felt, originated from the fact that girls would sooner or later get married, leaving their parents as "losers" in the end. This belief was confirmed by some female respondents who were also interviewed. One reported that when she wanted to do Senior Certificate her father said, "Andinamali yokulungiselela ikamva labantu basemzini." (I have no money to prepare the future of other homes). He meant he was not prepared to give his daughter too much education that would ultimately be of benefit to the husband's family. Another recalled how her parents refused to allow her to do Junior Certificate after Standard Six. They forced her to do Native Primary Lower (NPL) instead. "Ukuba ubuyindodana besingade sivume, kodwa uyayazi nawe ukuba le ikusa kwi J.C. izakukwenza ukuba kufuneke udluliselwe phambili, kuze emva kwayo yonke loo nto wende sihlale thina silahlekelwe. Thatha le sikunika yona siyayazi into esiyenzayo." (If you were a boy we would agree to your wish. But you also know that Junior Certificate will force us to send you back for Senior Certificate and after all that expense you get married, leaving us losers. Take what we offer you. We know what we are doing).

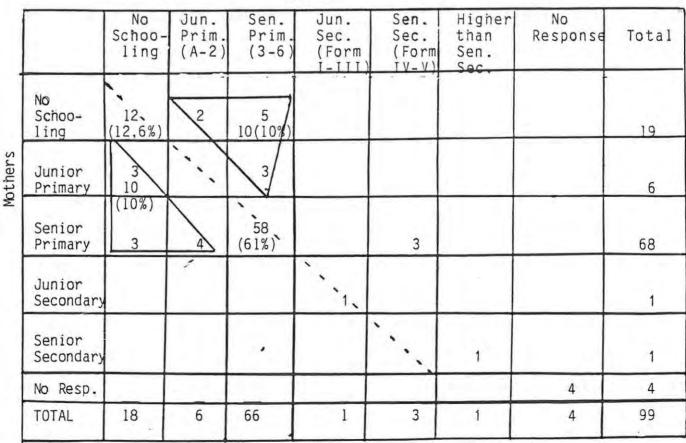
In the analysis of data in the rest of this chapter, slight discrepancies can be found when the total numbers in each educational category are compared. The analysis is done by comparing husbands and wives or parents and children. If in any one comparison a no-response for one person has to be recorded, that pair has to be entered in the "no response" category.

For instance, a father's educational level may not be known, but the mother's is on record. In these circumstances, in any comparison between fathers and mothers, or fathers and sons, that pair will have to be recorded as a "no response". When comparisons are made between the same respondent and the mother, however, an entry in one of the educational levelcategories will be possible. These discrepancies are, however, small and do not in any major way distort the trends which, it will be argued, can be seen when these tables are examined.

The next table places the parents of the male respondents into broad educational categories of no schooling, Junior Primary (up to Standard Two), Senior Primary and Junior and Senior Secondary. The table has been arranged so that the educational levels of pairs of spouses can be compared.

TABLE 6.2 MALE RESPONDENTS FATHERS' EDUCATION VERSUS MOTHERS' EDUCATION

Fathers



From this table it is possible to see that where figures are entered along the diagonal (indicated by a dotted line) the educational levels of the spouse of a particular respondent were approximately the same. Twelve pairs had had no schooling; 58 pairs had had Senior Primary schooling. In other words, over 70% of the pairs of spouses had had similar levels of schooling. It can be described as "like marrying like".

In a further 10% of the cases (grouped into the triangle above the diagonal line), the husband of the pair had had slightly more education than the wife, but this level went no further than that of the Primary school. In four further cases there was a much bigger discrepancy between the husband and the wife (in favour of the husband). Three men had reached the Senior Secondary level, but their wives had had no more than Senior Primary schooling. In one case the husband had received education beyond the Secondary school level. Nevertheless, extreme differences in educational level are comparatively rare.

If the blocked group below the diagonal line is considered (again some 10% of the total) the wife had received more education than the husband, in six of these cases, the husbands had had no schooling but the wives had had either Junior or Senior Primary experience. In this group the comparatively unusual situation of wives who are better educated than their husbands is shown. It should be remembered, however, that once again these discrepancies are not great.

The next table will consider the education of the parents of the female respondents. The method of analysis and the interpretation of this and subsequent tables in this chapter are similar to that of previous tables.

TABLE 6.3

FEMALE RESPONDENTS

FATHERS' EDUCATION VERSUS MOTHERS' EDUCATION

			Fathe	rs		
*	No Schooling	Jun. Prim.	Sen. Prim.	Jun. Sec.	Sen. Sec.	Total
No Schooling	``-2,			1		3
Junior Primary	1	. 2	2	9(12,5%)		5
Senior Primary	2	7	48	4	1	56
Junior Secondary		5(6,9%)		`.2.	1	4
Senior Secondary					4.	4
TOTAL	5	3	51	7	6	72

As in the analysis of the male respondents' parents, the vast majority of the female respondents' parents had had similar educational levels - 80% of the 72 pairs of parents.

There were nine fathers (12,5%) whose education was higher than that of the mother's and only five mothers (6,9%) whose education was higher than that of the father's. There were 13 fathers (18%) who had education that was higher than Primary, while there were eight mothers (11,1%) whose education was also higher than Primary. A total of 63 fathers (87%) and 64 mothers (89%) had had education up to the Senior Primary level or higher. In contrast, the figures for the male respondents show a lower percentage of their fathers with Senior Primary or higher levels (65%). There is, however, little difference between the figures for the mothers of the two groups (69% and 91%). It may be that the acceptance of the advantages of extended education for girls was partly dependent upon a reasonable education level of the fathers.

The reader will now see in the next table an analysis of the education of all parental pairs of all the respondents combined.

TABLE 6.4

ALL FATHERS' EDUCATION VERSUS ALL MOTHERS' EDUCATION

	No School-	Jun. Prim.	Sen. Prim	Jun. . Sec.	Sen. Sec.	Higher Than Sen. Sec.	No Resp.	Tota
No School- ing	1.4	2	5	1				22
Junior Prim.	4	. 2	5	23(13,7%)				11
Senior Prim.	5	5	106.	4	4			124
Junior Sec.	16	5(9,6%)	1	12.	1			4
Senior Sec.				1	4	V		6
No Re- sponse							•4	4
TOTAL	23	9	117	8	9	1	4	171

By examining the entries along the diagonal it can be seen that in three quarters of the cases the educational level of the pairs of spouses was very similar, confirming the picture of "like marrying like". In total, 145 fathers (86%) and 134 mothers (80%) had had education to the level of Senior Primary or higher.

Census figures from 1911 provide some picture of the extent of literacy among the Black population in the period when the parents were receiving their own education. In 1911 only 6,8%

I MOTHERS

of Black people older than 10 years were literate in any language. In 1921 the figure had risen slightly to 9,7%. In 1946 it was 21,3% and in 1951 the figure was still less than a quarter of the population - 23,8%. In the last two census years the figures showed that the majority of literates were so in a Black language. (Union Statistics, 1960, p. A.22).

These comparatively high levels of education attained by the respondents' parents need to be seen against the total picture of educational opportunities in the first half of the 20th century. In 1921 the total number of Black children in all school standards was as low as 193 731, while the total Black population in that year was 4 697 000, of whom 1 639 634 were living in the Cape Province. (Union Statistics, 1960, pp. E. 23, A.5).

In 1935, by which stage all the respondents' parents would have been beyond school going age, it is possible to provide a clear picture of the very limited opportunities for education beyond the Junior Primary School. This is shown in Table 6.5.

<u>TABLE 6.5</u>

<u>DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK PUPILS OVER STANDARDS</u>

SOUTH AFRICA - 1935

SCHOOL LEVEL	NUMBER	<u>%</u>
Junior Prim. (A to 2)	280 483	80,8
Senior Prim. (3 to 6)	64 263	18,6
Junior Sec. (Form I to III)	1 881	0,5
Senior Sec. (Form IV to V)	165	0,05
TOTAL	347 152	99,95

(Adapted from Union Statistics, 1960, p. E.21)

Of the parents of the respondents, at least 80% had achieved Senior Primary standards or higher. In 1935 only 15% of the school-going population were to be found at similar levels of education. The very meagre provision for Senior Secondary pupils should also be noted. Despite the stories of some respondents who commented upon their parents' low education levels, the Healdtown pupils came from a group of people whose education was considerably in advance of the vast majority of the Black population. The determination of such parents to provide at least similar educational opportunities for their children was likely to be high.

In the next stage of the analysis the education of respondents will be compared with that of their parents.

TABLE 6.6

FATHERS' EDUCATION VERSUS SONS' EDUCATION

(MALE RESPONDENTS)

4		Fathers								
_		No Schooling	Jun. Prim.	Sen. Prim.	Jun. Sec.	Higher Than Sen. Sec.	Total			
Respondents)	Senior Primary	6		1			7			
e Resp	Junior Secondary	15	2	47	****	1	65			
' (Male	Senior Secondary	4	1	20	2	1	27			
Sons	TOTAL	25	3	68	2	1	99			

Had in most cases the educational level reached by the respondents and their fathers been identical, the majority of responses would have fallen in the cells of the table along the diagonal, indicated by a dotted line. In fact, only one pair which illustrated such identity was found: both father and son had received education to the Senior Primary level.

There was, furthermore, only one father who had education higher than that of the son: the father had had training beyond Matriculation but the son had only reached the Junior Secondary level. In the overwhelming majority of the pairs the son had had more education than the father, and in many instances considerably more education. 65 sons (65,7%) had obtained Junior Certificate while 27 had passed Senior Certifi-The reader will remember that it was said the parents of the respondents, by virtue of the value of education they had received, were determined to equip their children with the best education they could afford. This table is, therefore, the first example of such determination. This is clearer when the table is analysed in detail: fathers who had no schooling gave 15 sons Junior Certificate and four Senior Certificate. Only six were given Senior Primary which was the lowest entrance qualification at Healdtown. Fathers who had Junior Primary gave two sons Junior Certificate which was a higher qualification than Senior Primary, while one passed Senior Certificate. Fathers who had Senior Primary gave 47 sons Junior Certificate which was higher than the Senior Primary education which the fathers had passed. 20 sons had reached Senior Secondary School, which was the highest course offered at Healdtown. Even the fathers who had passed Junior Certificate managed to get two sons through Matriculation. There was ony one father who, although he had education that was higher than Senior Secondary, gave his son a Junior Secondary. In all, therefore, 97 sons had received an education that was higher than that of their fathers. The advance from one generation to the next was considerable.

It was shown earlier in this chapter that the female respondents tended to have lower educational levels than the male respondents, and some explanations of this, given by the respondents, were quoted. The next stage of the analysis, therefore, concerns the relationship between these womens' education and that of their fathers.

TABLE 6.7

FATHERS' EDUCATION VERSUS DAUGHTERS' EDUCATION

			RESPO	NDENTS	FATHER	S		
		No Schooling	Jun. Prim	Sen. Prim	Jun. Sec.	Sen. Sec.	No Response	Total
KESPONDENTS	Senior Prim.	2	1	28	3			34
	Junior Sec.		2	11				13
L KES	Senior Sec.			10	4	4.		18
LIMAL	No Re- sponse						7	7
	TOTAL	2	3	49	7	4	7	72

It is immediately clear that the differences between the generations was not as great in this case. 32 fathers (49,2%) had similar education levels to their daughters, while less than half of them (30 daughters - 46,2%) had education that was higher than that of their fathers. There were only three fathers (4,6%) who had education that was higher than that of their daughters.

If the fathers had been able to give their sons considerably more schooling than they had had, it was to be expected that a similar finding would occur when mothers' education was compared with their sons (the respondents). This is clear from table 6.8.

TABLE 6.8

MOTHERS' EDUCATION VERSUS SON'S EDUCATION

1	-	Respondents' Mothers							
		No Schooling	Jun. Prim.	Sen. Prim.	Jun. Sec.	Sen. Sec.	No Response	Total	
Sons' (Male Respondents)	Sen. Prim.	3	2	``6				11	
	Jun. Sec.	10	4	43	``,1,			58	
	Sen. Sec.	7		19	1			27	
	No Re- sponse						3	3	
Sor	TOTAL	20	6	68	2		3	99	

It has also been shown that in broad terms the respondents' parents had had similar education levels. In all these circumstances it is not surprising that in both analyses over 96% of the respondents had been able to increase considerably the educational levels of their sons. 7 mothers (7,3%) had had similar educational levels to their sons, while 89 sons (92,7%) had educational levels which were higher than those of their mothers. No mother had a higher education level than her son.

TABLE 6.9

MOTHERS' EDUCATION VERSUS DAUGHTERS' EDUCATION

	Mothers' Education										
	No Schooling	Jun Prim	Sen Prim.	Jun Sec.	Sen Sec.	No Response	Total				
Jun. Prim.	4	2					6				
Jun. Sec.	2	4	2	2.	7		17				
Sen. Sec.	2	6	8	2	28		46				
No Re- sponse						3	3				
TOTAL	8	12	10	4	35	3	72				

There were only seven mothers who were more educated than their daughters. These seven mothers had Senior Secondary educational level, while their daughters had reached Junior Secondary. There were only 30 mothers who had given their daughters the same education as their own. Of these, two pairs had had Junior Secondary education, and 28 pairs had both reached Senior Secondary levels. This equal education is shown by the diagonal (dotted line). The rest of the mothers (32) (almost half of the mothers) had had education which was lower than that of their daughters.

The levels of education reached by the respondents now needs to be set against the picture for the country as a whole, as revealed from the education sections of the census returns. The census dates related to the years which the majority of the respondents were at Healdtown were 1935 to 1955. Table 6.10 concentrates on those pupils who were at the different levels in the Secondary School.

TABLE 6.10

DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK PUPILS IN JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS (6, 7 and 8) AND SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS (9 AND 10) IN SOUTH AFRICA (1935 to 1955)

Year	Total	Junio	r Seco	ndary	Total	% of	Senior	Secondar	y Total	% of	Total all	% in all
	School Popu- lation	6	7	8		Total School Popu- lation	9	10		Total School Popu- lation	Secondary	secondary Education & Total School Population
1935	238228	8951	1178	703	10832	3,1	110	55	165	0,04	10997	3,1
1937	392256	10022	2293	841	13156	3,3	221	66	287	0,07	12602	3,2
1938	426818	11098	2737	916	14751	3,4	317	118	435	0.01	15186	3,5
1939	449795	11136	3453	1112	15701	3,4	351	196	547	0,12	16248	3,6
1940	464673	12174	3959	1316	17449	3,7	369	164	533	8.70	17982	3.8
1941	488829	13134	4352	1241	18727	3,8	334	173	507	0.11	19234	3,9
942	512222	14327	4908	1370	20605	4,0	348	231	579	0.11	21184	4,1
943	532234	15682	6470	1834	23986	4,5	431	247	678	0,12	24664	4,6
944	558824	17276	8406	1959	27641	4,9	494	399	893	0,15	28534	5.1
945	588580	18837	9209	2497	30543	5,1	604	315	919	0.14	31462	5.3
1946	641556	2085	11359	3050	34994	5,4	728	316	1044	0,16	36038	5,6
947	672680	22255		3644	38294	5,6	726	380	1106	0,16	39400	5.8
1948	724552	25185		4318	41933	5,7	943	508	1451	0,2	43384	5,9
949	760814	26413		4702	44939	5,9	904	471	1375	0.18	46314	6.0
950	748426	25325	17162	4873	47360	6,3	840	439	1279	0,11	48639	6,4
951	772363	32077	13676	5007	50760	6,5	994	486	1480	0,19	52240	0,1
952	819703	28897	20527	5767	55191	6.7	880	627	1507	0,18	56698	-0,1
953	862565	30212	22508	6064	58784	6.8	1003	624	1627	0,18	60411	7.0
1954	942008	38924	20018	6217	65159	6,9	1151	617	1768	0.19	86927	9.2
955	100836	134667	6915	6915	67583	6,7	1393	674	2067	0,20	69650	6,9
TOTAL	12156663	417177	216865	64346	698388	5,7	13141	7106	20247	0,17	718635	5,9

Adapted from Union Statistics, 1960, p. E-21

Table 6.10, for instance, shows that in 1935 only 10832 Black children (3.1%) in the whole Black school population (348228) of South Africa were in Junior Secondary School and a mere 165 (0.04%) were in the Senior Secondary School. There was, however, a slight improvement from 1942, when there were 20605 Black children (4,0%) out of 512222 Black population for that year. This improvement continued up to 1955 (67583) (6.7%). In the Senior Secondary schools there was also an improvement but it was very slight. The percentage rose from 0,04% of the total Black school population to no more than 0.2%. This becomes clearer when the reader notes that out of 12156663 Blacks who in all the years from 1935 to 1955 only 718635 (5.9%) had been able to gain places in Secondary schools. In other words, the table confirms the view that the opportunities for Black children to get Junior Secondary education as well as Senior Secondary education were limited. It is noteworthy that the parents of the respondents managed to give their children a considerable amount of Junior Secondary and Senior Secondary education.

It has been shown that in general terms the educational levels of the mothers and fathers of the respondents were similar. The next stage of the analysis is to see the extent to which the respondents themselves (whose educational level was considerably higher than that of the Black population as a whole) had married spouses of similar educational levels to their own. This information is shown in the following tables. The first is concerned with the wives of the male respondents.

TABLE 6.11

EDUCATION LEVELS OF MALE RESPONDENTS AND THEIR WIVES

Male Respondents' Educational Levels

1		Senior Prim.	Junior Sec.	Senior Sec.	No Response	Total
Levels	Senior Prim.	``2.	25	4 (36%)		31
ional	Junior Sec.	(7%)	29	7		39
Educational	Senior Sec.		4>	14, (45%),		18
Wives	No Re- sponse				11	11
Z	TOTAL	5	58	25	11(11%)	99

By following the figures in the cells along the diagonal (dotted) line, it is immediately apparent that nearly half the male respondents had married women whose educational level was approximately similar to that of their own. (45% of the 99 cases) and nearly two in every five (36%) had married women whose educational level was slightly lower than their own. Only in 7% of the cases (7 in total) had men married women whose educational levels were higher than their own. This means that these reasonably educated men married women with an equally reasonable level of education.

When the educational level of the spouses of the women respondents came to be considered, an important problem occurred: in 21 of the cases (29%) it was not possible to place the husbands into appropriate educational categories. One possibility is that some women had married men who were "educationally" inferior to themselves and were reluctant to admit such a fact. Whatever the reason, the figures from this

table must be interpreted with caution. Nevertheless, 36% of the sample had married men whose educational levels were roughly equal to their own; nearly 10% had husbands who had higher educational qualifications than they had; and 25% of the women had had more education than their husbands. Accepting the caution already explained, the pattern of "like marrying like" seems to be repeated, and if there were discrepancies these were no more than one category apart. In the years which covered the educational history of the respondents, it was common for more boys to reach higher educational levels than girls. If the female respondents had a greater tendency to marry men who had had fewer educational opportunities than they had had, it could be accounted for by the fact that the possibilities of finding husbands with as high educational levels as their own was somewhat limited.

TABLE 6.12

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS

(EDUCATION OF WIVES AND THEIR HUSBANDS)

		Senior Prim.	Junior Sec.	Senior Sec.	No Response	Total
	Senior Prim	7	5	1 (10%)		13
S	Junior Sec.	8	(36%)	1		18
Respondents	Senior Sec.	5 (25%)	5	10,		20
Kesp	No Re- sponse				21 (29%)	21
	TOTAL	20	19	12	21	72

In the quotations given in the introduction to this chapter, the indication was that sending children to Secondary boarding schools could force families into considerable financial difficulties. The story of Black education in South Africa shows many examples of unequal educational advantages being given to siblings in a single family. Older brothers and sisters might be sent out to work so that younger children might stay for longer periods in school. Such patterns are not confined to Black families. Hey's study of Indian families in Natal (1962?) shows an alternating pattern. The eldest child in the family leaves school comparatively early and helps to support a younger sibling. A third child leaves school early to enable the fourth child to have an extended education. To what extent would similar patterns be found amongst the brothers and sisters of the sample? There were just over 400 brothers and sisters of the 99 male respondents. Their educational levels are compared with the male respondents in table 6.13.

TABLE 6.13

EDUCATION OF ALL KNOWN BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF MALE RESPONDENTS VERSUS THAT OF MALE RESPONDENTS

	Senio		Senior	Total
No Schoolin	Prim.	Sec.	Sec	8
Junior Prim.	5	17		22
Senior Prim.	. 12	129	75	216
Junior Sec.	1	51- (21,8%	37	88
Senior Sec.		35 (14%)	29.	64
Higher Sen. Sec.	/3	9	12	24
TOTAL	28	241	153	422

There were only 59 (14%) siblings with education higher than that of the male respondents; there were 92 (21,8%) siblings whose education was equal to that of respondents; and there were 271 (64,2%) male respondents who had higher education levels than siblings. There are, at the same time, some big gaps between the level of education of the respondents and that of their siblings in a considerable number of cases.

It would seem that the male respondents were, in comparison with their siblings, a privileged group.

The seventy-two female respondents also had just over 400 brothers and sisters. This group's educational levels are shown in table 6.14.

TABLE 6.14

EDUCATION OF ALL KNOWN BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF
FEMALE RESPONDENTS VERSUS THAT OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS

1	(Female	e Responder	nts' Educat	ion)
	Senior Prim.	Junior Sec.	Senior Sec.	Total
No Schooling	12			12
Junior Prim.	13	(44,8%)		13
Senior Prim.	112	87	58	257
Junior Sec.	31	15 (35,3%) -	10	56
Senior Sec.	21	(19,9%)	15.	44
Higher Than Sen. Sec.	-12	3	5	20
TOTAL	201	113	88	402

Some differences between the family educational levels of the male and female respondents are immediately noticeable. Of

the women, 35% had reached educational levels similar to their siblings, as compared to the much lower figure of 22% as far as the men are concerned. Only 45% of the women had had more education than their siblings (as compared with 64% of the men; and 20% of the women's siblings had received more education than the women themselves (as compared with 14% of the men). The pattern already established in earlier parts of this chapter is repeated here. There is a greater reluctance to provide higher educational opportunities for women than men. The picture of the whole sample of 171 respondents is provided in table 6.15.

TABLE 6.15

EDUCATION OF ALL RESPONDENTS VERSUS THAT OF ALL SIBLINGS OF ALL RESPONDENTS

	Senior Prim.	Junior Sec.	Senior Sec.	Total
No School- ing	20			20
Junior Prim.	18	17 (61,1%)	133	168
Senior Prim.	124	216 (29,3%)	37	377
Junior Sec.		66	47	113
Senior Sec.		(9,6%)	44.	87
Higher Than Sen.Sec.	5.	12	17	34
TOTAL	167	354	278	799

Despite the differences between the sample and their siblings, the general picture of high educational levels attached by this generation is very clear, and is remarkable when the figures for South Africa as a whole, given earlier in this chapter, are remembered.

When the respondents were interviewed as to the cause of this they reported that it was rare for a family to be able to send to the Institution more than one child at the same time. They reported that the one who was promising was given the first opportunity of going to the Institution. All others would work and help educate that one child with the hope that when he or she had finished they would also go to the Institution. One respondent stated that in those days teachers, and especially principals who were respected by the community, used to guide parents and recommended to them those children who should be given the opportunity. Their recommendations were based on the performance of children at school.

Up to this point in the chapter the education levels of two generations have been considered: the parents of the respondents and the respondents themselves, their spouses and their siblings. The final stage of analysis will concern a third generation - that of the respondents' children. A total of 773 children of the 171 respondents had completed their schooling. Of these, 432 children were those of the male respondents, and 341 were children of the female respondents. In the same way as was done before, the childrens' education was compared with that of the respondents' and the same categories were used. This analysis was done to see if a similar increase in educational opportunities had occurred between the second and this third generation as had been found between the first and the second. Table 6.16 shows the position as far as the male respondents and their children are concerned.

TABLE 6.16

EDUCATION OF MALE RESPONDENTS' CHILDREN WHO HAD

COMPLETED SCHOOLING VERSUS THAT OF ALL MALE

RESPONDENTS

		Education	of all Mal	e Respondent	s
Children		Senior Primary	Junior Secondary	Senior Secondary	Total
all Chi	Junior Secondary	6	1111	2	8
of al	Senior Secondary	78	93	82	253
Education	Higher Than Sen. Sec.	49	57 (39,6%)	65	171
Edu	TOTAL	133	150	171	432

The implications of this table are striking. In only two cases had the respondents a higher education level than any of their children, and in only a further 82 (19%) was the educational level of the two generations similar. In 80% of the cases the above-average educational levels of the fathers had been exceeded by their children. In a total of nearly 40% of the cases the gap between father and son was very considerable. These cases are shown in a box towards the bottom of the table.

A very similar picture emerges when the educational levels of the female respondents and their children are considered, in the following table. In 85% of these cases the third generation's education was higher than the second generation's. Equality of educational level occurred in only approximately 14% of the cases.

TABLE 6.17

EDUCATION OF ALL FEMALE RESPONDENTS' CHILDREN WHO HAD COMPLETED SCHOOLING VERSUS THAT OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS

Female Respondents

All children who had completed schooling

	Senior Prim.	Junior Sec.	Senior Sec.	Total
Junior Secondary	5	'''	3	8
Senior Secondary	38	42	47 (13,8%)	127
Higher than Sen. Sec	64	58	84	206
TOTAL	107	100	134	341

Table 6.17 shows the picture when all respondents and all children are combined to give a composite picture. Once again well over 80% of the children have had higher education than the respondents, and a very high figure of 377 of them (49% - or nearly half) had had some form of tertiary education.

TABLE 6.18

EDUCATION OF ALL CHILDREN WHO HAD COMPLETED SCHOOLING

VERSUS THAT OF ALL RESPONDENTS

Education of all Male Respondents

	Senior Prim.	Junior Sec.	Senior Sec.	Total
Junior Secondary	11	```	5	16
Senior Secondary	116	. 135	129	380
Higher than Sen. Sec.	113	115	149	377
TOTAL	240	250	283	773

In this chapter, among other things, two tendencies have emerged: the first is that "like will marry like" and the second is that an elite tends to produce an elite. What the reader now needs to see is whether occupations are determined by educational level reached. This will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

OCCUPATIONS OF PARENTS AND THEIR FAMILIES

The education of parents and their families has been discussed extensively in a previous chapter. The next aspect which needs to be looked at is the occupations held by the respondents, their parents and their families. This is done for two reasons: the first is to see whether there is any relationship between occupations and level of education attained. The second is to see whether parental education levels might increase expectancy for their children's attaining of occupational levels higher than that of their parents. For this discussion the Bureau of Census Occupation Statistics will be used to make comparisons of the occupations of the respondents and their families, with the total Black population. The classification of occupations is given in Union Statistics for fifty years (1960).

The author has chosen the 1946 census figures for comparison between the respondents' occupations and those of the Black working population as a whole, because this year is almost midway between 1925, which is the earliest recording of the respondents starting their schooling at Healdtown, and 1951, which was the last year census figures were taken during the period under investigation.

It should be noted that the occupations of the mothers of the respondents were not analysed for two reasons: The first is, in spite of the education the mothers had attained, the majority were housewives. At that time, for example, the departments of education did not employ married women as teachers. The second reason is that on cultural grounds, married women were expected by their fathers-in-law to look after children and to do other household chores.

The relationship between the occupations of fathers and respondents will first be considered, and then between respondents and their children. This is done in Table 7.1.

TABLE 7.1

OCCUPATIONS OF FATHERS OF ALL RESPONDENTS

TOTAL	99	99,7	72	99,9	171	99,9
No response	2	2,0	4	5,6	6	3,5
Labourers	53	53,5	20	27,8	73	42,7
Self-employed	6	6,0	-	-	6	3,5
Drivers	2	2,0	1	1,4	3	1,8
Farm Workers	11	11,1	13	18,0	24	14,0
Clerical	6	6,0	5	6,9	11	6,4
Teachers & Medical Practitioners	19	19,1	29	40,2	48	28,0
Fathers of Male Respondents' Occu- pations	No	% of 99	Fathers of Female Respondents No.	% of 72	Grand Total	% of 171

The high percentage of labourers and farm workers (together over 56%) is immediately noticeable from this table. Secondly, there was a high percentage of teachers amongst the fathers of the sample (28%). As has already been shown, the majority of the eespondents themselves were teachers. It is clear that a reasonable number of these had been "following in father's footsteps". It must also be remembered, however, that in the first quarter of the 20th century there were comparatively few other occupational choices for Black people with a reasonable education.

Some important differences between the occupations of the men's and women's fathers should also be noted. A X^2 test was applied to distribution in Table 7.1 to see if there was a significant difference between the occupations of the male respondents' fathers and the female respondents' fathers. The test proved to be highly significant. $X^2 = 18.18$, d.f. 3, p = .01 = 11.345, highly significant.

The greatest contributions to χ^2 total come from the considerably greater occurrence than was to be expected of female respondents' fathers who were teachers and the considerably

smaller occurrence than was to be expected of female respondents' fathers who were labourers. In other words, a labourer, it would seem, was not as eager to see his daughter being given secondary education than he was to give such education to his son. Equally so, a teacher (regardless of whether his child was a boy or a girl) would be eager to provide secondary education for that child.

The respondents' fathers occupations will now be compared with the total Black population occupations in 1946, taken from the census of that year.

TABLE 7.2

1946 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION (BLACK MALES)

Occupational Type	Num	bers	<u>%</u>
Professional, Technical Workers	14	329	0,61
Managers/Administration Officials	2	553	0,11
Clerical Workers	27	788	1,18
Sales	6	480	0,28
Agricultural Workers	1 183	381	50,3
Mining Workers	425	884	18,1
Transport Workers	9	047	0,38
Industrial Occupations	448	687	19,08
Service Workers	178	492	7,59
Others	54	108	2,30
TOTAL - WORKING POPULATION	2 350	749	99,9

(Adapted from Union Statistics for fifty years, 1910-1960, A-33)

There are only three occupational catagories which have large numbers of Black people in them: Agricultural Workers (50%), Industrial Occupations (19%), Mining Workers (18%). It can easily be seen that the low percentage occurrences are in those areas where reasonable education or specialised training is necessary: Professional, Managerial, Clerical and Transport Workers. This is to be expected when the general provision of

education for Blacks in the early part of the century was so limited, as were high level job openings for people other than Whites.

It can now be seen how the respondents' fathers compare with this table. It should, however, be noted that only those occupations from 1946 census figures which are represented in the table relating to the respondents' fathers occupations have been selected and for that reason the total number of such workers in the census figures is 1,5 million as opposed to 2,3 million in the previous table.

TABLE 7.3

TOTAL BLACK POPULATION AND RESPONDENTS'
FATHERS OCCUPATIONS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL AREAS (1946 CENSUS)

Occupational Area		Tota	al Black	Population	Respondents'	Fathers
		No	<u>o</u> .	<u>%</u>	No.	<u>%</u>
Teachers		7	505	0,47	48	28,0
Clerical Workers		27	788	1,75	11	6,4
Farm Workers	1	183	381	74,7	24	14,0
Drivers		8	898	0,56	3	1,8
Self-employed		5	791	0,36	6	3,5
Labourers		350	073	22,11	73	42,6
No response					6	3,5
TOTAL	1	583	436	99,95	171	99,8
	_					

The enormously high percentage of farm workers in the table can be partly explained historically. The very considerable expansion of industrial activity in South Africa occured only after the Second World War and would not have been reflected in the census figures for as early as 1946. It is therefore to be expected that occupations in the agricultural sector would predominate.

The occupational superiority of the respondents' fathers is particularly clear in the teaching and clerical categories and in the much smaller percentage of the respondents' fathers who worked as farm labourers. It is also noteworthy, however, that in the labouring category and percentage of respondents' fathers is double that of the population as a whole. At first sight this may seem surprising but the possible answer is that such labourers are more likely to be urbanised and to be earning more than agricultural labourers. Such parents, therefore, might have been in a slightly better position to contemplate boarding school for their children.

The following table will show the occupations of respondents themselves, arranged to correspond with the census categories. The exact occupations within these categories were shown in Chapter Two, Table 2.1.

TABLE 7.4

OCCUPATIONS OF RESPONDENTS

Occupations	Numbers	<u>%</u>
Professional, Technical	144	84,2
Clerical Workers	3	1,8
Agricultural Workers	3	1,8
Transport Workers	6	3,5
Industrial Occupations	6	3,5
Self-employed	9	5,2
TOTAL	171	100,0
		200

The reader must be reminded that Healdtown, as was mentioned earlier on, was a training institution. As such it must be expected that the main occupation of the respondents would be teaching, providing the majority of the 144 respondents in this category. This figure represents not only teachers but also nurses plus attorneys and doctors. The reader must also be reminded of what was said also in Chapter Two of this thesis, that the author has a biased sample because, as a teacher him-

self, he is more likely to know a number of ex-Healdtown students who are teachers.

There will now follow a comparison of occupations of fathers and those of respondents.

TABLE 7.5

COMPARISON BETWEEN OCCUPATIONS OF FATHERS AND THOSE OF RESPONDENTS

Occupations	No of Fathers	% —	No of Respondents	. %
Professional, Technical	48	28,0	144	84,2
Clerical Workers	11	6,4	3	1,8
Agricultural Workers	24	14,0	3	1,8
Transport Workers	3	1,8	6	3,5
Industrial Workers	73	42,6	6	3,5
Self-employed	6	3,5	9	5,2
No response	6	3,5	-	-
TOTAL	171	99,8	171	100,0
	1			

A χ^2 test was applied to the figures in this table to see if there was a statistically significant difference between the occupations of the two groups. Some grouping of categories had to be done to ensure reasonable numbers in all cells: Professional, Teaching and Clerical; and Agricultural, Industrial and Transport occupations were so grouped. The result was statistically highly significant: $\chi^2 = 103.96$, d.f. 2: P<.01.

In other words, the occupations of the respondents were significantly higher on the socio-economic scale than those of their fathers. The greatest contribution to this high χ^2

figure came from disparity of representation of the two groups in the Agricultural, Industrial and Transport cells, and from a similarly large disparity between the observed frequencies in the Professional and Technical cells. There has been, as would be expected, upward occupational mobility, as a result of respondents' higher educational attainment than that of their fathers, as was shown in the previous chapter.

It could therefore be expected that this upward mobility would be even more prominent when the occupations of the respondents' children are considered. In this respect it must, however, be stressed that only the 773 children who had already completed their schooling at the time of investigation were considered in this table. The reader will remember that the same restriction was applied when the education of these children was discussed in the previous chapter. As such it will be only their occupations that will be discussed here. Their occupations are shown in the following table.

TABLE 7.6

OCCUPATIONS OF RESPONDENTS' CHILDREN
WHO HAD ALREADY COMPLETED SCHOOLING

Professional

Profession		No	<u>%</u>
Teachers		316	40,9
University L	ecturers	57	7,4
Attorneys		25	3,2
Medical Prac	titioners	21	2,7
Hospital Mat	rons	17	2,2
Nurses		244	31,6
Land Surveyo	rs	15	1,9
TOTAL	,	695	89,9

Managerial

Executive and Administrative

Profession	No	<u>%</u>
Personnel Officers	31	4,0
<u>C1</u> e	erical	
Clerical	47	6,0
GRAND TOTAL	773	99.9

It is immediately apparent that all 773 childrens' occupations fall into comparatively high socio-economic categories, with nearly 15% of them following medical, legal, tertiary lecturing or surveying jobs. When the findings in the early parts of this chapter and in previous chapters are considered, this upward occupational mobility is to be expected, but the overwhelming concentration in the first category, and the total concentration in the top these categories of the Bureau of Census occupational classification is nevertheless remarkable. It should be noted, however, that the two highest single occupations are to be found in the middle-level professional occupations: teaching and nursing, as opposed to such occupations as doctors and lawyers.

As was done earlier in this chapter, the figures in Table 7.7 need to be contrasted with the latest census figures on the occupations of Blacks. Table 7.7 gives the broad picture from 1985 census.

TABLE 7.7

1985 CENSUS: OCCUPATIONS (BLACKS)

		Num	bers	%
Professional, Semi-professional and Technical Workers		192	457	3,62
Managerial, Executive, Admini- strative Workers		10	802	0,20
Clerical, Sales Workers		318	977	6,01
Transport, Communication Workers		296	715	5,59
Service Workers	1	114	189	21,0
Farmers, Farm Workers		944	188	17,80
Tradesmen, Apprentices		63	734	1,20
Mining Workers, Operators, Production Workers	1	316	094	24,81
Unskilled Workers		344	510	6,49
Other		703	061	13,25
TOTAL ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE	5	304	727	99,97
	_			

In the following table the occupations of the respondents' children will be compared with those of total Black population in selected occupational areas (1985 census).

TABLE 7.8

TOTAL BLACK POPULATION AND RESPONDENTS'
CHILDRENS' OCCUPATIONS IN SELECTED AREAS
(1985 CENSUS)

Occupational Area	Total Black <u>No</u> .	Population %	Respondents'	Children <u>%</u>
Professional, Semi- Professional & Technical Workers	192 457	3,62	695	89,9
Managerial, Executive, Administrative	10 802	0,20	31	4,0
Clerical, Sales Workers	296 715	6,01	47	6.0
TOTAL	499 974	9,83	773	99,9

From inspection it can be seen that the distribution of the respondents' children over only three occupational categories show little relationship to the distribution of the total Black economically-active population in the same three categories. Nevertheless a X^2 test was applied to this distribution and the result proved to be statistically highly significant: $X^2 = 910.74$, d.f. 2 P < 0.01.

The greatest contributions to this extremely large X² total came from the over-representation of respondents' children in the professional occupations and their under-representation in the clerical and sales category.

It is now possible to show occupational mobility over three generations: the occupations of the fathers, respondents and children are compared. It should, however, be noted that in this comparison, the occupations will not be categorised as was done in some of the earlier comparisons. In other words, the exact occupations of the three groups under investigation will be given. It should also be noted that the order of these occupations represents, in the author's opinion, occupations from the highest socio-economic status down to the lowest.

TABLE 7.9

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE EXACT OCCUPATIONS

OF THE FATHERS, RESPONDENTS, AND CHILDREN

Exact Occupations	No of Fathers	% of 171	No of Respondents	% of 171	No of Children	% of 773	Grand Total	%
Medical Prac- titioners	1	0,6	1	0,5	21	2,7	23	2,0
Attorneys			1	0,5	25	3,2	26	2,3
University Lecturers					57	7,4	57	5,1
Teachers	47	28,5	94	54,9	316	40,9	457	41,0
Hospital Matrons					17	2,2	17	1,5
Nurses			48	28,0	244	31,6	292	26,1
Personnel Officers					31	4,0	31	2,8
Land-Surveyors					15	1,9	15	1,3
Clerical	11	6,4	3	1,7	47	6,0	61	5,5
Agricultural Workers (Farm Workers)	24	14,5	3	1,7			27	2,4
Transport Workers (Drivers of road vehicles)	3	1,8	6	3,5			9	0,8
Industrial Workers (Machine oper- ators)			6	3,5			6	0,5
Self-employed (Shop owners)	6	3,6	9	5,2			15	1,3
Labourers (Un- skilled Workers)	73	44,2					73	6,5
No Response	6		÷				6	0,5
TOTAL	171	99,6	171	99,5	773	99,9	1115	99,6

Some aspects are worth special mention. Four occupations appear for the first time in the third generation. All of them have reasonably high socio-economic ratings: university lecturers,

hospital matrons, personnel officers and land surveyors. Two further, very highly prestigious occupations (doctors and lawyers) increase from one representative each in the second generation to over 20 each in the third generation.

The high representation of teachers in the second generation, as has already been explained, reflects the nature of the sample, all of whom had been to an institution which specialised in training. It is interesting, however, that this occupation still has high popularity in the third generation, with 40% of the respondents' children following it.

Several occupations disappear in the third generation: agricultural workers, transport workers and industrial workers. Unskilled labourers had disappeared by the second generation. Only one occupation of the middle socio-economic level increases in the third generation: clerical and sales workers. Two things should, however, be remembered. Firstly, the nature of the sample (the second generation) is likely to make this category under-represented. Secondly, it has already been shown that the third generation's representation in this category is considerably less than would be expected if it is compared with the total economically active Black population.

In South Africa as a whole there has often been inefficient use of education leading to inappropriate occupations. For example, high education levels might have been attained, but only low occupations were available. This, to a considerable extent, can still be found in South African Black population. This has, however, not been the case with either second or third generation examples analysed in this chapter.

Three features can be found in the results reflected in this chapter. The first is the remarkable progression in professional status from one generation to the next. This feature was summarised in the last table of this chapter.

The second feature is the clear relationship between educational levels in the second and third generations and the occupations followed by the individuals in these generations. This relationship improves from generation to generation and is particularly noteworthy in the third generation. It was noted that occupational opportunities for Blacks were much more limited in the first wwenty or thirty years of this century and it was found that the relationship between education and occupation was least satisfactory in the respondents' parents' generation. It certainly cannot be claimed that the relationship between these two variables has reached satisfactory or acceptable levels amongst the Black population as a whole, even in the second-last decade of this century. There are still many examples in the broad population of people with high educational levels being unable to find occupations which match these levels. Such examples would be of people who had gone half way through or had completed secondary education but were only able to find manual or unskilled jobs. however, did not emerge at all in this study of the third generation and was only slightly present in the respondents' generation. Although the results from this study are not necessarily typical of the country as a whole, they do suggest that more appropriate use of academic skills in the Black population is, at least, beginning to occur.

The third feature is one which has been commented upon on several occasions in the earlier chapters. It has been suggested that the group being studied is an example of an elite. In each successive generation the representation of the individual in the higher socio-economic occupational categories bears no relation to the distribution of occupations within the Black population. The elite nature of the group has been shown to exist in all the variables that have been explored in this study. Occupational choice is partly dependent on educational level but some link must also be recognised between the parents' ability to introduce to their children, from their own general knowledge, a wide variety of possible occupations. Another link must be parental expectations and ambitions for their children, which would encourage them to make financial sacrifices for their children and to motivate them to stay on to the end of secondary education and go into tertiary education. Such links

must have operated in many of the cases examined in this study.

Many of the features discussed in this chapter are related to social class. In the next chapter a brief examination will be made on some relationships between social class and education.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE INFLUENCE OF SOME SOCIAL CLASS FACTORS ON THE BACKGROUND OF THE RESPONDENTS

From the middle years of the twentieth century there has been a growing interest in the effects of social class on educational progress. This has particularly been found in British educational sociology studies, because that country has been forced to reexamine its educational aims and methods of providing schooling to meet its electorate's demands for greater equality of educational opportunity. Some work has also been done in America, although social class differences are not as openly apparent in America as they are in Europe. Instead, great emphasis is given there to differences between racial groups, especially in connection with Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Spanish-speaking people.

Useful surveys of the research undertaken in this area can be found in Craft (1970). especially his opening chapter and the chapters by Floud, Dale and Griffith, Douglas and the valuable summary by Banks, in the same volume. In all these works, emphasis falls upon varying access to education, varying success in education, and longer time in education for different social classes. As sociological research revived in Europe after the second world war, similar tendencies were found in France (Fraser, 1964, 1967), and in Germany (Marritt, 1971; Williamson, 1977), and even in Soviet Russia (Yanowitch and Dodge, 1968). Some of these comparative results showed (Svalastoga, 1965) that in the Netherlands the upper 5 percent of the population produced 45 percent of all male students (and 66 percent of all female students) in higher education in 1958/1959, while the lowest 68 percent produced only 9 percent of all male and 3 percent of all female students. Svalastoga's summary continues:

"In the United States around 1950, the majority (58 percent) of the ablest one-tenth in regard to I.Q. did not receive a College education. Among

the top 23 percent of Norwegian recruits as measured by I.Q. at age 19, nearly one half (48 percent) had at most obtained ten years' formal education as of 1950...(while)...in France (1953-1954) the percentage of elementary school pupils of given social origin who proceeded to secondary education, was found to range from 13 for agricultural labourers to 89 for professionals."

(p. 137)

A single. but typical example of these research results is provided by Craft himself of a study of social class related to the time of school-leaving in Ireland.

TABLE 8.1

SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL LEAVING AGE IN S. DUBLIN

Middle Class	Upper Working Class	Lower Working Class	Totals
%	%	%	%
. 14	37	60	35
7	12	12	11
11	20	17	17
10	13	4	11
57	18	7	27
= 176	N = 336	N = 113	N = 625
	Class % . 14 . 7 . 11 . 10 . 57	Class Class % % 14 37 7 12 11 20 10 13 57 18	Class Class Class % % % 14 37 60 7 12 12 11 20 17 10 13 4 57 18 7

(Source: Craft M, 1970, p. 5)

Craft also comments on studies which look at schools within the neighbourhoods. In any quantitative measure used to assess the quality of a neighbourhood, school holding-power and school success was positively linked to better quality surroundings. Equally so, children from lower social classes performed better in better quality schools or "predominantly middle-class" schools (Craft, p. 13). He cites research by Wilson (1959) in America, Jayasuriya (1960) in London and Eggleston (1967) in Lancashire.

Such results are relevant when the comparatively privileged and isolated surroundings of Healdtown, in comparison with normal Black urban schools and living conditions, are remembered.

Craft further suggests that care must be taken to differentiate attitudes within the working class, and claims that Klein's classification (1965) of deprived, traditional and changing working-class sub-groups can have important effects upon their children's education. (This study is referred to later in this chapter.) Other workers have suggested similar divisions, but have used different labels (Craft, 1970, pp. 14-18). Banks (1968) reminds us that "studies in the differences within social classes show them to be both complex and heterogeneous." Later she elaborates this point:

"...the difference (could arise) not as a consequence of...class position but as one of its causes. The foremen and skilled workers are likely to include far more upwardly mobile individuals than the unskilled workers... It is at least possible that the personality and value orientations which helped the upwardly mobile families to succeed will also be passed on to their children."

Some evidence to support this claim will be found in this chapter.

The introductory part of this chapter can be concluded by a final extract from Banks' work:

"...however important the family is...it would be false to assume that it is the only factor in explaining either interclass or intra-class differences in eductional achievement. The school itself is a socialising agency...in which the teachers and the peer group each play their part, a part which may reinforce or conflict with the influence of the family."

Jean Floud, writing in 1961, commented that "little has been done to explore with any thoroughness or in any detail the explicit

and implicit demands of life in school...to which pupils (respond) selectively in terms of their differing social experience..."

(cited in Banks, in Craft, 1970).

Only limited work has been done in South Africa along the lines of the kind of European and American research briefly outlined up to this point in this chapter. Even less has been done on the topic as far as Black pupils are concerned. The results described in this present chapter have to be seen, therefore, as tentative, arising as they do from a sample whose bias has frequently been mentioned. and an analysis of a questionnaire which was not specifically designed from an educational sociology point of view.

There is one other limiting qualification which could affect these results. It is difficult to assess whether social class differences amongst Blacks in South Africa are perceived by themselves in the same way as people do in Britain, Europe or America. A very simple categorisation, nevertheless, was attempted so as to place the respondents into two broad social classes, dependent upon the occupation of their fathers. To do this, some fairly arbitrary decisions had to be made. Clearly, teachers and other professionally trained people and those working as clerks could be placed in the middle-class category. After consideration, drivers were also placed there because of the likelihood of their earning considerably more than labourers. A small group of self-employed parents was also placed in the middle-class group, although no respondents had given any details of the nature of this employment. Parents described as farm labourers or merely as labourers were placed in the working-class category.

The distribution over the two broad classes is shown in Table 8.2.

TABLE 8.2

SOC IAL CLASS BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS' FATHERS

	Male	Respondents	Female	e Respondents	To	tal
	n	%	<u> </u>	%	n	%
Middle Class:						
Professional	19	19.2	29	40.3	48	28.1
Clerical	6	6.1	5	6.9	11	6.4
Drivers	2	2.0	1	1.4	3	1.8
Self-employed	6	6.1	-	-	6	3.5
	33	33,4	35	48.6	68	39.8
Working class: Labourers	64	64.6	33	45.8	67	56.7
No response	2	2.0	4	5.6	6	3.5
Total	99	100,0	72	100.0	141	100.0
	-					

The strong representation of more prestigious occupations in the family backgrounds of the respondents had already been commented upon in chapter 7. The clear differences between the two social classes when the male and female respondents are compared emerges in this table, with the women having a more favoured social class background than the men. Perhaps middle-class values, in the first half of the 20th century, were important for encouraging girls to move into secondary and, at times, tertiary education.

Face to face interviews were held with 30 of the Healdtown respondents. With a view to finding out whether during their stay in the Institution there were noticeable class distinctions, of which they were aware. Very few claimed that they did not know, and the majority answered positively. One respondent reported:

[&]quot;Abafundi babe,ndidi mbini, babekho ababesuka kumakhaya ekwakucaca ukuba ayefumile, babekho nababesuka kumakhaya ekwakucaca ukuba kwakunzima. Kodwa ezi ndidi zombini zazingafani twatse

nasemlungwini kuba nababesuka kumakhaya afumileyo, kwakuhlalwa ndawonye, kudlalwa kunye kukhulwa kunye", meaning, "Students were divided into two groups: those who came from well-to-do homes and those who apparently came from poorer homes. This distinction, however, was not exactly as it is among whites in the sense that both groups at home occupied the same locality, same type of houses. In other words, they grew up in the same environment. This is not the case with the whites."

This comment illustrates clearly one of the problems of applying European results of the effects of social class differences directly to Black South African conditions.

A second respondent also divided the students into two groups: one he referred to as "Abantwana bamaramncwa", literally meaning children of wild beasts. The implication was that their parents had the means to purchase cattle. In this group were found children of teachers, medical doctors, ministers of religion, evangelists. farmers (who kept large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep). shopkeepers, clerks and so on. In the second group were found children of parents who were unskilled labourers in the large cities as well as from rural areas. In the rural areas, for instance, there were parents who worked in the gold mines in Johannesburg, diamond mines in Kimberley, coal fields in Natal and in manganese mines in Postmasburg, while some worked in large cities such as Cape Town and East London as unskilled workers.

When the respondents were asked whether it was possible to notice differences between children who came from these two classes, all responded positively: "umahluko wawuzicacele", meaning, the difference between the two groups was clear. One of the respondents remembered some of these differences in detail. He explained that one of the noticeable differences was in money. Those who came from what could be talled middle-class homes never ran short of pocket money, and they were not sent home in the middle of the term to fetch outstanding fees, as happened to some less fortunate students.

It was common among those who could be called working-class children for them to be weeks without any pocket money. Some of them lost some tuition when they had to go home to fetch outstanding fees. He also remembered that those from middle-class homes never ran short of fat while those from the working-class, in the majority of cases, were helped by their friends from the middle-class. During this period it was a common feature for both male and female students to bring bottles and tins full of fat from home in order to make the Institution diet (samp) more appetising.

He also remembered how those from the middle-class added jam and butter to their bread every day, while those from the working-class could not afford to do so. The last noticeable difference he could remember was in the manner of dress. There was a vast difference between the type of clothes worn by those from the middle-class "inkomo" (cattle people) who could often afford suits, which were never seen on the working-class students. During most of the period under examination uniform was compulsory only on Sundays. During the week one could put on what one liked. The author remembers when uniform was introduced for week days as well (after 1955). This was an attempt by the Institution to save embarrassment on the part of students who could not afford expensive clothing throughout their study period.

Another respondent recalled the days when the parents of some of the middle-class students visited the Institution: "Ndisenawo umbono bengena ngeemoto esquarini zithwele umphako ngecawa emva kwedinala peqhuba iimoto zakomawabo bebukwa ngabanye abafundi", meaning. "I still have a mental picture of those cars driving into the square on Sunday afternoons bringing provisions from home. One would see their sons driving the fathers' cars up and down while the rest of the students watched in admiration."

It would seem that in the minds of those who were interviewed, money was seen as the main determiner of class. In spite of these differences, all respondents emphasized that there was no

overt dissension between people who were from different social classes or from different financial backgrounds. They could not remember any instance when it appeared that one group tended to look down upon the other because of these differences.

One of the most frequent findings of European and American sociological research is the relationship between social class and the length or extent of education that children receive. Using the very broad social class categorisation already described, a simple analysis was made of this factor in the case of the respondents. Before the figures are examined, however, it must be repeated that the group as a whole has been described as an elite one when the characteristics of the Black population as a whole during this period are considered. It was possible to ask, nevertheless, whether even within this elite group, social class might have affected the extent of education the group received.

The respondents were placed into three broad educational groups: those who had not gone as far as Standard 10 (although some would have had, say, some teacher training after Junior Certificate or Standard 6); those who went no further than Standard 10; and those who continued their education in any form beyond Standard 10. These three categories were then further sub-divided into the two broad social class divisons. The results are shown in the following three tables, together with the X² calculations applied to those tables. In these calculations, the six respondents who gave no indication of their fathers' occupations have not been included.

TABLE 8.3

SOC IAL CLASS D IFFERENCES AND LENGTH

OF EDUCATION: MALES

Social Class	Below Std 10	% —	Std 10 Only	%	Further Than Std 10	%	Grand Total	%
Middle Class	5	15.2	8	24.2	20	60.6	33	100.0
Working Class	17	26.6	35	54.7	12	18.7	64	100.0
Total	22		43		32		97	100.0

 X^2 = 17.21, d.f. 2, P < 0.01 Highly significant.

TABLE 8.4

SOC IAL CLASS D IFFERENCES AND LENGTH

OF EDUCATION: FEMALES

Social Class	Below Std 10	%	Std 10 Only	%	Further Than Std 10	%	Grand Total	%
	-	-		-	<u> </u>	-		-
Middle Class	9	25.7	4	11.4	22	62.9	35	100.0
Working Class	11	33.3	15	45.5	7	21.2	33	100.0
Total	20		19		29		68	100.0
	-	,						

 $X^2 = 14.385$, d.f. 2, P < 0.01 Highly significant.

TABLE 8.5

SOC IAL CLASS D IFFERENCES AND LENGTH
OF EDUCATION: ALL RESPONDENTS

Total	42		62		61		165	100.0
Working Class	28	28.9	50	51.5	19	19.6	97	100.0
Middle Class	14	20.6	12	17.6	42	61.8	68	100.0
Social Class	Below Std 10	% - —	Std 10 Only	%	Further Than Std 10	% —	Grand Total	%

 $x^2 = 32.717$, d.f. 2, P 0.01 Highly significant

When the tables are examined in detail, the advantage of those who came from middle-class homes is very clear. The χ^2 totals all reveal highly significant differences. In each calculation, a large contribution to the χ^2 total came from those students from the middle-class who went beyond Standard 10. In the same way, far fewer cases from the working-class went beyond Standard 10 than was to be expected.

The emphasis given to money in the respondents' interpretation of class differences has already been noted. The financial burden of maintaining pupils in education obviously accounts partly for these results. Healdtown was a fee-paying Institution. Clearly, working-class parents would have had greater difficulties in paying fees or in borrowing money for the fees, than would middle-class parents. Nevertheless, the strong similarity of the effects of social class on length of education in the sample to findings from Europe and America is striking.

It has been found in other parts of the world that all groups except those in the more alienated of slum cultures would tend to agree, at least at verbal level, that education is a good thing. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the degree of conviction behind the statement varies enormously. The evidence of research shows fairly conclusively that the more highly parents value education, the more they will support the child's educa-

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tional endeavours and the more likely he is to succeed (Banfield et al. 1966; Douglas, 1964; Wall et al. 1962 as cited by Swift D F, 1967). It is further claimed that the more the child succeeds, the more likely he is to go on succeeding (Robinson, 1964, cited in Swift D F, p. 181). When these views were weighed against the respondents' reports it appeared that the restricted evidence from the respondents confirmed these tendencies.

The extended replies of three respondents illustrate the effects of parental aspirations upon their children. In the first two cases both parents fell clearly in the middle-class, as far as both education and occupation were concerned.

"My father was a teacher whose qualifications were Standard Six and Native Primary Lower Teachers Certificate while my mother was a housewife although she also had the same qualifications as my father. In our neighbourhood, there was a day secondary school which I had hoped to attend after I had passed Standard Six. My father and my mother were unanimous that I should go to Healdtown because they wanted me to do matric (matriculation) after passing Form Three (Junior Certificate). After I had passed it (Junior Certificate). After I had passed it (Junior Certificate), they persuaded me to do matric (matriculation) though I was not keen because of the impression I had that not any one passed it. Fortunately I passed it and instead of doing a teacher's course they encouraged me to do nursing. Throughout my studies at Healdtown I could see that they were behind me. During my career in the nursing profession they also reminded me that I must go on because matric (matriculation) 'is not the end of the road.' After my father had died and my mother could not afford to send me to university, on my own I registered with the University of South Africa for a B.A. degree which I completed and thereafter I did Honours which I also passed. When I got married, I did a Masters degree in English which I passed after four years. I really owe this to their inspiration, especially my father."

The second respondent, who was also from a middle-class background, explained:

The transport of the second

"My father was a teacher whose qualifications were Form Three (Junior Certificate) and P.H. (Primary Higher) while my mother was also a teacher with N.P.L. (Native Primary Lower). Unfortunately we were staying in a slum area where the majority of other children of school-going age roamed the streets during school time. Since these were my friends I used to play with them after school. My mother always discouraged me when I wanted to go and converse with them next to a nearby shop. She would always tell me that I must spend my time studying. In the evening my father would always be keen to see in my book how many sums (arithmetic sums) I had passed. This made me pass Standard Six. They both refused when I wanted to join my friends in a local Secondary School for the reason I did not know. At Healdtown I did well. My father always said he would be glad if I could pass matric (matriculation) because both he and my mother did not study for it during their time. When I passed it I did P.H. (Primary Higher) because they did not have money to send me to Fort Hare for a degree. It was only when I was already teaching that I obtained B.A. and B.A. (Honours) from the Unviersity of Rhodes. Throughout my years at Healdtown they always told me that I must study as hard as possible. Since my father was a teacher, he sometimes brought me old library books and encouraged me to read them saying that would supplement my knowledge in the subjects I was studying. Even today I sometimes feel that probably it was that inspiration which made the difference between myself and my childhood friends."

The third example was slightly different. Here the father was a labourer on the gold mines, but had had some education himself. His views are similar to those found in one of the working-class groups in Klein's (1965) study (cited in Craft, 1970, p. 15). Klein suggested that there were three distinguishable groups in the working-class which he called "deprived" (showing insecurity and deviation from society's norms): "traditional" and "changing". Craft summarises this third group as "often residents in newer housing areas who are more home-centred and less orientated to kin and community whose families are more democratic and child-centred, and who are altogether more individualistic and more questioning." They are, furthermore, ambitious for the children

and more often "see (more) relevance in their schooling than the traditional working class..." (p. 15). The goldminer's son in the present study recalled the pressure that was placed upon him during his school years:

"My father was working in the gold mines in Johannesburg and came home occasionally. Since it appeared that he occupied a slightly better position in the mines than others by virtue of the better education he had. he wanted me to study harder so that I could be better than what he was. On arrival he liked to say, '...ufunde ngoba ndibona apha kum into eyenziwa yimfundo', meaning. 'you must study because I see in me the value of education.' This would be repeated even in the letters he wrote to my mother; as a result I managed to be a teacher."

The next thing which needs to be examined is whether there is a relationship between occupations held by the respondents and those of their parents as a result of education achieved. In this regard, it is specifically asserted in Swift's work that "A great deal of research has produced a large amount of evidence to show that middle-class children aspire to higher occupational and income levels than those of the working-class." (Bruckman, 1966; Jackson and Marsden, 1962; Kahl, 1953; Rosen, 1956; Sewell et al, 1957; Stacey, 1965; Swift, 1967; R H Turner, 1966, as cited in Swift, 1971, p. 181). It is felt that probably they try harder at all tasks, presumably because of the view of "themselves in relation to task" why they are taught (Hyman, 1953; Rosen and d'Andrade, 1959, as cited in Swift, 1971, p. 181). These attitudes also find some support in the respondents' memories. This will be more clear if the reader takes note of what was prominent in the previous chapter where occupations of respondents were compared with occupations of their parents. As shown in that chapter, many parents who were teachers had children who in their later lives also became teachers. The situation 'like father like son' in that chapter was very pronounced in that analysis. For example, one respondent who is a medical doctor, explained:

"I followed on the footsteps of my father who was also a medical doctor."

Another respondent noted:

"I am a principal of a big school like my father."

Yet another reported that:

"I am a hospital matron, I could have easily used my mother's uniform if the pattern and colour of uniform had not been changed, it is wonderful, is it not?..."

Parental attitudes are the next to be considered. The parental attitudes of the middle-class will be dealt with first. One group has been described as the "traditional respectables" and which often includes many skilled manual workers, or foremen or chargehands. and clerical workers. This group apparently shows greater concern for material possessions and is ambitious for their children and is keenly supportive of school activities, occasionally even putting excessive pressures on children to do well at school, (Craft, p. 16).

Some of the respondents from the middle-class homes, when interviewed. gave the impression that their parents had similar attitudes towards education, that is, children were expected to do better than the parents educationally. One respondent, for instance, whose father was a principal of a school and whose mother was a nursing sister, reported:

"Every afternoon my father would check my school exercise books and helped me where I had not done well. He would always be keen to know 'Kunjani kodwa, usazama? Ungayekeleli kusekude ngaphambili kaloku wena akufuneki ukuba uphelele kule imfundwana ndinayo elenu ixesha libhetele kunelethu', meaning, 'How are things? Are you still trying? Do not relax, there is still a long way ahead because you must not achieve the same level of education as I, since there are better opportunities during your time'."

Another respondent whose father was a medical doctor and whose mother was a teacher, reported that:

"My father was so keen that I should do better that he always said, 'Ukuba uyakuba ngugqira nje ngam uyakuba akwenzanga nto', meaning, 'If you will only be a doctor like me, you will not have done anything'." (Implying that he expected his child to do more than what he (the father) had done.)

The third respondent, whose parents were reasonably well-to-do, in that the father, professionally, was a teacher, but practised sheep farming, while the mother (a housewife) also had passed matriculation and had a Native Primary Higher Teachers' Certificate, reported:

"Biza yonke into efunwayo esikolweni kuba sifuna ufunde ube ngaphezulu kunale into sibe nokuyenza thina. Ungacingi ukuba sisithi funda nje sinyeke imali yakho wakuba ugqibile. Into esiyinqwenelayo kukuba kubonakale ukuba eyethu indima notatakho sayenza', meaning, 'Let us know everything needed at school because we want you to get better education than ours. Do not think we urge you to learn because we want your money when you have finished. Our wish is to see you through so that we may have done our duty'."

It would seem, therefore, that the attitude of the parents of the middle-class had two components: to see their children make a success in life, but also hoping they would achieve more than their parents had done.

On the other hand, those parents of the working-class appeared to believe that education of children should benefit them in their old age. One respondent reported:

"My parents always emphasized that I must not forget them when I had been through with my studies at Healdtown, since they had suffered a lot during my stay there. Their popular words were, 'Ungajongi ngaphaya wakugqiba esikolweni wazi ukuba

ngexesha ebesikufundisa ngalo besingathathi ntweni besizenze idini ukuze wena ufunde', meaning, 'You must not look in the other direction when you are through with your studies at Healdtown. It must be clear to you that we had nothing when we sent you to Healdtown so that you could get education. We sacrificed a lot for your education'."

Another respondent reported that his parents did not want him to do matriculation at Healdtown, after completing a teacher's course, because that would mean he would have to stay for two additional years, whereas he could come back immediately since he had qualified as a teacher. He remembered what his parents said when he suggested that he did matriculation after completing the teacher's course:

"Kucaca ukuba ufuna sife singazanga siyitye eyakho imali', meaning, 'It is clear that you want us to die without having benefitted from your money'."

The interpretation of education as an investment for the parents' security in old age is also reflected in the following report from another respondent:

"Bendisithi xa ndisekhaya ngeholide athi xa umama epheka inyama eze notata emsebenzini, ndithi ndakuyincoma athi yena, xa sibadala nomamakho wena sele uyititshala uze ungathi kwinkosikazi yakho naliya elaxhego nexhegokazi besiza, zenithi andikho ndiyayazi ayawazakucela Ukhumbule inxukhwebe', meaning, imali. 'Whenever I was at home during holidays I always appreciated the meat brought home by my father from town. When I showed my appreciation for it he would say, when your mother and I are too old and you a teacher, don't say to your wife when you see us, there come that old man and old lady, say I am not at home, I know they are going to ask for some money. You must remember what we did for you while you were at Healdtown'."

It would seem that, on the one hand, the attitude of parents of the middle-class was to encourage the child to do and achieve more that the parents: "The middle-class family is said to be child-centred, future-orientated and interested in achievement and

mobility..." (Craft, 1970, p. 18). On the other hand, the attitude of the parents of the working-class was to keep their children for a very short period at Healdtown so that they should come back and work for them (the parents). In other words, the attitudes of both types of parents of the Healdtown sample were similar to those of parents in other parts of the world.

It has often been found that "children from smaller families do better at school and stay on longer." (Craft, 1970, p. 21). An example of family size and the relation to social class can be seen in Craft's (1970) study on Irish Catholic families in Dublin, and is illustrated in the following table.

TABLE 8.6

SOCIAL CLASS AND FAMILY SIZE AMONG IRISH CATHOLICS

Family size	% Middle- class	% Upper Working Class	% Lower Working Class	Totals
Small family (1-3 children)	24	23	14	22
Average family (4-7 children)	62	56	53	57
Large family (8+ children)	14	21	33	21
1	00(171)	100(336)	100(113)	100(120)

(Adapted from Craft, 1970, p. 22)

From the questionnaire it was possible to create tables to show the size of the families from which the respondents themselves came and to relate this to the extent of the respondents' fathers' education. The information is presented first for the male respondents and then for the female respondents.

TABLE 8.7 THE SIZE OF FAMILIES OF MALE RESPONDENTS

					F	amily	Size	2					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	No re-	Total
	_	-	_	_	_	-	<u> </u>	-	=	-	_	sponse	
None	1	3	3	2	4	1	1		1		1		17
Junior Primary		1	2		1								4
Senior Primary		2	13	15	4	8	7	4	5				63
Junior Certif.				1									1
Senior Certif.	1				1								2
No re- sponse												12	12
Total	2	6	18	18	15	9	8	4	6		1	12	99
	Junior Primary Senior Primary Junior Certif. Senior Certif. No re- sponse	Junior Primary Senior Primary Junior Certif. Senior Certif. I No re- sponse	None 1 3 Junior Primary 1 Senior Primary 2 Junior Certif. Senior Certif. 1 No response	None 1 3 3 Junior Primary 1 2 Senior Primary 2 13 Junior Certif. Senior Certif. 1 No response	None 1 3 3 2 Junior Primary 1 2 Senior Primary 2 13 15 Junior Certif. 1 Senior Certif. 1 No response	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	None 1 3 3 2 4 1 1 Junior Primary 1 2 1 Senior Primary 2 13 15 4 8 7 4 Junior Certif. 1 No response	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 None 1 3 3 2 4 1 1 1 Junior Primary 1 2 1 Senior Primary 2 13 15 4 8 7 4 5 Junior Certif. 1 No response	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 None 1 3 3 2 4 1 1 1 Junior Primary 1 2 1 Senior Primary 2 13 15 4 8 7 4 5 Junior Certif. 1 No response	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 None 1 3 3 2 4 1 1 1 1 Junior Primary 1 2 1 Senior Primary 2 13 15 4 8 7 4 5 Junior Certif. 1 No response	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 No response None 1 3 3 2 4 1 1 1 1 1 Junior Primary 1 2 1 Senior Primary 2 13 15 4 8 7 4 5 Junior Certif. 1 1 No response 12

The average number of siblings in the families of the male respondents was 4.8. After adding the two parents, the average size of the primary family becomes 6.8.

In the next table the sizes of families of the female respondents will be analysed.

TABLE 8.8

THE SIZE OF FAMILIES OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS

						Fa	amily	Size						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	No re- sponse	Total
		_	_	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	_	-	Sporise	-
	None		1		1									2
×	Junior Primary	Ī						1						2
ation	Senior Primary	2	2	1	15	7	10	8		3	2			50
s Educ	Junior Certif.	2		i	3	1	1	ī						9
Father's Education	Senior Certif.							1			1			2
	No re- sponse												7	7
	Total	5	3	2	19	8	11	11		3	3		7	72

The average number of siblings in the families of the female respondents was 5.12. After adding the two parents, the average size of the primary family was 7.12. After the male and female figures were combined. the average number of siblings was 5.0, making an average primary family size of 7.0.

These figures can now be compared with a number of other South African studies. The main findings are presented in Table 8.9.

TABLE 8.9

SIZE OF PRAMARY FAMILY IN SOME SOUTH AFRICAN STUDIES

Study	Area	Year	Mean size of primary family
Unisa	Soweto	1962	4.7
Unisa	Pretoria	1963	5.0
Unisa	Benoni .	1963	4.7
Muir and Tunmer	Soweto	1965	7.0
Tunmer	Soweto	1965	7.2
Present Study		1925-1955	7.0

The first three averages were calculated by the Bureau of Market Research in the University of South Africa, and reflect conditions in major Transvaal urban areas. The Muir and Tunmer study concerned bursary applications mainly from the Soweto area in the years 1955 to 1963. Tunmer's 1969 study dealt with day-school pupils from Soweto. It can be seen that all the studies in this table concerned pupils from sophisticated urban areas and the first three and the fifth were slightly later than the period covered by the Healdtown respondents.

It is, nevertheless, interesting to see how close is the mean family size of the last three studies in the table. The considerably smaller means for the first three studies might, as has been suggested, reflect attitudes in a sophisticated urban environment, but would not explain the high figure obtained in the fifth study.

It would seem, therefore, that the high figures for family size in the present study have not necessarily diminished in the past fifty years.

By examining Tables 8.7 and 8.8 it would seem that there was no immediately observable relationship between fathers' education and the family size. This was confirmed when a 3 x 2 table (Table 8.10) was constructed to apply a X^2 test to the data. The families were divided into two broad groups for size: four or fewer children and five or more. The father's educational level was placed into one of three broad groups: no education and up to Junior Primary; Senior Primary; and higher than Senior Primary. The X^2 test revealed no statistically significant result - X^2 = 2.388, d.f. P = 5.991 = > 0.5.

TABLE 8.10

FAMILY SIZE OF ALL RESPONDENTS AND FATHERS' EDUCATION

Salar Salar	Fam		
Fathers' Education	1-4	5 and larger	Total
None or Junior Primary	15	10	25
Senior Primary	50	63	113
Above Senior Primary	8	6	14
	73	79	152

It is not possible to account exactly for this deviation from the results of many European and American studies. Three possibilities can be tentatively put forward. The first is that, as the respondents in this study would have been born between 1910 and approximately 1940, there was no pressure for smaller families in Black society at that time.

The second possibility is that the educational levels of the parents fall into a comparatively narrow band. If they had had education, they would have received it, in most cases, at the primary level only. In European and American studies this level would be likely to be found only in working-class backgrounds, where larger families are most common. The educational levels of the respondents' fathers are possibly not sufficiently discriminated to show statistically significant differences.

The third possibility is that at the time of the respondents' births, social security services for Blacks in South Africa were virtually non-existent. In these circumstances, the need for larger families would exist, regardless of the educational level of the father. Some interview evidence, already quoted in this chapter, suggests that this possibility cannot be excluded.

In this chapter, four aspects of social class have been examined

in relation to the Healdtown sample: length of schooling; parental aspirations; views of purposes of education, and family size. Where possible, face-to-face interviews could be used to supplement the numerical analysis. The results from this chapter can only be tentative, but in broad terms they confirm what has so often been shown in other studies. The one exception was the relationship between fathers' education and family size, and three possible explanations were advanced for this exception.

In the following two chapters the questionnaire's open-ended questions will be analysed and will concentrate on the respondents' memories of Healdtown and their assessments of the Institution's long-term influence.

CHAPTER NINE

MEMORIES OF HEALDTOWN

Part VIII of the questionnaire asked the respondents three questions: 1) to list good and bad memories of Healdtown; 2) whether Healdtown had in any way influenced them; and 3) whether they have any criticisms against Healdtown. To all of these questions there were responses. It must, however, be explained first that only the memories of Healdtown will be discussed in this chapter. The remaining two aspects will be discussed in the next chapter. Secondly, it must be noted that the memories are divided into two kinds: best memories and worst memories. The best memories, which will be discussed first, have been categorised as follows: Social Activities (concerts, parade, long week-ends, church services in the evenings, etc). Sport (rugby, soccer, netball, etc). Cultural Activities (Boy Scouts/Girl Guides, discussion group, debating societies, Institution choir, etc). Teachers (attitude towards students, especially in the classroom). Discipline (regulations, punishment, etc). Entertainment (bioscope, indoor games and outdoor games).

Since each respondent recorded more than one memory, the total number of best memories will be more than the total number of 171 respondents. The worst memories have been categorised as follows: unrest period, disciplinary actions taken, cold water in the bathrooms, poor diet, effects of droughts and war, deaths of staff and some students, manual labour, initiation of newcomers. It must be noted that since a number of respondents have commented on all the above questions, only a few in each group have been selected for citation. The following table analyses the best memories.

TABLE 9.1
BEST MEMORIES OF HEALDTOWN

Best Memories	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
Social Activities Sport Cultural Activities Teachers Discipline Entertainment	70 56 28 15 26 22	70,7 56,6 28,3 15,2 26,3 22,2	56 32 28 37 23 20	77,7 44,4 38,8 51,3 31,9 27,7	126 88 56 52 49 42	73,6 51,5 32,7 30,4 28,6 24,5
Totals	217		196		413	

It can be seen that all the percentages for the men's and women's best memories were very similar, with one exception: 30% of women, but only 15% of the men recorded good memories of teachers who had taught them.

Of the 171 respondents, 126 (73,6%) claim to remember Social Activities as being particularly enjoyable. One of the memories reflected the reluctance and insecurity of the pupils towards pupils of the other sex. This was particularly strongly indicated when they spoke of occasions when the boys and girls shared the same dining hall. Three respondents commented on those mixed dinners. A woman said: "Mixed dinners trained me in table manners. Whenever I am at table with any person or persons, I feel confident, free and relaxed. I owe this to the indirect training I got at Healdtown, as a result I always remember them." A second woman respondent recorded that:

"At the time I was against the idea of mixed dinners because I was shy. What worried me most was that at home my parents had never allowed us to sit at table with them and use forks and knives, as a result I was always worried whenever the Head Girl at Healdtown announced on Sunday morning during long weekends that my table was one of those selected to have dinner with male students. I had to tolerate this since there was no other alternative. It was in later life that it became clear to me what the authorities had in mind, because today I am always at home at table with anyone, anywhere. This was due to Healdtown. I do not forget it."

These memories were not confined to women, because a man also spoke of his initial uncertainty:

"During mixed dinners, I was sure to starve because I would not eat as I used to. The reasons are these: firstly, at home I used a spoon and sat on the floor. Secondly, I was not sure if I used the fork and knife correctly. It was only after I had left the institution that I had confidence in myself. Thank you Healdtown in this regard. I hate to think what would happen to me if I had missed this indirect training. I will always remember those good days."

Mixed dinners were held twice a year, during Easter Week-end and during September or October in the second semester. In both cases half of the male students on Sundays would go to the Women's hostel for dinner, while the other half would be joined by a group of pupils from the women's hostel.

Three respondents whose pleasurable memories of concerts held, as was previously explained, as part of the long week-ends, can be used as examples of this category. The concert organisation was the responsibility of the Entertainment Committee whose members demanded extensive rehearsal and high standards of performance. One respondent particularly recalled the long-lasting effect of such high standards:

"Healdtown taught me one thing in as far as the concerts were concerned i.e. thorough preparation of musical items. Today I am a teacher who is responsible, among other things, for music. Every time my choir is to render an item, I always prepare that item thoroughly. If my choir is to take part in music competitions, I prepare it thoroughly for the competition. When my fellow colleagues and pupils ask why I exhaust myself so much, I'm always ready to reply: 'I was trained at Healdtown where high standards of performance were expected of us'. As a result I always think of those days."

A second person recorded that:

"I will not forget that Healdtown unearthed our talents which, if there were no concerts would have probably been buried in some of us. For instance, today I earn my living from music. I was not so good in the classroom but I was given sufficient training in music which I love. My children today wonder when I tell them that they eat, get their education and also get clothing because of my ability to sing. If it were not for those concerts and opportunity you gave me Healdtown, probably I would not have been where I am today. Thank you. This wonderful memory will always remain vivid in my mind."

A man wrote:

"Healdtown allowed us to be creative in the sense that, apart from offering musical items during concerts, some of us could also offer sketches.

Today I visit many places in South Africa and abroad as an actor and a playwright. No one has asked me where I was trained in this, but I know that it was Healdtown that nourished me and allowed me to be creative. This is one of my best memories of Healdtown."

The next three examples refer to English Services and Parade on Sundays which remained strongly in many pupils' memories and which have been extensively described in chapter four. The first respondent recorded that:

"I always enjoy listening to English services over the radio on Sunday evenings because they remind me of Healdtown."

The second recorded as follows:

"The sermons, the high standard of music, male students in their black glazers, white shirts, grey trousers, maroon and gold ties on and that eagle on each blazer, while women had black skirts and white blouses on, is a picture that I will never forget."

The third recorded as follows:

"What about students marching to the chapel? What about the Lady Supertintendents and the the Housemaster whose keen eyes were on each student? What ever happens I will never forget the Parade."

There were two main services at Healdtown each Sunday. The first was in the morning for both students and local people. This was conducted in Xhosa. The second was for students and staff only in the evening. The respondents therefore appear to remember the Parade which was explained in chapter four and the English service to which preachers were also invited from outside the Institution, in particular. The picture remarked about by the second of these examples originates from the appearance of students as they were in the pews inside the chapel in the evening.

The second highest number of memories is sporting activities referred to by 88 answers, that is, by just over half the respondents. There are many who commented on the various aspects of sport. Four examples have been selected: the first is loud shouts and

yells from the pavillion as extensively described in chapter four. The second recorded that:

"I will never forget one Healdtown athlete, who, during the Inter-Institutional Sports Meeting at Lovedale, arrived at the starting point after other competitors were already on the way in the then eight hundred and eighty yards race. During Inter-Institutional Sports, it was customary for each team to have a tent in which they stayed during the day. It would appear that, on this particular day, this particular competitor somehow was not aware that others were already on the starting point. It was only after he had heard the sound of the starter's gun that he was seen rushing out of the Healdtown tent and running as hard as he could to catch up with the other runners."

The third example was concerned with cricket matches:

"I will always remember cricket matches between staff members and Healdtown cricket team. I will always remember the shrill voice of the Governor's wife who always cheered the staff members when batting. I will never forget her utterances when spectators were excitedly shouting the clan names of Black staff members who were in the team, 'Listen how do they call him, they call him 'Bhila' (Bhele). Do you hear how they call that one? They call him 'Lamini' (Dlamini)'. (It was a tradition of Healdtown during the latter part of the period being investigated that once a year staff members (Black and White) who had knowledge of cricket to play the Healdtown first eleven. On such days, the majority of staff members and their families would be present to cheer their team. It was on such occasions that the Governor's wife mispronounced the clan names of Black staff 'Bhila' instead of 'Bhele' and 'Lamini' instead of 'Dlamini' as explained. This was a joke to the majority of students)."

The fourth recalled the rugby match which was played against Lovedale at Healdtown. This respondent recorded his memory as follows:

"If I remember correctly it was during the first week of June 1951 that it was made known to students that the most important fixture that month was against Lovedale at Healdtown. Unfortunately, as I have said, I don't remember

the date but I am sure of the month, it was June. What I do not forget about this match is the conversation that was between Sbonda (Dumile Kondile) and his captain Nkomo (Malizo Ben-Mazwi) practice a few days before the match. 'Kucaca ukuba yinto le Lovedale Nkomo.' (It is clear that this Lovedale is a formidable side Nkomo). kuba kutheni Sbonda?' (Why do you say so Sbonda?). 'Nditsho kuba kuzo zonke ezi match sesizidlalile andizange ndiyibone iTshatshi isipheka ngoluhlobo. Ndiyayiva nangoku ithetha nawe isithi ngo 9 p.m. emva kwezitadi zesibeseGym'. (I say so because of all the matches we have played so far, I have never seen the tshatshi so hard on us in practices. Even now I heard him instructing you to tell us to be in the gymnasium at 9 p.m. after studies). (Tshatshi was the nickname given to the coach that year. This originated from his short stature). 'Andizokuthetha Sbonda ngoba uMgqibelo sele ulapha uzakuzibonela nawe'. (I am not going to say much Sbonda, the Saturday is not far you are going to see yourself). After that match I met Sbonda in his dormitory and asked him how he had felt on the field. His answer was, 'Umzimba uyandixelela ukuba le imatch ibiyenye'. (My body tells me that this was a different match). This match which Sbonda calls '...the Cambridge and Oxford of African Colleges in South Africa...' is described by him in the Eagle of 1954 and appears in Appendix 8.

In Table 9.1 it was shown that 32,7% of the respondents particularly remembered cultural activities. Two examples of respondents who commented on Boy Scouts follow:

"I will never forget our Boy Scout camps at Leafy Hall (the name of the camp site). I still have a picture of Friday afternoon when on arrival, we would pitch tents and thereafter spread all over the place to gather wood for the camp fire which would be on Saturday evening. I still 'hear' the voices as we sung our song 'camp fire is burning, camp fire is burning'. (Song which used to be sung by Boy Scouts after the Governor had lit the pile of logs which had long been prepared)."

"I do not forget our Governor the Rev Stanley Pitts, who on Sunday morning would arrive at the camp accompanied by Boy Scouts from Lovedale and Girl Guides from Healdtown. I used to enjoy the service he conducted. What impressed me most was that he was in full Boy Scouts uniform as he was preaching. Of all things our war cries will always

be clear in my mind:

'Luph'ulwandle? LuseThekwini, Luph'lwandle? LuseThekwini, Lwenzani na? Luyatshisa Lwenzani na? Luyatshisa, Lwenzani na Luyatshisa, tshisa, tshisa'. Where is the sea? It is in Durban, where is the sea it's in Durban. What does it do? It is itching. What does it do? It is itching."

The third respondent remembered the Institution choir:

"I do not forget our conductor iBhele (clan name of Mr Mbete who was the conductor at the time), our pianist/organist Miss Woodward and our trainer Mr Lebentlele (Shop) (his nickname). I always remember the days when we had to rehearse in the men's dining hall in the presence of staff and students. Oh! those were the good old days which will never return."

A number of respondents (15% of the men and 51% of the women) remembered their teachers in detail. It has already been noted that more women than men had good memories of teachers. For this reason, the first set of quotations recorded here will be those selected from the smaller group of male respondents. Sometimes the memory was of a powerful charismatic personality.

"I shall never forget Mr J J Dandala who taught us Xhosa, Physiology and Hygiene and History. He was so popular with us that, whenever he entered our class for the first time, after he had greeted us, the whole class would respond: D.N.D. (This was derived from his surname). I still remember his quotations and introductions to new lessons. For instance, the day he was going to introduce the chapter on Food in Physiology and Hygiene, he instructed us to close our books and look at him, we did as he had said. He then suddenly exclaimed, 'Let me have the diet of the world and I don't care what laws you'll make. What is man? nothing else but the food he eats; appetite and character are like two buckets in a pulley, when the one goes up the other comes down', and then proceeded with the lesson. I also remember how he introduced the lesson in History, i.e. the Russian Campaign of 1812. As he was entering the classroom that rainy and cold morning without having greeted us he exclaimed, 'Historians are generally agreed that this campaign should not have been undertaken, and

if undertaken it should not have been forced into a definite issue within a single season. Napoleon blundered by overlooking the physical obstacles of Russia in his way of success'. As soon as he had finished, he smiled and the whole class in appreciation stood up, excitedly banged the lids of desks and shouted, 'D.N.D. Durban and Natal Districts'. That was D.N.D. Enjoy your retirement Dosini." (Dosini was his clan name).

The second example is also of a powerful personality, but also of someone who seemed to have a command of his subjects.

"We used to hero-worship 'Mthembu' (clan name of Mr Skosana). He taught us Xhosa, Biology and Latin. We called him 'cough' (This was his nickname which originated from his apparent efficiency in his subjects). Since he seemed to have facts at his fingertips, his classes took him as one who was merely 'coughing the syllabus'. I will not forget his usual words, 'Ndihamba nabahambayo' (I am proceeding with those who are serious). This originated from the fact that he did not appear to worry himself about those who, instead of attending to him, wasted their time in one way or another."

Some of the memories were of teachers who earned respect because of their classroom discipline and control. Two such teachers were Mr J L Omond (Sir O) and Mr Victor Siwisa (Dlangamandla) (his clan name). One respondent remembered how they referred to Mr Victor Siwisa:

"We called him 'Inqwelo eruqayo' (the sliding wagon). This originated from his usual remark that, 'Ndiyinqwelo eruqayo' (I am a sliding wagon) whenever he spoke deep Xhosa."

One respondent recorded as follows about the Physical Training Instructor:

"We loved Mr I D Mogorosi - 'Bhut Dan'. I shall always remember the bars on which he used to instruct us to hang ourselves. Mr Mogorosi expected all male students to bring their P.T. (physical training) shorts during his periods. If any one forgot to bring his,

that unfortunate one would soon hear 'Bhut Dan's' feared words: 'Hang yourself on those bars'. These bars, for training purposes, were on the walls of the gymnasium. This painful punishment was feared by all."

Others remembered teachers who gave good guidance and advice to the young men and women they taught.

"I will never forget Mr B L Mbete (iBhele laseTyatyora). I always remember his words of advice: 'Manene nizititshala' (Gentle-men you are teachers). (Mr Mbete apparently liked to guide pupil teachers about what to do and avoid after leaving Healdtown, he was a music teacher and an Institution choir conductor as mentioned earlier, not a vocational guidance teacher, but always advised his students out of the love he had for them)."

Sometimes such memories were specifically of those who gave spiritual or religious leadership:

"I remember our beloved Governor Mr Stanley G Pitts (Mafukuzela). He was so nicknamed because of the beard he wore. I remember the end of year speeches he used to deliver in the completers' socials. I also remember the Housemaster the Rev J K Zondi (Mabhunguza entsimbi) (iron bludgeons). He was so nicknamed because of his strong personality and stockily build. The sermons of these gentlemen will always remain in my memory."

The majority of women students remembered their Lady Superintendents Miss Mashiqa and Mrs Majombozi.

"I always have a picture of these ladies addressing us in our dining hall, giving us words of advice. What they usually said during the re-opening of the Institution in the beginning of the year, is still vivid in my memory. I am still being guided and educated in life by what they used to say."

Five other women respondents who also had memories of their teachers can also be mentioned. The first was an unusual two-fold

memory because, on the one hand, it was apparently of an "inefficient" teacher, but clearly one who had a strong personality and, on the other hand, a teacher who apparently had "a drinking problem", but clearly one who knew his subject. She recalled their Xhosa method teacher who would always spend most of his periods conversing about irrelevant matters. She recalled how some students would appeal to him to come back to the syllabus and the usual reply was that: "Nizakupasa nina sanukoyika. Nina kaloku nina la nto inkulu'. (You are going to pass don't be afraid because you have that big thing). This 'big thing' was the matriculation certificate which was an entrance qualification to some courses in the Training School. The origin was that in those days students who passed matriculation examinations were held in high esteem. She also recalled Mr morning assembly would sometimes appear to stagger as he took his position next to other standing staff members. She remembered how Mr one evening was overheard by some students saying: "Gentlemen we better leave this woman this thing is becoming monotonous." (Apparently Mr who was in the company of his friends that evening met a certain woman who used to sell liquor to them on credit. It would appear that they wanted to buy more still on credit and she was refusing. It was after they had been persuading her for some time that Mr was overheard by some passing students uttering the above. In spite of that weakness his record of passes at the end of the year was always good.)

The next memory was of a strong disciplinarian, Mr Robertson - 'Isitshotho' (hoarse voice) who was very strict and always made it a point that students were punctual in his classes.

The last three examples are memories of teachers with unusual characteristics. One woman explained how their teacher, Dr Herman, would tap the table and ask the students to do the same as he tried to show rhythm in iambic pentameter in the Grey's Elegy in a Country Churchyard. Another remembered Mr Lebentlele ('Shop') who would always be in his "glad neck shirt" no matter how cold it was.

The last respondent remembered Miss Caley ('Nopoint'). She was so nicknamed by girls because whenever a girl did a good thing during Physical Training periods, she would show appreciation by saying: "A point for your house." Since she kept on saying this when necessary, girls ultimately nicknamed her as such. ('No' is usually a prefix to a girl's name in Xhosa. In this case 'No' was a prefix to 'point' to be called Nopoint).

There are 49 respondents (28,6%) who recorded that they would always remember the strict discipline of Healdtown as a total Institution. One wrote: "I do not forget the lines in the square. I have a mental picture of one company after another quietly marching to the dining hall. I also do not forget the perfect quietness in the dining hall before prayers."

A woman respondent commented that: "I shall always remember the strict regulation in the dining hall where we were not allowed to talk during meals. At least it was better at the men's dining hall because during meals talking was allowed, unlike us in the women's dining hall."

A male respondent remembered the words of the Housemaster, the Rev Mokitimi ('Bomber'), to one male student who appeared to be getting out of hand: "Healdtown is not honoured by your presence. You found it going on and it will still go on without your presence." Another man implied that disciplinary standards had changed over the years:

"My children laugh when I tell them that I will not forget the day I was punished for not going to the dining hall. When I appealed to the Housemaster he told me that it was an offence to stay in the dormitory during meals. Even if one did not feel like eating one was expected to be in the dining hall."

The last group (comprising 42 replies - 24,5%) claimed to remember entertainment at the Institution. One man showed that firm discipline was not only found at Healdtown. In fact, in his memory,

Healdtown was more relaxed than home:

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"I will never forget Saturdays when we had bioscope shows in the evenings. My father did not allow us to attend bioscope shows. I always looked forward to the re-opening of the Institution when I would be at Healdtown where I would be able to be entertained with film shows we enjoyed."

The next memory also concerns film shows:

"I still have a picture of women students marching down the avenue to the men's dining hall for the film shows. I still 'hear' the shouts of male students: 'Uzile umzana' (women students are about to enter our premises)."

One man remembered the social tensions, and the jokes that accompanied them, of life in a co-educational Institution:

"I always have a picture of 'Fort Cox' in the dining hall during bioscope shows." (This originated from the fact that Fort Cox was an agricultural school which admitted boys only. At Healdtown boys who had no girl-friends used to sit by themselves in one corner in the dining hall while others sat next to their girl-friends. They were then likened to Fort Cox and referred to as such).

Another respondent recorded that she always remembers indoor games during long week-ends:

"On Easter Mondays in the afternoons junior boys and junior girls assembled in the women's dining hall for indoor games (cards, grand march and jive). We were taught different types of jive and grand march by some senior girls and senior boys. Oh! we used to enjoy those days."

The second remembered outdoor games:

"I still 'see' boys and girls on Easter Mondays in the mornings playing different types of outdoor games at the sports field (mock marriages, traditional dances, etc). These were very popular. I will never forget them."

In the following table (Table 9.2) the reader will see an analysis of what the respondents regarded as their worst memories of Healdtown (see question 38). Not all the questionnaires gave answers to this question, as can be seen in the totals recorded in this table. Some people claimed that the question was not answered because, although there were bad times at Healdtown, it would not. in their opinion, be fair to regard those times as their worst memories. For example, one woman recorded that: "Although there were nasty incidents and difficult moments during my time, the good times and happy moments overshadowed what at first appeared to be unforgettable bad memories." Others simply left the space blank without any specific explanation. The replies of those who did answer this question can be placed in one of A handful of respondents gave more than one seven categories. answer, so the total figures do not exactly reflect the numbers who responded.

TABLE 9.2
WORST MEMORIES OF HEALDTOWN

	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
Unrest periods	36	36,4	4	5,6	40	23,1
Disciplinary actions taken	14	14,1	16	22,2	30	17,5
Cold water in the bathrooms	8	8,0	13	18,0	21	12,3
Poor diet	8	8,0	12	16,7	20	11,7
Effects of droughts and war	6	6,0	7	9,7	13	7,6
Deaths of staff and some students	6	6,0	7	9,7	13	7,6
Manual labour	4	4,0	1	1,4	5	2,9
Initiation of new students	_4	4,0	<u>1</u>	1,4	5	2,9
Totals	86		61		147	
	_		_			

40 (23,1%) regarded unrest periods as worst memories. When some respondents were personally interviewed on this subject, it was clear that there were six major unrest periods during the period

under investigation. The first, and more or less the earliest, incident was in 1936, the second in 1939, the third in 1946, the fourth in 1952, the fifth in 1953 and the last, as far as this thesis is concerned, in 1954. According to the interviews on the causes, the one in 1936 did not involve a large number of students. It was started by a handful of students whose aim was to injure the Housemaster who apparently was so harsh on students that the majority hated him. One respondent recorded: "In all the days I spent with him (the Housemaster) I don't think I will ever experience the harshness that surpasses that one."

The second disturbance period in 1939 and the fourth in 1952, were caused by the spontaneous frictions between students from Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage on the one hand, and those from Transkei, on the other. These rivalries in the first place did not seem to have a broad base in general social conditions in the Eastern Cape. but were essentially caused by internal school events. Secondly, it did not involve all the students from the places mentioned. Others from both groups did not like that situation, hence they did not take part.

The 1946 unrest period was related to complaints about food and was apparently closely related to food shortages just after the Second World War, and the increase in food costs. Those in 1953 and 1954 resulted from opposition to the "military discipline" and "monotonous poor diet", although the authorities regarded the diet as "wholesome, balanced and adequate." It will be noticed that three of the five causes were also mentioned as general complaints by students, even if these did not always lead to serious incidents.

A number of respondents who were personally interviewed seemed to remember these unrest periods in considerable detail. It should be noted that, for obvious reasons, where necessary, names will be replaced by letters a, b, c and so on. The first respondent reported that the 1936 incident resulted from hatred which the majority of the male students had for the Housemaster who, as

already stated, was "harsh and cruel." "Although he was a Sotho speaking person he was hated by a large number of students who were also Sotho speaking. His attitude to students was bad and he did not have any parental feelings towards us. In short, we hated him for his cruelty." The second reported as follows:

"Ndandidla ngokuzibuza ukuba inkomfa yamaWesile yayibone ntoni na kumntu onje ngaye." (I used to ask myself what made the Methodist Conference appoint a person like him).

A woman reported that:

"Nangona ndandingahlali eBoys Hostel, kodwa ndandidla ngokumva umnakwethu xa athetha ngentlalo abayihleliyo. Ezi ndaba zazidla ngokungabonwabisi abazali." (Although I did not stay in the boys' hostel, I used to hear when my brother told my parents the type of life they were leading. This news used to worry my parents).

"Ngamanye amaxesha ndandikhe nam ndimve xa engxolisa iboys ndibone ukuba ndiyavuya ndingelo boys." (Sometimes I used to hear when this man was reprimanding a male student something that made me feel happy that I was not a male student).

Another woman reported as follows:

"That year my brother was also at Healdtown and whenever we were about to return to the Institution, he always told my mother that he was praying to God to give him strength to pass at the end of that year so as to be free from the 'iron hand' of that House-master."

The last in this group reported as follows:

"Ndacela kuThixo ukuba angandibeki tyala ngokumthiya kwam loo mfo." (I prayed to God not to find me sinful for the hatred I harboured for that man).

None of these respondents specifically stated what this particular Housemaster did, except that he was very cruel and inconsiderate. One reported how on a certain Friday night a group of students dropped a huge piece of concrete from a high place in the hope

that it would at least injure the Housemaster who was thought to be sleeping in his bed outside, as he customarily did. Fortunately one of the students had secretly warned the Housemaster not to sleep outside that night.

"Ngokubona indlela eyayityoboke ngayo ibhedi leyo yentsimbi mhlawumbi ngewayefe ngoko nangoko ukuba wayelele kuyo ngobo busuku." (Judging from the bending of the iron bed as a result of impact, the result would probably have been instant death).

The authorities discovered some of the culprits and expelled them immediately. The incident was quickly followed by an enquiry which led to the Housemaster being asked to resign his post. From comments from other students about this incident it would appear that the majority objected to the man because of his harshness, hostile attitude and unsympathetic approach to students, not that he was not a Xhosa. There are no records to show that all culprits were discovered, although some respondents implied that they knew the identities of others who were not investigated.

One respondent who appeared to remember the unrest period in 1939 in considerable detail reported that, although there are no records to prove that the situation at Healdtown in that year resulted from a plot, the feeling was strong that the plot had its base outside Healdtown. He explained that one of the Methodist ministers in South Africa was annually elected by the Conference to attend the mother Methodist Conference in England. those who had attended were White people. For the first time in 1939 it was felt that the Rev Seth Mokitimi (Housemaster) of Healdtown was the person who qualified. The Conference in South Africa then suggested that another Black Methodist minister be appointed to act at Healdtown in his absence. The Housemaster, however, objected strongly to that suggestion on the ground that in his experience the new person might not learn quickly enough the finer details of looking after the students and that he might not be accepted by the majority of the student body. He suggested that the Chief Prefect and three other prefects should run the Institution and where necessary liaise with the assistant Housemaster. He emphasized that he had full confidence in the prefects because they knew exactly how he (the Housemaster) was running the Institution. There was a prolonged discussion on this issue but ultimately the Conference accepted the Housemaster's suggestion. Some of the members of the Conference apparently did not hide what they felt about the Housemaster's view that "the idea of boys looking after other boys" would not work.

On arrival at Healdtown the Housemaster announced to all students (male) that a, b, c and d would act in his place during his absence of about three months. All other students should give them their support and respect as was their custom. This appeared to be acceptable to all those present.

After some time, 'b', who was deliberately included by the Housemaster in the four to shoulder responsibility because, if left out, he might cause problems, called a meeting of the Transkei Students Association. He appealed to them to draw a sum of about three pounds (six rands) from the coffers of the Association, because a friend had been arrested by police near Alice with dagga in his car. The money would be used to bail him out. Other Transkei students did not accept the idea on the ground that the person had no links with the Transkei Students Association nor Healdtown. Transkei students then divided into two camps. In the meantime 'b' had had a quarrel with one of the students from Port Elizabeth but that quarrel appeared to have been settled by the prefects. Just at that time one of the students from Uitenhage who was a clown and a great friend of the student who had guarrelled with 'b', took a knife and jokingly said, "Sizakunihlaba nina base Transkei kuba u 'b' ebexabene no 'c'." Meaning, "We Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage students are going to stab you Transkeians because of the quarrel 'b' had with 'c'." That student apparently took the statement seriously and misinterpreted it when he reported to the Transkei Students Association, in the sense that he said, "Bathi abaseBhayi naseTinara bazakusihlaba ngokuhlwa nje ngenxa yala ngxabano. Mna ndisinde kancinci." Meaning, "Those students from Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage say they are going to stab we Transkeians when we are in deep sleep tonight." The panic among Transkei students was such that, "Xa belala bebethatha amacangci bawafake phakathi komzimba nengubo ukuze iimela zaseBhayi naseTinara zingabi nakugqobhoza." Meaning, "When they (the Transkeians) were going to bed, each put a sheet of zinc iron between his body and the top blanket so that the knives from the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage students should not penetrate."

A handful of students from Transkei then challenged those from Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage. The prefects in charge of the Institution attended to the matter and very soon the situation was under control but 'b' who had been identified as a culprit and well-known trouble-maker was expelled. By the time the Housemaster returned the Institution was running smoothly.

This respondent, together with others who were personally interviewed on this subject, stated clearly that the majority of the students believed that 'b' had been influenced from outside the Institution to cause trouble to prove that the idea of "boys looking after other boys" as suggested by the Housemaster would prove a failure. These respondents emphasized that although there was no record to prove them correct, there was a very strong feeling that this was a plot whose base was outside Healdtown as has already been said. This unrest period was regarded by some respondents as one of their worst memories.

Another respondent recalled the unrest period in 1946. This, it is recorded, resulted from the diet which was unsatisfactory as far as students were concerned. He recalled how, when matters were apparently getting out of hand, the Rev Mokitini (Housemaster) who at that time was attending a Methodist Conference outside Healdtown, had to hurry back to the Institution. He also recalled how, on arrrival, he fetched his cane and started caning a number of students who, that evening, were roaming the premises singing, "Silambile, Silambile." Meaning, "We are hungry, we are hungry." He claimed to remember and still "heard" the voice of the 'Bomber' (Housemaster) saying, "Sing that silambile again." Meaning, "Sing that we are hungry again", as he struck singers. The singers who apparently were not previously aware of his presence quickly scattered in all directions and that unforgettable night marked an end to that impromptu unrest period. This re-

spondent felt that, in his opinion, it was the bravery of the 'Bomber', and the fact that he was loved and respected by the students that averted what, otherwise, might have been a bad situation at Healdtown. Unfortunately, the 'Bomber', who had been at Healdtown for the past fifteen years, had to leave the Institution at the end of 1951 on promotion to Governor of Osborne Methodist Institution amongst the Bhacas in the Transkei.

One respondent recorded, "Ndakusoloko ndiwukhumbula umhla ka Sdudla." Meaning, "I will always remember the day of Sdudla (Sdudla was the nickname of the new Housemaster who took over in 1952. He was so nicknamed because of his big tummy and body). He seemed to remember the events from the beginning of the unrest period to the end. He recorded, when personally interviewed, that the unrest period started in the afternoon as a result of a fight between a student from Uitenhage and another from Transkei late in the second session in 1952. Very soon it developed into a split between students in the sense that the majority of those from Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage and the majority of those from Transkei were at loggerheads. When the situation became serious, students from Transkei sent a delegation to the Housemaster to get permission to thrash those from Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage -"the trouble makers." Unwisely he agreed to that request. Instead of doing what they had asked for, those from Transkei invited those from Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage to a mass meeting which was held at the sports field on a Friday afternoon. After a lengthy discussion it was unanimously agreed that the Housemaster was the cause of the split because of his unwise response to the request of the Transkeians. It was then suggested that he be thrashed with switches by all students, but the prefects who were also present, opposed the idea. They suggested that they (the prefects) would take the matter up with the authorities. It was after a few days of lengthy meetings mentioned that the Methodist Conference unanimously resolved that he resign his post and leave Healdtown within three days. That decision brought to an end the unrest period which might have developed into a much more serious situation. It is worth recording that the Housemaster in question was not a Xhosa speaker.

The next respondent recorded that, "The unrest period in 1953 was my worst memory. I will never forget the sight of one hundred and seventeen senior students who were expelled all in the dining hall waiting for the lorry to transport them to the station. This was a sad day. I still remember the month of October 1953 at Healdtown." This unrest period, according to this respondent, resulted from "poor diet", although there were other grievances such as "a harsh or military type of discipline." He recorded that after the senior students had been expelled, the juniors and intermediate students who had been urged by their expelled 'brothers' to "continue the struggle" followed in their footsteps. He recorded that, in spite of that "continutation of the struggle" not all were expelled, as they had hoped, to force the whole Institution to close. It was easy for the authorities to identify the ring-leaders, who were immediately expelled. He also recalled how the authorities appealed to the parents to come to Healdtown to talk to students. This they did and after addressing the remaining students no student asked a question; instead all went back to their dormitories, took their books, which had last been touched two weeks before, and studied for examinations. At the end of that year examinations went on without interruption. The last thing he recorded was. "I will not forget 1953 because that unrest period had results which affected the future of three-quarters of all those who were in the training section of the Institution." (Student teachers who were on the verge of completing the course were expelled. They were afterwards prevented by the Education Department in the Cape Province from enrolling at any other institution).

The last respondent remembered, "Andinakho ukuwulibala umhla weshumi kuNovember ka 1954." Meaning, "I cannot forget the 10th November 1954." As with the previous example, the respondent gave a very full description of the problem. He recalled first how. in the evening of this Sunday, apparently the assistant Housemaster had noticed that a male student had not put the Institution badge on his blazer. As he was investigating the reason he struck the student with his open hand. "Latsha ke ibhayi." Meaning, "That was the match stick that set the whole field alight." Immediately a large number of male students

rapidly appeared and, instead of attacking the assistant Housemaster himself, they stormed towards the Housemaster's house, and stoned it, and others started to break down the doors. "Ndisasiva isikhalo esilusizi senkosikazi nabantwana beHousemaster icenga amabhoyisi ukuba ayeke." Meaning, "I still 'hear' the sad cries of the Housemaster's wife and children pleading with the boys to stop what they were doing." At this stage a sound of a pistol was heard at a distance and "Andiwulibali umbhodamo emva kweso sithonga." Meaning, "I do not forget the stampede that followed after that gun shot." "Andazi nangoku ukuba amaboys enyuka njani na ukuya eTop Verandah kuba kwasa zaphuke phantse zonke iziteps." Meaning, "I do not know how the students managed to get to the top verandah because in the morning steps leading to the top verandah were almost all broken." He also remembered how, by morning, the Institution was full of police who, with the help of torn pieces of pyjamas, single shoes, torn pieces of overcoats and jackets, managed to get vital clues about those students who were involved. He remembered how, from that day onwards, all suspects were called from end-of-year examinations by the principal to go to court. In terms of this respondent's account, it is surprising that no-one was finally convicted, apparently because the evidence was not sufficiently clear, although the respondent suggested that some clever legal questions had confused at least one of the witnesses.

When some respondents were asked abou the role of teaching staff during such times, two replied as follows: The first stated that some teachers showed concern at what was going on. He recalled Mr D T Matebese and the part he played in the 1953 unrest period: "I will not forget the bravery showed by that gentleman during that unrest period. As we juniors were boycotting classes for the third day in succession in the hope that we would ultimately also be expelled like our seniors so that the Institution could be closed, that gentleman alone walked from High School to the sports field where we were meeting. As he was coming we all decided that we would not answer him. When he arrived and started to address us. showing us the disadvantage of our strategy, we started arguing until, at 1 p.m., he requested us to adjourn until

after lunch that afternoon. We then met him in the High School that same day. By 5.30 p.m. his contribution had caused a split amongst us. The following day was a Saturday. Some parents visited the Institution and their contribution endorsed some of the things Mr Matebese had emphasized. As a result the situation was very soon back to normal. I am sure there are many today who thank that gentleman because if he had not faced us, probably we would have lost the opportunity and jeopardised our future. Thank you D.T."

The second recalled the role of Mr J J Dandala (D.N.D.) during the same unrest period. "As he entered our classroom, one student asked. 'D.N.D., as our Physiology and Hygiene teacher you gave us an example of a balanced diet when we dealt with food. Would you then regard the food we eat here at Healdtown as a balanced diet?' D.N.D. answered as follows, 'Some of you think this is Healdtown Boys Hotel instead of Healdtown Boys Hostel. I can see that you overlook the 's' which, to me, is very important. I emphasize that this is a Boys Hostel not a Boys Hotel. That 's' stands for many things. For instance, it stands for sacrifice, sickness, starvation, sessions of the year, sound education, simplicity, etc. Go back and think seriously about that 's' and stop this nonsense because you are wasting your time, your parents time and our time. Everything depends on that 's'.'

"After his response, we looked at one another, and ultimately we all laughed, banged the lids of our desks and exclaimed, 'D.N.D. Durban and Natal Districts.' His attitude, in a way, softened the majority of us because we had hoped he would side with us against the authorities. Today I am an attorney and when I meet my former classmates I always joke about this memory. It was such roles by some of our teachers that, to me, helped some of us to be where we are today."

The reader will recall that in an earlier chapter of this thesis, it was stated that one of the respondents who was a prefect had kept a set of notes, which throw more light on what was happening at Healdtown during the unrest periods, which took place especially towards the end of the period being investigated. This respondent can give the reader a bird's eye view of the effects of these unrest periods on other pupils in the Institution as well as in adult later life.

He reported that, to him, it was clear that at Healdtown, on the one hand, there was approximately 10% of students who, although they came from well-to-do homes, seemed not to achieve much in class since they could not cope with the work. On the other hand, there was 90% who were not necessarily from well-to-do homes, but who seemed to stand a chance of getting their certificates at the end of their courses because of their good progress in class. The tendency during unrest periods was for the 10% from whom came the majority of ring-leaders to exert a lot of influence on the 90% group. The result was that the 10% group failed, in the majority of cases, to achieve anything. But their influence deprived a large number of the 90% group of their chances of success.

The tendency in later adult life is for the majority of those who were in the 10% group who, although they did not succeed at Healdtown, seem to mix well with the ex-pupils who were successful at Healdtown. This, in his opinion, is probably due to their well-to-do background, since they do not lack anything except certificates. Some of these are trouble-makers since they want to be recognised by the community and taken as reasonably enlightened people. This respondent refers to these as "half-baked bricks." On the other hand, the majority of the 90% who, although they stood a chance of competing as already said, did not, because of the influence of the 10% group, tend to be shy in adult life. They tend to avoid the company of those Healdtowners who were successful. This causes a great frustration and deep-seated conflict. This he attributes to their poorer homes. The frustration is further aggravated by failure to get good jobs and failure to

benefit much from their homes. This, he says, makes them misfits in adult community life. "To me they seem to realise that (1) a shed arrow. (2) a spoken word and (3) a wasted opportunity, are three things which will never return."

It must also be stated that all respondents appeared to agree unanimously that in all these unrest periods, women students were not involved. They were only affected by the tension that prevailed in the whole Institution. Respondents also mentioned that during the unrest periods tension was not confined to the Institution only, as the local people were also affected by them.

It should be stressed that in the account of these incidents no attempt has been made to unravel the full story or to give the school's explanation as contained in any official documents. The purpose is to affect the respondents' interests at the sudden disruption of order and purpose in the Institution which, normally, as has already been shown, was characterised by considerable order and control.

Another male respondent remembered how, during a rugby match which was played by Healdtown at St Matthews, apparently one of the Healdtown players questioned the decision of a referee, but in spite of that the match was played to a finish: "When the team was back at Healdtown, the following morning, the particular player was called by the authorities and after the matter had been investigated. he was found guilty. The punishment given was that he should be suspended from playing rugby for the rest of the season. I was so shocked as a result I do not forget that incident. As a rugby coach at school, I always narrate this to my rugby boys."

The next most frequently recorded "worst memory" concerned disciplinary actions taken. Of these, 30 (17,5%) of the respondents remembered the tension in the Institution when some students had to be expelled. One remembered how, during his time, those who were going to appear before the Disciplinary Committee used to be called in the morning while classes were in progress. He recalled the tension in the Institution as the case was in progress. One

recalled how the Housemaster would later fetch the station-wagon to take the unfortunate student or students to the station. These respondents claimed that such incidents were their worst memories. One even recorded as follows: "Andisokuze ndiwulibale umhla apho elinye iboys laphendula iGovernor xa isithi, 'Ndikunika imizuzu emihlanu ukuba ubophe yonke impahla yakho uwashiye amasango eNxukhwebe'." Meaning, "I shall never forget the day when one male student responded to the Governor rudely when he (the Governor) said, 'I Give you five minutes to pack your clothes and leave the premises of Healdtown'." "Usisibhanxa Mnu ... Ndingathini ukubopha impahla yam yonke ndiwashiye amasango eNxukhwebe ngemizuzu emihlanu?'." Meaning, "You are a fool Mr ... How can I pack all my clothes and leave the premises of Healdtown within five minutes?" There is a clear link between this second type of memory and the first. The difference, however, needs to be seen in terms of who recalled the memories. In the 'unrest' type. the respondents were mainly men (36% of the male memories as opposed to 6% of the female memories). In the harsh discipline examples, it was a considerably larger number of women's memories (22%) as opposed to men's memories (14%) which constituted the total of unhappy memories. It has already been explained that although no women participated in the unrest activities, they remembered the tension and uncertainties which disciplinary action could produce.

The next two most frequently recalled memories were concerned with hardship and discomfort. The first of these was connected with cold water in the mornings: (21 (12,3%) of the memories concerned this fact. One respondent recalled: "Kuyo yonke into engasoze ilibaleke kum kwintlalo yam eNxukhwebe ngamanzi abandayo kusasa kwezo bathrooms. Kangangokuba angena emithanjeni ndawaqhela kuba kulo minyaka isithoba ndayihlalayo ndihlamba ngawo nasemzini wam." Meaning, "There is one thing I will never forget in all the years I spent at Healdtown, that is cold water in those bathrooms. I was so used to it during those nine years that I spent there that I still use it today at my home."

One memory presented a very clear picture of the effect: "Ndinom-fanekiso wabafundi imizimba iqhuma ebusika ngenxa yokudibana kwamanzi abandayo nomzimba oshushu." Meaning, "I have a picture of smoke from the bodies of students because of contact of cold water and warm bodies."

The second 'hardship' type of memory involved diet, which was at times linked to more serious unrest, as has been shown. Twenty (11.7%) of the students remembered the poor diet. One of the respondents reported as follows: "umGqenya wona andisokuze ndiwulibale." Meaning, "I will not forget the type of bread." The second recorded as follows: "Kuyo yonke into 'inyula' andiyilibali." Meaning, "Of all things I do not forget 'nyula' (type of meat)." They likened it to the type of food cooked at the gold mines at the time. The third remarked about allegedly poorly prepared vegetable soup that was served on Thursday afternoons during his time. He recorded that, "Ndandiyitya nje kuba ineiron." Meaning, "I ate it because it contained iron." "The type of jam bought by Healdtown during our time was the cheapest in the market." (This. was tomatoe jam and melon jam). One respondent recalled how students laughed after one newcomer took a bite of a yellow piece of soap thinking it was a piece of cheese. (Occasionally pieces of yellow soap were supplied at lunch so that the students would be able to wash their clothes. It would appear that when the piece of yellow soap was put in front of this new student, others jokingly shouted "cheese", and he immediately took a bite. "From that day till today we call him 'cheese'."

The next stage refers to droughts and scarcity of samp after the war. As a result students had to eat meat and gravy plus beans in the morning, at funch and even at supper. One recorded as follows: "I have a picture of herds of cattle grazing in the rugby field. They were kept there for slaughtering so that students could be able to eat. I also remember the 'Bomber' during this period repeatedly appealing to students to notify him if they knew of any person who could supply the Institution with mealies. This situation

ultimately led to an unrest in 1946. I also remember when the shortage of water due to a prolonged drought nearly lead to a temporary closing of the Institution."

To young people, the death of someone close to them is often a very disturbing experience: 7,6% of the memories were linked to such experiences. Some of these recalled the death of the Governor Wellington: "When our Governor A A Wellington (Mopho) died in 1944, there was a great tension in the Institution and in the surrounding locations. I was present when he was buried among the people he served at Healdtown. His grave was fenced and there lies Mopho (nickname) in that Tyatyora (graveyard)." In some ways even more disturbing to young people, is the death of a contemporary. One remembered the death of a male student who was hit by another student in class with a small piece of wood about the size of a ruler. He recalled how students and teachers were affected by his death. There were only 5 (2,9%) students who regarded manuals (work parties) as a worst memory. One recorded that, "I shall remember students lining in the square on Mondays, Thursdays 4 p.m. and Saturdays 9 a.m. I felt sick on these days because I hated the idea of work parties."

The reader will remember that earlier in the thesis (chapter three) it was stated that although the returning students enjoyed the relaxed atmosphere of the first few days, it could be a bad week for those who were there for the first time because of the initiation which they experienced. Four male respondents and one female respondent (2,9%) recorded this as a worst memory. Old students in both hostels initiated new students because they believed that if new students were not initiated they would soon be out of control. The phrase used was 'Baqhele kakubi', meaning that new students would soon get used to the Institution in a bad way. One of the respondents recalled how new students were initiated. He said they would be asked to march in groups up and down a verandah. Some would be given buckets and instructed to fetch water from the taps. Some would be asked to 'pray' while others acted as 'ministers of religion'. He said the authorities were aware of

the initiation but did not take it seriously since they knew it was a phase that would soon pass. One of the ex-students of Healdtown who read a paper during the Jubilee Celebrations said:

"The period of new-comerhood (in his time) lasted twelve months. The first six months a student was called a 'wet' newcomer, and the last six, a 'dry' newcomer. The senior students called themselves the 'izinqonqo' i.e. the spinal marrow of the Institution. They had a code of laws which they expected each newcomer to observe strictly. This code of laws was the unwritten law of the Institution. The poor newcomer was therefore at the tender mercies of the 'izinqonqo'. I will give you an inkling of these laws.

- 1 Newcomer! Thou shall obey every senior student and those in authority.
- 2 Thou shall always be punctual.
- 3 Thou shall on no account speak to any of the nature's weaker vessels.

Now, for every contravention of any of these laws the newcomer was summoned to a council of the 'izinqonqo'. This council assembled in what was called the New Building. Here the merits and demerits of the case would be gone into. Here the guilt or innocence of the accused was to be proved. In nine cases out of ten the 'izinqonqo' would return a verdict of guilty. It was only here that the unfortunate newcomer learnt the creed of the :Lords' of the Institution. He was then asked if he did not know that the newcomers were like idols of heathen times? Did he not know that the newcomers

'Have mouths, but they speak not?'
'Eyes have they, but they see not?'
'They have ears, but they hear not'?
'Noses have they, but they smelt not?'
'They have hands, but they handle not?'
'Feet bave they, but they walk not?'
'Neither speak they through their throats?'

As in cases of murder, for which the only punishment, according to our common law, is hanging, there was only one punishment meted out to the newcomer, and that was 'scaling the wall'. That is, good audience, that all senior students should now simultaneously come and pinch the culprit. The newcomer was then pressed against the wall and lifted up sky-high

"for several minutes. Of course all the time the 'inyhweri' (the word 'newcomer' 'Kaffirised')... I remember on the one occasion an elderly newcomer undergoing the customary chastisement. During the pinching he shouted out, 'Students, please let me alone; I am a bearded man!' A youthful and sportive senior student retorted: 'That makes no difference; the wages of sin here is to 'scale the wall'."

(Jubilee Celebrations, 1906, pp 22-23)

Some of the respondents interviewed on this seemed to be critical of the whole operation, but the majority said, "this was a mere interference with other students' liberty."

In the next chapter, which is the last of analyses of the questionnaire responses, the memories of Healdtown which have just been described, will be compared with the happiest moments at school and the unhappiest moments at school as cited in School Memories by Tunmer. Questions 39 and 40 of the questionnaire asked the respondents whether they have in any way been influenced by Healdtown in later life and whether they have any criticisms against this Institution respectively. These will also be described in the following chapter.

1

CHAPTER TEN

THE HEALDTOWN EXPERIENCE: COMMON OR PECULIAR?

Good and bad memories of Healdtown were described in the previous chapter. In response to these, four points about the Healdtown sample need to be borne in mind. That this is a special sample has been emphasized throughout the thesis. In the first place, very few unsuccessful students at Healdtown were included and as a result their ideas are not known. Secondly, as a result of distance in time, bad memories could have faded. Thirdly, the largely professional experience of the sample should be remembered. The majority of the respondents were teachers. Their subsequent professional experience could have influenced their interpretation of Healdtown. Had they been asked their opinions while they were in school, or as they were leaving it, very different views might have appeared. In other words, this professional experience, in broader perspective, could have resulted in a more objective approach. Fourthly, the successful respondents would tend to have a natural pride in the Institution and this could have favourably influenced their memories.

In this chapter some comparisons will be made from studies made by Tunmer. In the second half of 1966 a group of Black pupils from Soweto high schools near Johannesburg was investigated. These pupils were in the fourth and fifth forms of the five Soweto schools which had classes up to matriculation level. Of the 607 pupils studied, about three-quarters of them were in Form IV and one-quarter in Form V. Seven out of every ten were boys. They were, on average, between 18 and 19 years old. The sample represented about 13% of the total number of Black pupils in these two forms in 1966. (Tunmer R, 1969, p. 1). In a questionnaire the sample was asked: "Will you describe the best or unhappiest moment of all your days at school?" There were III (18,3%) pupils who mentioned more than one happy memory, and 40 pupils who gave no response or one that was so vague that it could not be placed in any category. The following table analyses nine different categories which emerged from this study (p. 3).

TABLE 10.1

	Category	No of Responses	% of 607 pupils who made a response in this category
1	Passing examinations or tests	233	38,4
2	Sport	97	16,0
3	General satisfaction with school	85	14,0
4	Extra-curricular activities	74	12,2
5	Miscellaneous	74	12,2
6	School visits	67	11,0
7	A particular class at school	57	9,6
8	Subjects pupils liked or did well in	35	5,8
9	Miscellaneous	15	2,5
10	No response, vague, don't know	40	6,,6
		777	
			(Resource: School Memories, p. 3)

For purposes of comparison, Table 9.1, reflecting the best memories of the Healdtown respondents, is repeated from earlier in the previous chapter, in a somewhat shortened form.

TABLE 10.2

	Category	Total No of responses	% of 171
1	Social activities	126	73,6
2	Sport	88	51,5
3	Cultural activities	56	32,7
4	Teachers	52	30,4
5	Discipline	49	28,6
6	Entertainment	42	24,5

The first notable difference between the two tables is that in Healdtown memories no reference was made to the passing of examinations. While in the Soweto study this was the most frequent response. Of the 233 responses, Ill (nearly 50%) referred to these major hurdles of obtaining a Standard 6 or Junior Certificate pass. (One girl described them as "not a child's play.") Having overcome such hurdles, the pupils had tangible evidence of their success in the form of certificates. One boy regarded such evidence as so important that he capitalised most of his account:

"One of my happiest days at school was when I was awarded a FIRST CLASS CERTIFICATE. When I passed my Standard six as well as the day when I passed J.C. EXAM in the FIRST CLASS and given a CERTIFICATE."

One boy remembered his family's pride at obtaining a certificate because he was "the first in his family to do so." Another boy remembered "how anxious I was to see them (the results) sitting in the kitchen with an open book in my hands, when my brother... entered the house with a broad smile, "The World" (a newspaper) in his hands: Oh! those happy moments." Two pupils recalled that they had had long illnesses in the year in which they wrote the examination and so success was even more highly valued.

Others were proud that they had done well despite poverty ("hard times") "Partly", explained one pupil, "this was a shock because I had no enough text books." (p. 4).

The absence of such memories in the Healdtown respondents' accounts is probably due to the long period of time between their school days and the completion of the questionnaire. In Tunmer's sample all the pupils were still at school; Standard 6 and Junior Certificate examinations were still potent memories; all were conscious of the Standard 10 hurdle still before them. The Healdtown respondents had decades of reasonably successful adult lives behind them.

In both samples, sport, extra-curricular activities and school visits were frequently cited, although the Healdtown group, as can be seen from Table 9.1 made much more frequent reference to

these than did the Soweto sample. Nevertheless, Table 10.1 on the Soweto pupils' responses show that the occasional breaks from routine provided both short and long term memories. To many pupils, whether they were in day schools or in boarding schools, the extra-curricular activities helped to promote cameraderie, friendship and common purpose. This is clearly expressed by a pupil from the Soweto sample. He was, as Tunmer explains, "an older pupil, who had trained as a teacher after Junior Certificate and had then returned for Form IV and V (and also) was able to express his ideas with some maturity:

"The best moment of all my school days was when I did my P(rimary) H(igher). It was when I started to realise what life is. Staying with other boys at hostel and sharing ideas about school work I took as my best because I began to be a responsible young man."

(p. 5)

One of the two from the Healdtown sample remembered that

"Life was at its best at Healdtown. I remember Sunday afternoons relaxing on our beds and conversing about sport played either at Healdtown or away the previous day. I remember how some of us would sit under trees conversing or pulling one anothers legs. I still think the best life is the one spent in an Institution."

Another respondent recalled

"visiting places and other Institutions for different activities. This made me have a lot of friends. You know today I can visit any place in South Africa and in all I will always meet someone I know from Healdtown. That is why I feel sorry for children of today who apparently will not have such opportunities."

There are four other respondents who had similar reports. The first explained that

"After I had been teaching for four years I decided to go to Healdtown for a P.T. (Phyiscal Training) course. Oh! I still remember those days when 'Amaggala' (students who were advanced in years and had come back for special courses) would relax on their beds on Sunday afternoons conversing about their experiences. I also remember how we would laugh at Mr... who always spoke broken English in class. For instance, one day he said, 'These P.T. shorts is young boys you must returned them impossible', meaning 'These P.T. shorts are small, boys, you must return them as soon as possible'. (This was an Afrikaan (This was an Afrikaansspeaking Physical Training instructor who had difficulty in speaking English).

The second reported as follows:

"I always laugh when I think of what one of the students who had been given an order mark for fighting said to the Bomber in the Appeal Court, 'No Mfundisi if a man boxes you you must also box him'. 'Never mind', replied the Bomber, 'you were fighting go and work'. This we always joked about with my room mates."

The third was a woman who reported:

"My daughter always laughs when I tell her what happened to my friend as we were in the bioscope at Healdtown one Saturday evening. This friend of mine kissed her boyfriend and unfortunately for her, at that moment the film broke and the lights were quickly switched on. Since one of the Lady Superintendents was not very far from where we were sitting, and because she had squint eyes, she appeared to be looking in our direction and had seen what had happened. On our way back to the hostel after the show, my friend asked me if I thought the Lady Superintendent had seen what had happened. I replied, 'Yes because she was looking at you when the lights were switched on'. My friend would not sleep that night because of fear of expulsion. She was only relieved after the next day had ended without having been called by the Lady Superintendent to give an account of that incident. Since we are both principals of schools when we are at a meeting we usually joke about this incident."

The fourth, a man, remembered how at midnight one Sunday, one student secretly went to the kitchen with a five litre container to steal fat from the pots. When this theft was discovered the following morning, the Bomber followed the spots caused by the dripping fat on the cement floor from the kitchen across the square up to the dormitory and finally ending next to that student's bed. When he was asked to open the provision trunk, the container was found inside the trunk full of fat. "This was a joke to all students who had heard about what had happened."

Sport is always a major pleasure for school pupils. It was a good memory for 16% of the Soweto sample but Tunmer (1969) notes (p. 4) that many did not list specific sports, but instead made broad references to soccer, athletics and matches played away from school. But one pupil gave an extended reply: "When I was in Standard III and IV I used to play football during short breaks and after school... I remember once scoring for my team." (It must be noted, however, that the rest of his account was concerned with tricks he used to play on other pupils and the nick-names he invented for them).

The situation was different in Healdtown: a boarding school must make more extended sporting activities available and late afternoons and week-ends give many more opportunities for play. The Healdtown respondents were very articulate about sport.

"It was always exciting to play Lovedale at Healdtown..." said one respondent, and the loud shouts from the sidelines of the supporters and experiences of away matches seemed to be remembered in detail. Similarly, while a large number of Healdtown respondents appeared to have loved rugby, it was the opposite in the Soweto sample. For instance, one of the only two respondents from the Soweto sample who mentioned rugby suggested that it was obviously more of "a lark" than a serious game. His answer continued:

[&]quot;We were practising how to play rugby. There were many chaps who had never played rugby before. Fouls which were made there couldn't

be counted. Somebody would forgot (forget) that this is not football they mustn't just dribble and kick, as simple as that."

Both the Healdtown sample and the Soweto sample appeared to have enjoyed music equally. One woman from Healdtown recorded as follows:

"Healdtown unearthed our talents which, if there were no concerts would have probably been buried in some of us. For instance, today I earn my living from music... I was given enough training in music which I love. My children today wonder when I tell them that they eat, get schooling and clothing because of my music. If it were not for these concerts and opportunity you gave me Healdtown, probably I would not have been where I am today. Thank you. This wonderful memory will never be forgotten by me."

Another respondent (a man) also wrote:

"I will always remember the efficiency and eagerness of our teachers to get the best voices for the different parts. regard I have in my mind people like Mr Mbete (Bhele), Mr Lebentlele (Shop), Miss Phyllis Mgomo, Mr D T Matebese, Mr Mshumpela (Mshumps). I still remember one day when the choir was short of only one tenor voice. That day all male students were invited to assemble in the men's dining hall and all those who wanted to try were given an opportunity to sing any hymn from the Methodist English hymnary. I remember the one who was finally selected, he was Vex Mhlomi who unfortunately is now late. He chose hymn No 32 (Lord of all beings thrown afar) and was accompanied by a Soprano, alto and bass while Miss Woodward played the piano. I still remember the applause from the students as he was singing the third verse. He could not finish the whole hymn because of loud shouts of excitement which drowned his voice that he had to stop. 'What a tenor', exclaimed Mr Lebentlele ultimately. Oh! that was Healdtown at its best."

A total of 37 of the Soweto sample wrote of memories of music. One girl recognized it as an escape from problems: "I forget all my worries about being poor." Another girl felt she had talent: "When it comes to music I sometimes feel something I cannot describe. I can sing well and always want to use my talent... Still continuing with music studies lectured by my primary teacher." (Tunmer, 1969, p. 7).

This emotional feeling was also present in the Healdtown sample.

One woman choir member commented that

"When we were rendering items either in front of the other Healdtowners or in places such as East London and Port Elizabeth, when I looked at the audience I always said to myself, 'no wonder Shakespeare said: If music be the food of love play on give the excess of it'."

Another woman said

"Whenever the Institution choir was on the stage, I always felt that heaven must be a happy place if the angels sing as what I used to hear from the Institution choir."

Some Soweto respondents remembered debates and particularly debating. (Tunmer, 1969, p. 5). Although Healdtown debates were a strong feature of the programme, no single Healdtown respondent highlighted these as a good memory.

One finds that a number of respondents from the Soweto sample (sixty-seven pupils) remembered visits by school parties as one of the happiest times. In half the responses the actual places were named: places in Natal, the Orange Free State, the northern Cape as well as in the Transvaal, had been visited by pupils. Three pupils had been with their schools beyond the borders of the country: two had gone to Portuguese East Africa, and one to Swaziland. Other pupils simply remembered the exciting break from routine: one boy wrote: "During school-trip periods I always become overjoyed as books are forgotten slightly. On this day student dress so marvellously that one would (not) think of leaving school..." (Tunmer, 1969, p. 8). Such memories are not

apparent in the Healdtown sample; clearly at Healdtown, during the period under investigation, there were few or no organized school or educational tours.

Representatives of both samples had good memories of quiet hard work. In Tunmer's account this was categorized as "general satisfaction with school." In the present research it has been characterized as discipline. Some examples have already been given (quietness in the girls' dining hall; the orderly movement in the square). Soweto pupils talked of studying "without interruptions" or "when not many activities were taking place", or "the quietness and seriousness of it all" when "everyone is busy with his/her work. We are able to gain something from the teacher."

Similar ideas can be found from the Healdtown sample. Three specific examples can be given. One man wrote:

"I remember the quietness at Healdtown during studies in the evenings from 7 o'clock to 9 pm during our time. Each class was supervised by a prefect although girls studied at their hostel. You would never see anyone moving up and down outside during that time. Even those in classes were so quiet because the prefects were there. I remember how the four group prefects and the Chief Prefect would take rounds for about fifteen minutes each evening to make sure that all were studying without disturbance."

Another man remembered his matriculation year:

"Ndikhumbula umwemwe okanye iskhotha.

Nangona kwakungavunywa sasinyanzelisa ngenxa yokuba mninzi komsebenzi. Ndiyazikhumbula iintsuku xa sileqwa ziGroup Prefects noMfundisi ezinzulwini zobusuku. Andisokuze ndizilibale ezo ntsuku." Meaning, "I remember the secret places in which we used to hide and study in the middle of the night. This was not allowed but we forced our way because of the wide syllabus we had to cover. I still remember the days when the Housemaster and Group Prefects would, after we had been discovered, chase us

in the middle of the night in order to get our identities." (These secret places were empty rooms or classrooms in the Institution.) We used to cover the windows with blankets so that light could not show anyone outside that there were people inside. These were called 'imiwewe' (caves or cliffs). Those found were given order marks for not being in bed after 9.30 pm."

The third example comes from a woman's questionnaire. She remembered how all girls would study in the dining hall under the supervision of prefects:

"It was to be a real necessity for one to leave the hall during studies. It was worse to be caught talking or moving from your place to another. Oh! it was so quiet that we were so used to it that we did not feel it. I do not forget such days."

The final group of answers (category 9) in the Soweto sample are not directly related to school memories, though some had an indirect bearing on the school. Three of the fifteen responses dealt with times when home life was happier. One boy said: "My best and happiest days at school were when my parents were still together before an intruder separated them. Even then it is not to say they have divorced." (Tunmer, 1969, p. 9). In the Healdtown sample this type of memory does not occur at all.

The next stage is to compare the worst memories/unhappiest moments at school. Table 10.3 shows the unhappiest moments at school as categorised in the School Memories (Soweto sample).

TABLE 10.3

	Category	No of Responses	% of 607 pupils who made a response
1	Poverty and its effects	110	18,1
2	Punishment which was excessive or unjusti-fied	82	13,5
3	Worry about school work	69	11,4
4	Failure in examination	65	10,7
5	Doing wrong things ashamed	59	9,7
6	Miscellaneous - school	45	7,4
7	Miscellaneous - non school	40	6,6
8	Loss of friends or teachers	30	4,9
9	Not doing work properly	29	4,8
10	Not doing well at school	26	4,3
11	Subjects pupils do not like	17	2,8
12	Bad school relationship	s 20	3,3
13	Sport	1 4	2,3
14	No response, vague, don know	't 72	11,9
		678	

TABLE 10.4

	Category	Total Responses	% of 171
1	Unrest periods	40	23,1
2	Disciplinary actions taken	30	17,5
3	Cold water in the bathroom	s 21	12,3
4	Poor diet	20	11,7
5	Effects of droughts and wa	r 13	7,6
6	Deaths of some staff and students	13	7,6
7	Manual labour	5	2,9
		_	
		142	

In the Soweto sample the first category is the largest of all. Responses were placed in this category if pupils indicated that poverty affected their school work or attendance. Some pupils described how they could not pay school fees, or found that they were short of the school uniform; others could not afford to buy all their books; some could not bring or buy food for lunch at school; and a few reported that they could not pay transport fares for getting to school, or go on school excursions. Nineteen pupils mentioned general poverty which affected all these requirements and six described how, after money had been found for one or other of these demands, they had lost it on the way to school (Tunmer, 1969, p. 13).

Not a single respondent in the Healdtown sample has mentioned anything about poverty, although from other chapters in this thesis it is clear that there were many examples of parents struggling to keep their children at school.

As it was stated in the early chapters of this thesis there were about one thousand students at Healdtown during the later

years of this period. These were supposed to pay school fees, buy books, buy school uniform, pay for transport costs when they had to accompany sports teams to other institutions. There were virtually no scholarships or bursaries available during the period being investigated. The children of Methodist ministers, however, were not asked to pay fees.

There is one likely explanation for this discrepancy. An impoverished family could not even contemplate sending a son or daughter to a boarding school. Extreme poverty described by some Soweto pupils might not prevent them from going to a day school (even without uniform, shoes or proper food), but clearly would rule out attendance at a boarding school. It could be argued that the samples are likely to represent two different socio-economic classes.

Nevertheless, Healdtown respondents were aware that some of their fellow pupils were in financial difficulties (the "butter and jam being mixed" example has already been quoted), but it seemed to be a problem for other pupils, not for them.

It is also likely that, because they were away from home for the majority of the school year, the problems of poverty were not as continuously brought home as would be the case with day school pupils. They might, of course, have seen evidence of this during the school holidays. For example, the author's older brother commented as follows:

"I do not forget horses (pocket money for journey back home during holidays) we used to receive from our homes a few days before closing. I remember on arrival at home, my mother would ask for 1/6 (15c) from the 'horse' sent in order to buy a tin of pilchard fish so as to prepare breakfast for me. She used to do this every first day I arrived at home for holidays."

He again reported as follows:

"You know, although the Institution would have liked that all students must be at the

Institution during the weekend so that classes might start the next Monday, some of those from places such as Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage could not afford to leave on Friday evening so as to be at Healdtown on Saturday. This was due to the fact that our parents used to arrange that we had holiday jobs. parents therefore wanted to get the last Friday pay packets from us. These would supplement their pay packets and then it would be possible for us to pay for the demands of the Institution. Since there was no train on Saturday, we were forced to leave on Sunday evening to arrive at Healdtown at midday on Monday. It appeared that the Institution was aware of this because I do not remember any instance during our time of any student who had arrived on a Monday being questioned."

Of the 14 categories of the Soweto sample only one (loss of friends or teachers) is very similar to one from Healdtown (the deaths of staff and some students). Apart from this similarity, the two samples seemed to have very different bad memories.

Although both samples referred to bad memories of punishment, the nature of the memories differed greatly. Thirty-five of the Soweto responses, although not explaining the reason for punishment, simply recounted the type of punishment. In all these cases the pupils described corporal punishment. One boy remembered a harsh teacher in his primary school "where we were punished daily, my botocks (buttocks) used to be sore for almost the whole year." Another boy described how, after a beating, "my hand was fractured and I could not write for about two weeks." Many Soweto students emphasized corporal punishment which they believed to be "unjustified." (Tunmer, 1969, p. 19).

In the Healdtown sample, category number two (disciplinary actions taken) was the second highest. Thirty cases (17.1/2%) of the Healdtown sample remembered the tension in the Institution when some students had to be expelled. These respondents claimed that, that tension was their worst memory. No Healdtown respondents, however, mentioned corporal punishment. The system of order

marks has been described extensively in the early chapters of this thesis. This does not mean corporal punishment was not used at Healdtown. The respondents who were personally interviewed on punishment reported that in class it was not used under any circumstances. Only on rare occasions was it administered by the principal in his office, for instance in cases of constant neglect of school work. This was rare as has already been said. In the hostel it was administered also rarely. It was only the Housemaster or his assistant who meted it out, and only in cases of smoking under the age of 20 years, bullying, fighting and theft.

The largest single category in the Healdtown sample's bad memories concerned unrest periods and the resulting tensions. These have been extensively described. No references to this emerged from the Soweto study. Several other accounts of unrest and tension in other boarding institutions have been recorded by Molteno (1984, pp. 80-85). For instance, he gives an account of a situation which occurred in 1945:

"About the end of March we had at one of our Native educational institutions another of those riots that from time to time have so disturbed their life in the past 25 years. It was not marked by much destruction of property...but the evidence points to an attempt on the part of some to do grievous bodily injury to at least one member of staff."

This can be compared with the bad relations that occurred at Healdtown in 1936.

Just over 11% of the Healdtown memories were related to poor diet. Molteno provides a similar example from a Transkeian institution.

[&]quot;...boys at Clarkebury Institution organised a strike fairly successfully, though we are not sure whether they are now provided with better meals..."

A detailed account of complaints about diet and lack of other facilities relating to Lovedale in 1946 is also provided by Molteno (p. 82).

The resistance to the rigidity of discipline mentioned in the Healdtown sample can be compared with the following account, also of 1945:

"Those responsible for the College in question are satisfied that it was an attempt on the part of students to usurp authority. It seems unthinkable that any body of pupils should have claimed the right to govern, or thought themselves capable of governing, an educational institution in any of its internal affairs or in regard to appointments to the staff, but it is just these unthinkable things that are happening amongst some African students today."

(Molteno, p. 81)

It will be recalled that when the unrest period in 1939 at Healdtown was described, it was stated that the majority of students felt that it resulted from a plot whose base was outside Healdtown. This can be compared with the following comment from the <u>South African Outlook</u> about an unrest period at Blythswood Institution (in the Transkei) on 17 February 1929:

"The 'strike' idea among Native students had its origin in reports brought back from the Rand by Native labourers of the methods followed there and of the reckless violence of the riff-raff of Johannesburg in labour disputes, so it has from the first been conceived of not merely as a quitting of work, but of blows to be 'struck' and damage to be done. As this up to date method of getting grievances righted has in the course of the last ten years or thereabouts been applied at every one of the large Native training institutions...as was to be expected, the procedure has become increasingly lawless and dangerous. This last incident at Blythswood, which apparently arose out of nothing more serious than a grievance about bounds...outdoes its predecessors, in that it

seems to have been from the beginning an organized attack upon staff, with the intent to do them serious, if not, fatal injury."

(Molteno, p. 81)

The following is another report about an unrest period at Lovedale Institution:

"...the fact that the disturbance synchronised with the unrest that ended in a strike of African mine workers on the Witwatersrand Gold Mines on 12 August 1946. The movement caused by the African Mine Workers Union actually began on 19 May 1946, and the decision to strike was taken on 4 August. Meanwhile the organisers of the strike were actively engaged in making propaganda, and there is little doubt that the strike bulletins that reached Lovedale during this period and the atmosphere brought back by students, some of whom came from the Reef, after June-July vacation, contributed to the general dissatisfaction."

(Molteno, 1984, pp. 83-84)

Unrest periods took place at Healdtown in 1946, Lovedale (1946) and St Matthews College in 1949. The distance between Healdtown and these institutions is reasonably small.

Just as the women folk at Healdtown were not involved in the unrest periods, it appears that the situation was the same in other institutions. This was said of girls with regard to unrest periods in Clarkebury Institution: "...the girls remained quiet as though all was well; no wonder, poor things, their initiative is thwarted, their creative power is misdirected..." (Molteno. p. 80).

Questions 39 and 40 of the questionnaire asked the respondents whether they had in any way been influenced by Healdtown in later life and whether they had any criticisms against this institution. Just as in the case of worst memories, not all questionnaires gave answers to these questions, as can be seen

1200

from the tables. As far as the influence of Healdtown is concerned. one, for instance, recorded that, "it is difficult to say specifically how this institution has influenced my adult life." Another reported that an institution like Healdtown had its own philosophy of life. "I do not distinguish today between its philosophy of life and the philosophy of life of my home. It is really difficult for me to answer this question." A man commented:

"When I went to Healdtown I was only fifteen years old. When I left it I was twenty years old, in other words I matured there. It is therefore difficult for me to say this was the influence of Healdtown and this was the influence of my parents. In short I am unable to answer this question."

As far as criticisms are concerned, the same thing applies. One man, for instance, said: "It is difficult for me to distinguish between the worst memories and criticisms." Another man recorded that, "what is said in the worst memories partially answers the question." A woman commented: "It will not be fair to point a finger at Healdtown today because the time Healdtown operated (it) was in accordance with the circumstances at that time, personally I won't answer this question."

Another woman reacted:

"While at Healdtown I did not like certain things but when I left it my view changed. I better not respond to this question because it will be unfair to Healdtown to judge it by the standards of a later period. That is my contribution."

Others simply left the space blank without any specific explanation. The positive influence of Healdtown will be discussed first.

It must be explained that since some of the respondents gave more than one answer, the total number of responses will be more than

the total number of respondents who replied (148). Some of the 23 said they had not been influenced or simply left the space blank without giving any specific reason. The following table analyses the influence of Healdtown.

TABLE 10.5

THE INFLUENCE OF HEALDTOWN ON RESPONDENTS

	<u>Influence</u>	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
1	Positive social principles	39	24,3	26	22,6	65	38
2	Self-discipline	35	21,8	24	20,8	59	34,5
3	Sound educational standards	26	16,2	21	18,2	47	27,5
4	Sound christian principles	24	15,0	28	24,3	52	30,4
5	Dedication to duty	21	13,1	7	6,0	28	16,4
6	Perseverance and self- reliance	15	9,3	9	7,8	24	14,0
				_			
		160		115		275	
		_		-			

The largest number of respondents (65, 38%) claimed that Healdtown influenced them to have positive social principles. One woman wrote:

"After I had left Healdtown it became clear to me that Healdtown had made me independent and also strengthened self-reliance and dedication to what is put to me. When time came for my children to do secondary school education, I did not hesitate to send them to a boarding school because I had seen how an institution moulds ones character and influence one to have a backbone in later life."

A man commented:

"Since I am now a principal of a Senior Secondary School, I always encourage my pupils not to put both hands in pocket, while I also discourage them from shouting

on top of their voices when talking. When my colleagues argue that talking on top of our voices cannot be changed since it is part of the culture the Blacks to do so, I always say, 'Healdtown influenced me not to do so. Even today I do not do so'."

A woman commented: "Healdtown influenced me to be completely unselfish. to be honest and to mix with other people freely. This was Healdtown's influence on me."

In the secondary category, 59 (34,5%) claimed that Healdtown made them self-disciplined:

"At my school, (recorded a woman), I am a netball and softball coach. I always impress on my pupils that if they want to play a good game, and if they want to be good sportswomen in future, they must learn to do what they are told by me. Without self-discipline there is no future is my slogan. It was my coaches at Healdtown who made me inculcate these ideas into the minds of the immature minds of pupils in my care."

A man recorded that:

"When I was at Healdtown I did not forget cruel and inconsiderate people when I was instructed to do things in a certain way though I had my own ideas. Yet today, I am applying the same ideas of self-discipline because in later life they made me a man."

Fifty-two (30,4%) respondents recorded that Healdtown gave them sound Christian principles. One recorded that

"Healdtown was a methodist institution, at home we are methodists. When I completed at Healdtown 'I was a full member of the church, a member of both the Independent Order of True Templars and the Women's Manyano. In short I was a complete methodist. That was the influence of Healdtown because I practise that in my adult life."

In summing up the influence of Healdtown, one student said, "Healdtown made me an asset to my people..." While another stated emphatically that, in her opinion, "Healdtown lived to its motto." (They shall mount up with wings as eagles).

Some respondents felt Healdtown had not influenced them in any way. One recorded, "Healdtown cannot boast of having influenced me. I am what I am because of the teachings of my parents." Another simply said, "What positive influence could one expect from a 'military' institution like Healdtown?" The third was a woman, who said, "I could not have been influenced positively by a miniature police state and a 'military camp'."

Question 40, which was the last in the questionnaire, asked the respondents whether they had any criticisms against Healdtown. Only 12 respondents had criticisms. The following table gives an analysis of the responses.

TABLE 10.6

CRITICISMS AGAINST HEALDTOWN

	Criticism	Men	<u>%</u>	Women	<u>%</u>	Total	<u>%</u>
1	Diet	11	11,1	8	11,1	19	11,1
2	Rigidity of Discipline	5	5,0	2	2,8	7	4,0
3	One-sided education	1	1,0	1	1,4	2	1,2
		17		11		28	
				-			

There were 19 (11,1%) respondents who claimed that the diet of the Institution left much to be desired. One woman said:

[&]quot;I remember how we used to make dolls from bread and put those dolls in front of the dining hall. This was an attempt to show our Lady Superintendents that, that bread was raw."

Another woman reported as follows:

"Whenever I got home and told my parents about the type of diet we had, they used to console me by saying, 'Funda wena utye noba kubi kona ukutya. Eyona njongo yakho mayibe kukufumana imfundo le uyiyeleyo', meaning, 'Eat what is given to you even if that food is not appetising. Your aim must be to get the education which you have gone there for'."

A man commented as follows:

"Andifuni nokuwubona umngqusho endlwini yam. Ithi yakubuza inkosikazi nabantwana isizathu, ndibaxelele ukuba ndadikwa eNxukhwebe", meaning, "I don't want to see samp in my plate at my home. When my family want to know the reason, I tell them that I had enough of it at Healdtown."

Strict discipline, criticized by 4% of the sample, crumbled at the end of term: "On the eve of the departure of students for holidays, one would hear some students saying, 'zibolile iintambo'. (the reins are rotten) implying that the powers were then useless because of the chaos caused by excitement of students. In other words, the suggestion was being made that discipline was extrinsic and not intrinsic. A man gave a very similar report in the sense that he said,

"Bekusithi xa iPrefect ikumaka ngento encinci nengenamsembenzi, uve abanye besithi 'Ulumke zakuqhawuka ungazitsali kakhulu', meaning, 'Whenever a Prefect gave one an order mark for a very insignificant deviation from rules, one would hear some students shouting, 'ulumke zaku qhawuka ungazitsali kakhulu' (be careful (prefect) do not pull them (reins) too tightly they will break'."

(The implication was that they should not be too strict).

One student complained about one-sided education:

"Phantse wonke umntu owaye seNxukhwebe yititshala. Kwakutheni emva kwexesha elingaka kungabikho zitechnical subjects?", meaning, "Almost all ex-students of Healdtown are teachers by profession. Why did Healdtown after such a long time not introduce technical education courses?"

The remainder of the respondents stated emphatically that they had no criticisms against Healdtown. One man recorded, "I have no criticism against Healdtown. I have only praise."

When these criticisms were put to some respondents, the majority defended Healdtown and said almost all could not hold water.

About diet one said, "Healdtown must be judged against the situation at the time. It is not fair to look or judge it by the standards of today."

One man, referring to the one-sided education criticism, suggested that, "People must remember that Healdtown was established in a particular age to serve the purposes of that age. One of the major problems at that time was the shortage of teachers in Black schools. To me Healdtown succeeded in producing teachers which as a result that problem was somewhat eased."

In the final chapter, an attempt will be made to bring together the many different aspects of Healdtown life and of the background of its students.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUS ION

To conclude this thesis it is suggested that three broad trends should be summarized. The first is the school itself: in other words, the purpose of Healdtown, as seen by the respondents. The second is the contribution of the respondents to their communities after they had left Healdtown and the third is the implication of the three-generation study. The trends will, however, be preceded by a brief resume of the background to the study. Where appropriate, some of the quotations from the questionnaires will be used again to highlight certain points.

The first thing that became apparent in this study was that of the comparative scarcity of secondary school opportunities for Black children during the time of the respondents and their parents, against which the comparative advantages of schooling at Healdtown has had to be set. Horrell, for instance, writes that "The Government grants were very small; attendance was irregular, and only a small minority of pupils progressed beyond the very junior classes." (F963, p. 15), and shows that "...in 1905 there were only 73,900 African children attending school in South Africa, 2,1% of the total African population. None of them was in post-primary classes. By 1925 there were 206,623 African pupils, representing 4,1% of the population, 3,752 of them being in post-primary classes." (p. 28). The percentage distribution of the African pupils across the school range in 1925 is shown in Table 11.1.

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TAB		1	
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		Cape	Natal	Transvaal	Orange Free State
	1	%	%	%	%
Sub standards Stds 1-11 Stds 111-1V		58,3 23,2 13,6	61,6 20,6 10,5	68,3 19,7 9,8	69,1 20,5 8,0
Stds V-Vl Stds Vl-Vll Stds IX-X		4,,7 0,1 Nil	5,1 1,8 0,4	2,3 Nil Nil	2,4 Nil Nil
Total numbers		120,141	31,247	39,420	15,815

(Horrell, p. 28)

Ten years later, in 1935, there were 150 Black pupils in Standard VII, 124 in Standard VIII (JC), 20 in Standard IX and 28 in Standard X (matriculation). In other words, there were only 322 Black pupils (0,1%) in secondary classes when the total number of Black pupils at the Cape that year (1935) was 169,628. (Welsh, 1936, p. 138). In the figures collected for the Eiselen Report (1951) the very gradual improvement in the attendance at secondary schools between 1925 and 1948 can be traced. The details are given in Table 11.2.

TABLE 11.2

THE PERCENTAGES OF BLACK PUPILS IN SECONDARY

SCHOOLS IN RELATION TO THE TOTAL NUMBERS IN SCHOOLS, 1925-1948

1925 1930 1935 1940 1945 1

	1925	1930	1935	1940	1945	1948
Std 7 Std 8 Std 9 Std 10	0,22 0,15 0,04 0,03	0,27 0,11 0,05 0,01	0,39 0,13 0,02 0,01	0,85 0,28 0,08 0,04	1,57 0,42 0,10 0,05	1,71 0,60 0,13 0,07
Totals	0,44	0,44	0,55	1,25	2,14	2,51

(Adapted from Eiselen, 1951, p, 105)

Apart from the slight improvement from 1940, the general picture is that of very limited opportunities for Black children to reach secondary classes during this period. Set almost as islands in the sea of neglect, were a handful of secondary schools, some developed in the 19th or early 20th centuries, and maintained by missionary organizations. One of these was Healdtown. The research described in this thesis can partly answer the question: What was the effect of this experience on people who had attended this institution?

After 315 names of ex-graduates of Healdtown had been collected, a questionnaire consisting of a considerable number of closed and a few open-ended questions was sent to each respondent. Eventually, 99 men and 72 women replied, with the majority of

questionnaires being fully completed. In addition to the questionnaire, 30 ex-pupils (20 men and 10 women) agreed to be personally interviewed to take some aspects of the questionnaire further. The answers to the open-ended questions and the more detailed information provided in the interviews were particularly helpful in enriching the impressions of Healdtown and its impact on the respondents. Another aspect that must be highlighted is the high degree of knowledge about respondents' families - even parental and sibling educational levels were able to be collected. This extensive information enabled the three-generation study to be undertaken.

It has already been shown how limited the opportunities were for secondary education in the years covered in this thesis. would clearly be unlikely that many of the respondents' parents would have had opportunities for attending the higher levels of It was important to discover, however, whether the parents had had greater experience of education than had the vast majority of the Blacks in South Africa at the turn of the century when the parents themselves had been children. If the parents had had some educational experience, this might have motivated them to seek yet greater opportunities for their own children, some of whom were the respondents. Similar reasons for seeking education might be found if the jobs held by parents were somewhat better than those held by the majority of South African Blacks. Another important consideration was the extent to which the parents sought good education for all their children, or whether there was tendency for the respondents, in particular, to have been specially selected or favoured. Finally, from this section, the idea could be explored whether the jobs held by the respondents and their siblings were related in any way to the education they had received. It is to be expected, from the nature of the sample, that the fathers'-to-respondents' educational patterns would deviate significantly and in the direction shown. It is more surprising when generations 2 and 3 are considered. The same applies to occupational distribution.

It has frequently been necessary to note that the sample is highly

biased towards the teaching profession. For instance, over 60% of the group were involved in that occupation. The number of people linked to the teaching profession is even greater than would appear from Table 2.1 as some of the nurses and social workers were originally trained as teachers. Ministers of Religion were often also teachers before they joined the ministry because teaching in those days was a very strong recommendation for the ministry. At the same time, some of the housewives had also been trained as teachers, because in the past married women were not allowed to teach. Even some of the politicians were teachers before they entered politics, since self-government is a new development among Blacks. It needs to be remembered, however, that the teacher-training side of Healdtown was one of its best known features and a large number of pupils throughout the 20th century were attracted to it for this purpose.

The length of stay of respondents, shown in Table 2.6 varied widely from as short as one year to as long as ten years. The two most frequent lengths of time were two years (corresponding with final preparation for the matriculation examination and for some teaching courses) and five years (which could either cover a full secondary course or a secondary and a teaching qualification). Some 45% of pupils fall into these two categories. Over 40% of the pupils were there for five or more years, giving them a wide experience of the institution and a considerable opportunity for extended assessment of it. The average length of stay was 4,3 years.

It is clear that pupils of Healdtown came from all over Southern Africa, including the Protectorates. This particularly occurred as its reputation for teacher-training grew. Large numbers of respondents, however, were drawn from the Eastern Cape region. It is not, therefore, possible to claim that the respondents were representative of all pupils in the period being investigated. As the analysis of the questionnaire proceeded, however, the consistency of the evidence emerged. It can be argued that the respondents were reasonably homogeneous in many of their characteristics. It would not be unexpected, therefore, if a similar homogeneity were to be found if a wider geographical sample had been available.

A striking feature of the analysis of the responses to the questionnaires was the picture of firm discipline and control which emerged and the respondents' acceptance and approval of this. It might be described as "authoritarian" "hierarchical", yet very little corporal punishment (as opposed to accounts from other schools that are available) was described.

Four possible explanations for this form of control can be suggested. The firm discipline found in Healdtown, however, was not necessarily different to that found in other schools of that era. Most educational institutions in the period covered by this investigation made extensive use of prefects and monitors, as did Healdtown. It should be remembered that several of the British Public Schools founded in the middle and later years of the 19th century (for example, Wellington, Hailbury and Marlborough), stressed military preparation during school years. Such schools laid stress on order and organization. The late 19th century, when Healdtown was laying down the basic principles of its educational system, was the period when the British private schools set patterns for education throughout the Empire.

The second point is the size of the institution. During many of the years covered by this study, the school had approximately 1 000 students, so a complex and apparently 'rigid' control system may have been considered essential. The third point is that the idea of authority being exercised and accepted is in keeping with the established view of order and discipline in traditional African society, with its considerable respect for elders and those in authority. Finally, there is the central view of order and method within Methodism itself. The author himself remembers the frequent pleas that, as Methodists, pupils should do things "methodically".

There were a few examples of criticism of the system expressed, with hindsight, by a handful of respondents. Phrases such as "rigid" control, a "military camp" and a "miniature police state" can be found. But the overwhelming impression was that the system was accepted, approved of, and often praised. It has been noted

that the worst memories very frequently centred on "unrest" periods, when order broke down. "It was so difficult (for prefects)", said one respondent, "during unrest periods, as if a boy was in the initiation school." And another explained that the pupils at such times, "used to think of one's parents, who were far from Healdtown", and a third remembered the precise date (10th November 1954) when there was unrest after "a pupil...had been 'clapped' by an Assistant Housemaster for not having the badge on his blazer". The concern was not about the possible extreme response to a minor breach of discipline, but about the collapse of order which followed the event.

Two things about the acceptance of firm control need to be remembered. The first is that over 50% of the respondents were either teachers or had been trained as teachers and had had some teaching experience. Such people would be likely to look back with approval on an orderly, organized and well-disciplined institution, which would allow teaching and learning to develop uninterruptedly.

The second feature of the sample is that approximately two-thirds of them had themselves been in one or more positions of authority during their time at Healdtown, so their views are likely to show approval of a system of which they had been a part. Set against this, however, is the fact that even those who had not been in positions of authority expressed open or tacit support of the system of order used at Healdtown.

Three examples will serve to illustrate this acceptance of firm control. "In later life this (prefect system) made me not to sacrifice the truth for popularity", said one respondent. Another claimed that through the prefect system he "learnt to stay and work well with others." A third looked beyond his Healdtown days and explained: "Today I am holding a responsible position. I acquit myself fairly well and confidently because I know what is expected from me by my superiors."

This impression is confirmed by the respondents' comments on the work of the students' associations, which provided strong support

for the prefects with regard to discipline and control. Comments such as these examples were frequent: "If a student was either constantly neglecting his work in class or punished regularly in the hostel, other students drew the attention of the chairperson of the association to which that particular student belonged, and the matter was raised at their next meeting. In most cases the student would reform..." If a student misbehaved either at home or away from the institution, the same procedure was followed. "Some times a student had committed an offence which could lead to expulsion, the Housemaster referred him or her to his or her association and informed the chairperson that next time he or she would be taken to the Disciplinary Committee." Again, in most cases, he or she reformed. The respondents give the impression that, as with the prefects system, associations of students gave them an indirect training that became useful in later life. "I am today a head of a school. When I hold staff meetings I know how to run them." Another reported, "They (associations) taught me the procedure and helped me in keeping time." "Association meetings", said another, "taught me to respect other people's opinions even if they clash with mine."

It has been noted that all boarding schools have the potential for providing many extra-curricular activities with active membership, as students have time to attend and take part. Both boys and girls in Healdtown were exposed to many different types of activity. Extended descriptions have been given of the cultural, sporting, and religious activities organized by the school. Chapter four shows the wide range of respondents' involvement': 2/3rds of these had held a position of responsibility and were involved in more than one extra-curricular activity. The author recalls that during his time, all those who did not take part in any of these activities were referred to as "destroyers". The implication was that they had gone to Healdtown only to study their books and eat. 1

¹ This criticism, implying disbelief that anyone would neglect to use the opportunities available in the school, and the epithet "destroyer" itself can be compared to the original meaning of "idiot". In the intense personal democracy of 5th century Athens those who failed to involve themselves in the business of the city were called "idiotes" - those who had withdrawn. That anyone could be so foolish as to neglect this responsibility was hardly credible, and so "idiotes" began to acquire the contemporary meaning of one who is foolish or stupid.

Another point worth noting is the coaching and guidance given by both Black and White teachers in all the activities. As the respondents described their experiences, it was clear that each activity had a staff member at the head. The role of the Governor, Rev. Stanley Pitts, at the Boy Scout camps; or the role of "Tshatshi" (Mr Myambo) mentioned by Sbonda in rugby practices; the method of selection of suitable musical and other items for the Long Weekends are all examples of this staff involvement. The role of the staff, it would seem, was more likely to be guidance than complete control. For example, in all these activities the students had committees of their own which reported to a particular staff member. In other words, students ran their own activities themselves. Again the "methodical" concept becomes prominent as no respondent mentioned poor organization in these activities. There is also frequent reference to staff interest in Healdtown's extra-curricular activities. Many respondents mention staff presence either in the dining hall during activities and during matches either as officials or spectators. In this regard, as well as in control aspects, the respondents claim that their involvement had a profound impact on their lives after school years. "The Institution Choir developed in me love for music... I was in charge of the Church Choir at Shawbury... I am also in charge of Church Choir where I am." Another commented, "I can speak in any gathering with confidence. I have always been prominent and a success." This respondent (who had eventually became a senior official in a teachers' association and had attended an overseas conference) believed that her self-confidence had been developed in meetings of the debating society and discussion groups, which "gave me the necessary training in public speaking." In short, they view these activities as having enriched their lives and prepared them for the direction to follow in life.

It is very clear that the range of activities available to Heald-town students in this period was very much wider than would have been found in more conventional Black secondary schools in urban areas. In fact, the situation might favourably be compared with those available in the more privileged White boarding schools, and was possibly better than in many White urban day-schools of the

period. It could be claimed, therefore, that Healdtown was able to offer a remarkably full education.

One of the aims of Healdtown was to produce people who in adult life would become respectable and responsible citizens. It wanted them to be able to contribute in all respects to their communities. It has already been noted that many respondents recognized this aim, and believed that, in their own cases, this had been fulfilled. The findings on the respondents' adult life community activities have shown that commitment to the community's needs, and efforts to serve their communities were both considerable. Over 50% of the men and two-thirds of the women had an extensive history of community involvement. In interpreting this sex discrepancy, it was argued that, because of the comparative scarcity of well-educated women, there was greater likelihood that women rather than men would be called upon, simply by virtue of education, to take part in community service. It was also found that when people were aware of community needs, they contributed in many different ways. The average number of contributions of the 56 male respondents who had become involved in community life was 3,95, or nearly four, and the average for the 98 women was 3,3. It could therefore be claimed that the broad aims of Healdtown (to prepare their students to be worthy members of their community) had been reached. What did not emerge, however, was a clear-cut direct relationship between active involvement in particular areas of interest at school and similar activities in adult life. It is possible that the pressures to contribute would be placed on any educated person in social situations where the total number of educated citizens would be small. Education, rather than direct school experience, would be likely to be the criterion which was used in asking people to make a direct contribution.

It could also be argued that the respondents were reacting to the general spirit of service, often stressed at Healdtown, and it was in response to this ethos, rather than building upon specific school experiences, which enocuraged the respondents to serve their communities. It was clearly impossible, however, for these two hypotheses to be explored quantitatively from the information obtainable from the questionnaires.

What needs to be noted is that women did not make any contributions to community sport. In their case, service to community came first, followed by church and finally culture. This complete absence of sporting activity can be attributed to the fact that it is not unusual, in any society, for more women than men to drop sporting activities after leaving school, but complete non-participation deserves further examination. One possibility is that the sporting activities followed by many adult White women are tennis and squash, golf and bowls. Facilities for these are almost nonexistent in Black township areas. The small total of cultural contributions should also be noted. It should be remembered that there were really only two cultural activities offered at Healdtown in the period under investigation: music and debating or discussion societies. Equally so, opportunities for cultural activities in Black urban townships, even up to the present time, are limited. Indigenous drama is a very recent development. Even most musical activities are likely to be found in churches. In these circumstances, the small number of contributions in this category is understandable.

In the final part of this summary of the findings it is important to assess the implications of the three-generation study and to see the relationships between the roles of education and occupation. The educational implications can be examined first. It has been shown that opportunities for schooling for the general Black population were very limited in the early years of this century. Yet. over 80% of the respondents' parents (of both sexes) had had education to the extent of senior primary or higher. Even as late as 1935, by which date all the respondents' parents would have left school, 80% of the school-going population (which certainly did not equal all children of school-going age) was found in the junior primary standards.

It could be argued that the determination to give a good education to at least one of their children stemmed from their own educational experiences. This possibility might have been strengthened if both parents had had reasonable exposure to schooling. Evidence for this will be commented upon later in this section. Nearly all

the respondents had had some exposure to secondary education, so it is not surprising that there is a considerable improvement in the schooling levels when the second generation is compared with the first. What is surprising is the overwhelming evidence for this improvement. In only 11 cases had a parent received higher education than his or her son or daughter. In some 80 cases, parent and respondent had had equal levels of schooling. In most of these cases it was father and daughter or mother and daughter where equality was found, which suggests (as is common) that the offer of extended education is much more likely to be made to boys than to girls. Looked at in another way, no mother had an educational level higher than her son.

The greater educational advantages of the second generation were not confined to the respondents. There was strong evidence for respondents' siblings also being given educational opportunities far beyond those normally available to Blacks up to the mid-fifties of this century. Very large numbers had had some secondary education. It was noticeable, however, that the respondents themselves were likely to have had greater opportunities than their siblings. In only 14% of the male respondents' cases, were there examples of siblings reaching higher standards than the respondents themselves. The picture was different in the case of the female respondents, where nearly half the respondents' siblings had had higher education than they themselves had had. It must be pointed out that comparatively few siblings had also been to Healdtown. Their schooling was more likely to have been given in day schools.

The picture of the improvement in educational opportunity in successive generations is confirmed when the second generation (that of the respondents) is compared to the third generation (that of the respondents' children). Over 80% of the third generation had reached higher educational levels than their parents and half had continued their studies beyond Standard 10 in some form of tertiary education. Once again, this high percentage is in strong contrast to educational provision at secondary and tertiary levels for the general Black population between 1950 and 1980. It is really only since 1980 that there has been a very

rapid increase in secondary school places.

These very strong educational opportunity changes from generation to generation need to be considered together with the marriage patterns found in generations one and two. It was found that in nearly three-quarters of the cases in the first generation, husbands and wives had similar education levels. Such matching, in a situation where so few people had had schooling opportunities, is remarkable. It has been described in the thesis as like-marrying-like, but it can also be seen as the beginnings of an educational and occupational élite.

To a considerable extent this pattern is repeated in the second (the respondents') generation; but there were some differences. Of the men, approximately half had married wives of equal educational levels, but over a third had married women who had not had as much education (but the difference was usually of only one category). The more surprising evidence emerged when the female respondents' marriage patterns were examined. One-third had married a husband of equal educational level. In a quarter of the cases, the women had had more schooling than their husbands. This analysis was also marked by having the largest number of "no response" of all the questions. Were some of the women embarrassed by having to mention their husband's lower schooling histories? If so, the numbers in the last category might be much higher than 25%.

Despite this slight anomaly in the generation picture, however, the apparent determination of the respondents to seek out and marry spouses with high educational levels is still clear.

The second aspect of the three-generation study is that of occupations. For each generation the sample's families' occupations were considerably higher than those found in the general Black population. Even in the first generation, well over one-third of the fathers fell into four high occupational categories in which. in the total Black population, only just over 3% of the economically active men could be found. At this generation level,

however, there were still large numbers of men in lowly-paid ocupations: over 55% could be found working as farm or general labourers.

The second generation (the respondents) had all had some secondary education. This should have been reflected in their occupations, as was found to be the case: over 80% were involved in professional or technical jobs with (as would be expected of Healdtown graduates) the majority being teachers. Highly statistically significant differences were found between the fathers' and the respondents' occupations.

When the occupations in the second and third generations were compared, it was found that over 90% of the respondents' children were in the professional classes, and only 6% could be placed in the clerical level.

In the last two generations, a reasonably close match between education and occupation has occurred. As would be expected, the range of occupations of the respondents and their children is strikingly different to that of the general Black population. Those who went to Healdtown not only rose in occupational levels themselves, but in a striking way, were able to maintain and often increase these levels in their children.

When the reader considers the attitudes expressed by the respondents in this study, a number of features which were <u>not</u> mentioned become noteworthy. Five of these are: how concerned was the general Black population with the absence of educational opportunities in the decades before and during the Second World War?; how appropriate was it that English culture should be so firmly imposed upon the scholars and how permanent was it?; how permanent was the imposition of Methodism's view of religion and a way of life?; how adequately did the special organization of schooling in Healdtown prepare the pupils for their lives in Black communities in South Africa?; how do current pupils' views and beliefs compare with those apparent in Healdtown from 1925 to 1955, and could, in the current situation in South Africa, Healdtown be revived as it operated prior to 1955?

In current discussions on the purposes and planning of Black South African education, these issues (imposition of culture; education that produces and perpetuates elites; relevance of current education) are frequently raised. In 1989, an opportunity arose, at two educational conferences, one at Bloemfontein and the other at King William's Town, to ask such questions of a number of ex-Healdtown graduates (some of whom had participated in the current study, and others who had not) making a total of forty, and to record their impressions on audio-tape.

These impressions are presented in the conclusion to this study to show attitudes towards education and to explore, in an informal way, such teachers' responses to current educational issues. All those who took part did so voluntarily, and were clearly eager to express themselves at length, as each discussion lasted at least half an hour and some extended to two hours. The participants were, as were those in the original study, between 55 and 70 years of age.

The first discussion point concerned the opportunities available to the Black child for secondary school education during the period investigated. All confirmed that before the Second World War there were very limited chances for Black children to get secondary education. "It is no wonder", said one, "why some people were expected to teach after they had passed standard six." They claimed that the pressure to extend provision for secondary schools came mainly after 1945. They also claimed that the main reason for scarcity of secondary schools before 1945 could be ascribed to factors such as scarcity of money, the level of development of Blacks at the time and the attitude of the Whites towards Blacks, which were that Blacks did not need higher education.

Many recalled the privation and difficulties in families that tried to find secondary education for their children, and others suggested that Blacks who had served in the war, both in South Africa and abroad, had returned with wider horizons and higher hopes. "Our fathers", said one, "who had been soldiers in the war returned with new ideas and (were) highly motivated to have secondary education extended to their children." They showed that

the majority of secondary schools which came into existence immediately after 1945 reflected the aspirations of the Black people themselves. Some started as private schools. The memories of two men and a woman can be quoted. The first man said:

"I still remember the number of parents' meetings when I was still in standard 4. My father and his neighbours would discuss this aspect at length. I still remember how happy people were when it was announced at our church, one Sunday morning, that the money...collected would enable them to start a standard 7 class in one of the delapidated buildings in our location."

The second man remembered the aspirations of his parents:

"My father would always say, 'Ndincede Nkosi ndiphe impilo nendawo yokuxelenga ukuze ndingabhubhi umntwana wam engenayo imfundo ye J.C', meaning, 'Help me God give me health and employment so that I do not die without having given my child J.C. (Junior Certificate)."

The third woman remembered how she overheard her father conversing one day with his friends after working hours:

"Thina madoda ebekule imfazwe siyibonile indawo yomntu omnyama xa engafundanga. Akukho nto ingako kuthi kuba sesizakufa. Endibavelayo ngabantwana bethu ekucaca ukuba bakufa nabo benalo six kuphela. Bendicinga mna ukuba ngesidibana singabazali sibone ukuba asingehlanganisi zipenana, ukuba kuqaliswe i-Secondary", meaning, "We men who had been involved in this last war have seen the position of an uneducated Black person. There is nothing so much with us, because we are about to die. I am worried about our children who, seemingly, will also die with only having passed standard six. My suggestion is that we parents meet with a view to raise funds to start a secondary school."

Proper buildings and suitably qualified teachers were not regarded as insurmountable problems because, as one teacher reported:

"Lo mbandela wesakhiwo esixelelwa ngaso ukuba asikho kunye neetitshala ezifanelekileyo asizo zinto kokwam ukubona ezinokusibamba. Aba bethu apha elokishini abanemizi emikhulu banakho ukucelwa ukuba kufundelwe kuyo okwalo mzuzu. Kanti kwaneetitshala ezi zifundisa kusasa zinakho ukuphuma kwesikolo semini zizekufundisa kwaba be-Secondary", meaning, "This aspect of proper school buildings which is always impressed on us, that it is not available together with the unavailability of suitably qualified teachers, cannot be regarded as real problems. To me those of us in the location who have bigger homes could be requested to allow that their portions be used as temporary classrooms for the secondary pupils. Same thing with teachers. Those who teach from the morning could be asked to come and teach in the secondary section after school hours."

Some remembered the demands made on teachers in the early days of secondary school expansion. A man reported:

"Uninzi lweetitshala zazenza idini. Ndikhumbula ngexesha mna ndisenza unyaka wokuqala we N.P.L. eNxukhwebe, ekhaya iititshala bekufuneka ukuba ziphume esikolweni ziyokutya zakugqiba ziyokufundisa e-Secondary eyayiqala yonke imihla ngaphandle kwangolwesihlanu. Ungacingi ukuba zazihlawulwa ngalo nto. Zazingenakuhlawulwa kuba kaloku zaziqeshwa ngabefundisi. Kwabanjalo kwada kwathabatha urulumente", meaning, "The majority of teachers sacrificed a great deal. I remember when I was doing N.P.L. at Healdtown, a private secondary school was started at home and many teachers were expected, after school hours, to go and teach in the private secondary school. Do not think they got any extra pay for that. They could not object because they were employed in those days by ministers of religion who acted as managers. The situation remained the same until eventually the Department of Education (Department of Bantu Education) took over."

A woman, who was also in the first group of secondary pupils in a new private secondary school, explained:

"Mna ndandingomnye wabantwana bokuqala kweyethu. Andinakuyilibala indlela ekwakunzima ngayo. Yayingonelanga indawo yokuhlala, kunyanzeleka ukuba bahlale efloorini abanye. Iincwadi ziyokucelwa kwezinye izikolo edolophini ngumfundisi wethu. Ebusika siphume sekumnyama. Kuyo vonke loo nto ndazibona ndiphumelela ndathi xa ndigala unyaka wokuqala we P.H. e Nxukhwebe ndeva ukuba ithatyathwe ngurulumente", meaning, "I was one of the first to be registered in our private secondary school at home. It is difficult to explain fully the difficulties we had to experience: the space was not enough (for furniture) as a result some of us had to sit on the floor, books were insufficient - a few would be brought occasionally by our minister who had collected them from donors in town. In winter we would get home when it was already dark. In spite of all that I managed to pass and go to Healdtown where after I had started P.H. I heard later from my father...that the education department had taken over."

The second point that was raised concerned the imposition of a White Methodist culture on the pupils. To encourage discussion, the author made the suggestion that Healdtown had perhaps had the aim of separating them (the pupils) from their indigenous culture. In discussing this idea it was suggested White culture should be considered first and secondly the methodical approach of the missionaries. Almost all repudiated the view that the intention was to separate them from their indigenous culture. Amongst other points, they highlighted the activities during the Long Weekends. The Bhacas, the Xhosas, the Zulus, the Basutos, the Tswanas would all be encouraged during outdoor games to display different aspects of their culture. This, they argued, is sufficient to prove that while, on the one hand the missionaries inculcated into the minds of their pupils White English culture, on the other they wanted their pupils not to forget their own identities.

They also stressed that the main aim of Healdtown was to educate people so as to help the spread of Methodism. It was necessary for them (the missionaries) to use the Blacks' own culture as a

stepping stone to this particular religious way of life. "No foreigner can emphasize a culture that is new to him and yet succeed in his objective", one argued. The examples of English culture cited were: quiet or low levels of conversation, mixed dinners, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, activities such as choral music, wearing jackets during meals, the manner of dress (ties to be worn all the time, no matter how hot it was), the prefect system, the appeal courts, uniform, the compulsory speaking of English except during week-ends (during early days).

Some of the influences of Healdtown, however, were not carried forward into adult life. One example, already noted in the study, was the non-participation of women in adult sporting activities. Some people commented that a large number of sporting activities amongst men were also dropped after leaving school: pole vaulting, high and long jumping, hurdles racing and discus-throwing were cited. One man gave an example of a highly skilled athlete in sprinting, hurdling and jumping, who had competed in many centres in the country during his time at Healdtown. He remembered the Governor presenting his trophies to this athlete at Healdtown assemblies and how his contemporaries would crowd round him to hear him recount his experiences, and the influence he had on his fellow-students, even the prefects. Yet on leaving Healdtown he discontinued these sporting skills but concentrated on sprinting. Other similar examples were cited by others.

Two things could account for this. The first could be the absence of specialist athletic apparatus needed for such activities in adult Black communities (an argument already put forward for women dropping their interest in sport). But some speakers suggested that there could also be a cultural explanation: such activities were, it was claimed by some speakers, never a part of Xhosa culture. Any man who could be seen jumping would be looked down upon since that is behaviour expected of boys who had not yet gone to initiation school. One speaker argued that even in the present school situation, most pupils are very poor at such events.

On the other hand, comparison could be made with track events, where pupils excel because the teachers who coach them are Blacks who show more interest in these skills. Black culture is associated with running and currently most of the great long distance runners are Blacks. It should also be noted that preparation for such events requires few specialist facilities.

The speakers confirmed the decline of interest in sporting activities of women after leaving school, with participation confined to coaching. Again it was claimed that it was a question of culture. "No grown-up girls, who could marry any time, can spend leisure time playing." What their culture expects from them is that they spend their leisure time at home doing household chores to attract, by virtue of their industry and dignity, future husbands.

Such examples, speakers claimed, showed that not all cultural impositions were permanent. When the popularity of Scouts, an activity at first sight far removed from Black culture, was raised, one speaker explained that "no child could show resistance to what an elder person says, irrespective of the colour of that person." In other words, pupils were expected to conform to the wishes of any adult. On the other hand, some of the self-reliance training given in scouting could find parallels in young Black boys' herding duties and the independence expected during the initiation school.

Four conclusions can be reached by examining all these replies. The first is that the ex-pupils do not see the missionaries, during this period, deliberately divorcing them from their traditional cultural backgrounds. Secondly, White English culture was being emphasized to make it easy for the missionaries to accomplish their aim. In other words, pupils had to have an inkling of English culture so as to be able to be carriers of the Gospel to distant parts. Thirdly, pupils did not accept every aspect of White culture that was being transmitted. Fourthly, no person could successfully impose his culture on others over a short period and expect that such imposition would be permanent.

There was no argument about the "Methodical" idea: that every thing done was to have a method. This concept was applied to small matters as well as major ones. One man gave an example of suitcases that were kept in the Box Rooms where all suitcases had to be neatly stacked. Another cited the day the Assistant Housemaster, the late Mr Spondo (iBhele) explained the programme for the planned farewell of the Housemaster, Mr Mokitimi ("The Bomber"): "Clapping of hands will have to be methodical", he stressed. Table behaviour was a third example. These simple examples could lead to "methodical" behaviour in larger or more important issues. Sunday School teachers, in the neighbouring villages, lay preachers who were encouraged to visit these villages on Sunday evenings, and Manyano members who every year were encouraged to attend Methodist Manyano Conventions at places outside Healdtown, were all examples to the pupils that they were to be future missionaries (to maintain Wesley's idea that "the world is my parish"). This pressure was so strong that it did continue into adult life for many pupils. "Today many of us, men as well as women", said one man, "are dedicated members of the Methodist Church who practise what was preached to us at Healdtown." A woman remarked

> "Ngolwezine xa ndingqina, ndidla ngokuthi koo mama bomanyano, mna andinalo ithuba lale nto kuthiwa yintonga. Ithuba endinalo ndakuma phambi kwesidlangalala esinje lelokugqithisa into endiyithunyiweyo, ngamanye amazwi kukushumayela ilizwi likaThixo. Ndenza umsebenzi wam ngale ndlela ndandigegeshwe ngayo. Kaloku mna ndingomnye wababegeqeshwe eNxukhwebe", meaning, "On Thursdays when I stand up to contribute to the text, I usually tell the fellow Manyano members that I do not have time for a verse from the hymn. When I am standing in front of Manyano members, the time L have is to pass the message of God; in other words, I preach the word of God as revealed to me. I am doing my work as I was coached. By the way, I am one of those who were coached at Healdtown."

¹ It has been a custom for many decades that these women's meetings should be held on Thursday afternoons. Throughout the country women can be seen going to them in their red and white costumes. The custom is so strong that in many White households, maids are given a half-holiday on this day, which is colloquially known as "maids-day-off".

The next discussion point was the adequacy and relevance of the preparation for life that was attempted at Healdtown. The point was put to them in these words: "Professor Dewey, one of the great educationists, asserts that education is not only preparation for life but life itself." One responded as follows: "If Afrikaners are taught by an Afrikaner, the likelihood is that in adult life all that was taught at school would be carried into adult life and practised as such. That is what can be regarded, in my opinion, as life itself. At Healdtown we were taught, during my time, mainly by English-speaking people, the majority of them were products of Westminster and other famous British schools. We accepted from them certain teachings but we cannot guarantee that we accepted all their teachings and carried them into adult life as they had been taught." Nevertheless, he felt that Healdtown could be taken as having largely prepared its pupils for life.

The conversation then turned to the pupils of the eighties and their attitude towards education. Many agreed that there is a vast difference between the attitude of the respondents' generation and that of the children of the eighties towards education. The reasons were numerous. One was that the ex-pupils of Healdtown had come from parents who were mainly traditionalists, while the children of the eighties come from parents who are largely "enlightened". In other words, while the respondents, in the main, accepted the majority of things at face value, present pupils, by virtue of their wider awareness, tend to question things and not accept them so readily. One likened this to the different attitudes towards life in earlier times: he set the middle ages, when things were readily accepted, against the period of the renaissance, when questioning of assumptions became the norm. It was also mentioned that although political issues were considered during the Healdtown generation, the extent of their knowledge was less than that of the modern pupils. The reason given was that Healdtown pupils were confined to one place for a considerable part of the year. Newspapers and radio listening were not as common as is found among the present children. Media in different forms, and greater freedom of movement for modern pupils are factors that contribute to greater questioning of curriculum and syllabus. One speaker suggested that fifty years ago South Africa was still

largely under the influence of Britain (he compared it to a 'colony'), but the abandoning of colonialism throughout Africa over the past thirty years encouraged young Black people to ask for the same thing to happen to them in South Africa. Such liberation was never thought of before the Second World War.

At one stage, one of the ex-pupils produced a sticker which read "SAVE HEALDTOWN MISSIONARY INSTITUTION", together with a replica of the eagle badge. (This appears in Appendix 9). "There is currently a drive by ex-pupils in a number of places in the Cape and in Transkei and Ciskei to have Healdtown re-opened. A large number of young people in some places", said one, "are preparing to go and clean up Healdtown while some are making arrangements for a re-union of all ex-pupils of Healdtown." It would appear that they are motivated by the re-opening in 1988 of Lovedale (the contemporary of Healdtown).

After 22 years under the Department of Bantu Education, and subsequently the Department of Education and Training, Healdtown had been closed in 1977. The relevance of Healdtown's previous educational offerings is clearly closely related to the future of the institution. If it were to be re-opened, what form should the institution take? It was not possible to find agreement, and several conflicting suggestions were put foward. The first was that it should attempt exactly the same role as it had in its heyday. The second suggestion was that it be turned into a feepaying private school to continue its elitist role in the way the governing body thought best. It would thus become a prestige secondary school. A third group recongized that the expense, if it were borne by Ciskei Government, would be too great and would not be justified, but some felt that either the secondary or its teacher training should be recreated by the Government, but that both purposes would be inappropriate. Other groups felt that the religious origin of Healdtown should be revived, so that it becomes a training school for Methodist ministers or a place of religious retreat. All agreed, however, that it could not really in any way mirror, in the last decade of the 20th century, exactly the same attitudes that were propagated in the thirties and forties. It would have to reflect current thinking and attitudes.

This thesis has been entitled "Portrait of a School". It is clearly not a complete portrait. It has not concentrated on full historic development (that has partly been covered by Hewson. 1959), but the title can be justified by claiming that a school can be best measured by its products - 171 of whose memories and assessments have made this study possible. It has already been explained that the translation of Healdtown's motto, under the symbol of the eagle, reads: "They shall rise with wings like eagles". It would seem that for many of the products of the Institution, this hope of the founders had been fulfilled. They had spread the ideas and the ideals of Healdtown; they had benefited from its training; they had prospered in their communities, to which they had contributed greatly and they were proud of and grateful for their adolescent experiences there. If Healdtown were to open its doors again, would the new students rise on the same wings to the same kinds of heights? It is not possible to say with certainty, but it is probably unlikely that Healdtown could revive its particular style of education in the last decade of the Twentieth Century. Even in the twelve years since the Institution closed, so much has happened socially and politically, and the present is so fluid, that any attempt to re-create the past exactly is unlikely to succeed.

What could be asked for, however, is to rebuild on some of its old traditions, so that, in the future, Healdtown might make as large a contribution to Black advancement in the Twenty-first Century, as it undoubtedly did in the Twentieth.

KUTHI MAXHOSA ENGAPHELIYO IYAHLOLA
(To us Xhosas anything that does not come to an end is a bad omen).

NANKO KE UMAFESTILE ENANIMTHANDA
(There is Healdtown which you loved).

	P.O. Box 13 New Brighton PORT ELIZABETH 6200
\frac{1}{2}	
Dear Prof/Dr/Rev/Mr/Mrs/Miss	
**********	1
QUESTIONNAIRE: HEALDTOWN MISSIONARY INSTITU	TION (1855 - 1955)
I write to request you to complete the attactis on Healdtown Missionary Institution (1855) information for the M.Ed. thesis, I am work Tunmer of the Department of Education, Rhode	- 1955). I need the ing on under Prof. R.
Since you have been once one of the students it is hoped that you will be in a position t on it. The information given by you will be confidentially.	o answer questions based
To make it easy for you an addressed envelop	
the questionnaire must be returned as soon a do hope you will attend to it at your earlie	
Last but not least, I wish to thank you in ad	vance for your support.
J.A.M. PEPPETA (MR)	DATE

HEALDTOWN MISSIONARY INSTITUTION

1855 - 1955

QUESTIONNAIRE

GEN	ERAL INFORMATION
1.	SURNAME:
2.	CHRISTIAN NAMES:
3.	HOME ADDRESS:
4.	TELEPHONE (If possible) WORK: HOME:
	PART I
SCH	OOL DAYS AT HEALDTOWN
5.	From what year to what year were you a student at Healdtown?
•	(e.g. 1934 - 1936) to to
6.	At what class did you enter (e.g. Form I, Form IV, P.H.I.; N.P.L.I. etc.)
7.	At what class did you leave Healdtown (e.g. after form III, form V,
	P.H. 2 , N.P.L. III etc.)
8.	What course did you follow at Healdtown? (e.g. J.C., MATRIC, TEACHER'S COURSE)
9.	Were you a boarder? (Tick" " where applicable YES/NO
10.	
11.	
	PART II
SCH	OOL ACTIVITIES -
12.	
	(i) Class monitor Yes/No how long? (eg. 2 years)
	(ii) Prefect Yes/No how long? (eg. 3 years)
	(iii) Group prefect Yes/No how long? (eg. 2 years)
	(iv) Chief prefect Yes/No how long? (eg. 1 year)
	(v) Representative of Senior Students Ves/No how long?

13.	When you were at Healdtown, we	ere you a member of:-
	(i) The Institution Choir?	Yes/No How long? (eg. 1 year)
	(ii) The Debating Society?	Yes/No How long? (eg. 2 years)
	(iii) Discussions Group?	Yes/No How long? (eg. 2 years)
	(iv) Entertainment Committee	e Yes/No How long?
	(v) School Magazine (Eagle) Committee? Yes/No How long?
	(vi) Boy Scouts/Girl Guides? Any other Society? (Nar	Yes/No How long?
14.	Did some of the above make you Healdtown? Yes/No	u a better person after you had left
15.	If "yes" explain how:	
	,	
16.		at were your sporting activities? which team you played (eg. lst, 2nd, etc.)
	Played in Team	Played in Team
	Soccer	Softball
	Cricket	Athletics
	Netball	Tennis
	Rugby	Other (Please list)
	<u>P/</u>	ART III
DENC	MINATION	
17.	What was your link with the Me	ethodist Church while you were at Healdtown?
	(i) Already a methodist?	Yes/No
	(ii) Confirmed at Healdtown	Yes/No
	(iii) Member of Manyano?	Yes/Mo
	(iv) Member of S.C.A.?	Yes/No
	(v) Sunday School Teacher?	Yes/No
18.	If you were not a Methodist whome church.	nen you went to Healdtown, state your

PART IV

TOTTO	DIDENTIC	AND	DITTE	OUTT DODN
YOUR	PARENIS	AND	THEIR	CHILDREN

Where was your home when you entered Healdtown? (eg. Alice, Butterworth, Grahamstown etc.)
What job was your father doing when you entered Healdtown?

What was the last job your father held before he died or retired? (e.g. Minister of Religion, School Teacher, A store-keeper,
Labourer etc.)
Did your father go to school? Yes/No If "Yes" , what was his highest standard
Did he have any further education after he left school?
(e.g. Teacher Trainig, Agricultural College etc. Yes/No
Did your mother go to school? Yes/No If "Yes" , what was her highest standard?
Did she have any further training after she left school?
(e.g. Teacher Training, Nursing Hospital, etc.)
Did you have any brothers and/or sisters? Yes/No If "Yes" list their names, sex and highest standard of schooling, and any further education they had and their present occupation or last job before death or retirement.

NAME	SEX	HIGHEST SCHOOL STANDARD	FURTHER EDUCATION	PRESENT/LAST JOB
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8.				
9.				
10.				

PART V

YOUR OWN CAREER

27. Did you do any further training since you left Healdtown? (e.g. B.A. (1946-1949, Fort Hare) Nursing (1950-1953) Livingston Hospital

If "Yes" please list Course/Degree/Diploma/ you took and other details in the table below:-

Yes/No

5/....

28. What jobs have you held? (Please read the instructions below this space before you answer this question)

JOB	WHERE	LENGTH OF TIME IN THIS JOI
	1	

N.B.: If you have been, say, in teaching all your life do not list every school you have ever taught in. Simply say teaching (1940 - 1950).

If you received promotions in the same kind of job, list them separately e.g. teacher 1940-1950 Deputy Principal 1951-1953 Principal 1954-1955 etc.

29. Are you still working?

Yes/No

30. Have you retired?

Yes/No

31. Did you marry?

Yes/No

- 32. If "Yes" what was the highest standard your husband or wife reached?
- 33. Did he or she have any further training after leaving school? Yes/No

34. If "Yes" what kind of training?

PART VI

YOUR OWN FAMILY

35. Answer this section if you have children of your own. List in the table below the information about your children.

		any further Educ. Yes/No		Yes/No	
-					
	,	,	,		

PART VII

YOUR WORK IN YOUR COMMUNITY

36.	Do you do any work for the benefit of your community? (e.g. school
	committee, Lay Preacher, Sports club, committee member of a
	society etc.? Yes/No
	If "Yes", please list all these you work for:

SOCIETY	POSITION (e.g. CHAIRMAN, MEMBER ETC.)
1.	
2.	**
3.	
4.	
5.	
6.	
7.	
8.	
9.	
10.	

PART VIII

MEMORIES OF HEALDTOWN

	memories of this institution?	
		1.
	PART IX	
38.	What are your worst memories of this institution?	
38.	What are your worst memories of this institution?	

39.	How would you describe the influence Healdtown has had on your life since you left it?									
	+									
					_					
40.	Are there If "Yes",			you woul	d criticise	e Healdtown	Yes/No			
						-10				
				000000	0	_				

A DESCRIPTION OF THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE CEREMONY
OF THE OFFICIAL OPENING OF HEALDTOWN INDUSTRIAL
INSTITUTION
MAY, 1857

For several weeks great excitement prevailed among the chiefs and people anticipating the wants of thousands which were expected to be present on "the great day". They were anxious that there should be no scarcity of food on the occasion. Officers were duly appointed and their work assigned beforehand, under the superintendence of Mr Verity, and native teacher, Klas Bangani, of which there were six cooks, and sixteen subordinates. To those who superintended the slaughtering, catering and cooking for three preceding days and nights, the lust of flesh must have become a loathing indeed; for the morning of Thursday found them with four fat oxen, six cooks, three calves, forty-two sheep, one hundred and twenty goats, besides turkeys, large quantities of fowls and eggs, and a sucking pig, voluntarily contributed.

LETTERS TO AND FROM THE DEPARTING GOVERNOR, SIR GEORGE GREY

Heald Town August 1st 1859

To His Excellency Sir George Grey May it please your Excellency

We Fingoe Chiefs and people of the Division of Fort Beaufort and Heald Town, being assembled at this place, have heard with great sorrow that you are about to leave this land for England, being called home by our beloved Majesty the Queen. This news has brought us together, and we have requested our old Minister to write to you this letter to express our great regret and disappointment that you should leave us just now...

When Your Excellency first visited this place four years ago, you found our Minister residing in a pole hut; now he lives in a house of large and beautiful dimensions. Our Church was small and unfurnished; now we have a beautiful Church containing 600 persons, and which we are again enlarging. Then we had no one to teach our sons and daughters useful trades or employment; now they are cared for by our Minister or his family, - taught habits of cleanliness, and industry, being instructed, fed and clothed in the house built for them by your Excellency, and in addition thereto, we have Tradesmen on the spot at daily work, viz. a Millwright, Wheelwright, Blacksmith, Carpenter, and Shoemaker - five tradesmen. These trades are not only useful to our sons to whom they are being taught, but they are of great benefit to the entire settlement.

"The water mill for grinding corn, now in course of erection, the first ever known in a Fingoe settlement, has induced our people to sow wheat largely instead of Indian corn and Kaffir Corn. Here too our ploughs and waggons can be repaired with ease and convenience on the spot.

"Since the Industrial Institution has been in operation upwards of forty boys and girls have left it, going out either as apprentices to learn trades, as house servants, or to be useful to their parents; while the same number continue in the house. Of most of these it is just to say that great improvement has been made.

"In consequence of our people using the plough so generally, the ground yields a good return of corn, for which we obtain a ready and remunerating market on the spot, and are supplied by the four general stores with groceries, all kinds of clothing and hardware, soap etc. Several of our people from improved

circumstances have purchased largely of land in British Kaffraria. One young man, a Fingo, to whom Your Excellency kindly lent £50 to begin life again, after having lost his all in the last war - this person from good fortune attending his honest and well directed efforts, has repaid the £50 so kindly lent, and is now worth at least from £1200 to £1500 in land and money.

"We know that it will gratify Your Excellency to be informed that though the amount of heathen ignorances is yet very great amongst our people, yet a large and constantly increasing number have embraced the faith of Christ. About one eighth of the nation in different parts of the Frontier have become more or less influenced by the Word of God. At this place more than 500 are members of the Church, and regular communicants at the Lord's Supper. Of this number over 290 adult persons after suitable preparation have received Christian baptism, and 252 children. This has been our progress since Your Excellency paid us your first visit on Sunday, February 4th 1855; while the regular weekly and quarterly contributions in money render it quite unnecessary for the Minister to seek aid from England. Still we want more teachers, as the number of our heathen countrymen is great.

"In conclusion we can only say how thankful we are for your past goodness, but that we deeply deplore that you should be called away from us just at the time that our land is at peace, and our nation beginning to feel the benefit of your wise and humane and strong government... As Fingoe Christians do always pray for those in authority, so they at this place will continue to pray for Your Excellency, and Lady Grey, that God may be pleased to bless you, and bring you safely to your native land, where we hope that you will remember the Fingoes of this land."

The letter is signed by John Ayliff, and it is clear that he had stressed those things which Sir George Grey hoped would result from the establishment of Industrial schools on the frontier.

The letter is signed in addition on behalf of the following chiefs:

Zazila, Chief of the Mmazeze
Nobanda, Chief of the Amabele
Katengana, Chief of the Amahlube
Piet April, Chief of the Amazize
William Konhlo, Chief of the Amangwane
Klaas Bangane, Chief of the Izigubevu
Hendrik Mozokwa, Chief of the Amazotshe
Basa Gwambe, Chief of the Amanhlovu
John Kwenga, Chief of the Imiya
Silinga, Chief of the Amakuza
Boy Guza, Chief of the Amakusha

and the Civil Superintendent of Fingoes, James Verity, added his name as well.

In reply to this address, the Governor wrote:

"To the Fingoes of Healdtown"

My Children,

1 1 1 1 1 1 1

I have received your letter from Heald Town; I have read what you have said, and I am much pleased. I am very thankful that God has permitted me to do good to your race, and I have felt more glad than I can well say that you have in so friendly and affectionate terms thanked me for what I have done.

I shall never forget the aid which your Minister, Mr Ayliff, has given me in my efforts to promote your welfare. He has been to me a friend indeed.

If you continue grateful for what I have done, let your gratitude be seen by your largely availing yourselves of the opportunities you now have for educating your children. I have on my part earnestly striven to aid you to the best of my ability; give me therefore the reward I ask that your children should be brought up virtuous and industrious Christians.

If I can ever hereafter help Heald Town do not hesitate to apply to me.

GEO. GREY.

Government House Cape Town August 1859

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THE INSCRIPTION ON THE TABLET HUNG IN THE CHURCH
TO COMFORT THE FINGOES OF HEALDTOWN AFTER THE
DEATH OF REV JOHN AYLIFF

1864

In Memory of

THE

REVEREND JOHN AYLIFF

the first Missionary to the Fingoes under whose pastoral care they were placed when emancipated from Kaffir bondage

BY SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN
On the formation of the Healdtown Settlement in
the tract of country granted to a portion of the
Fingoes as a reward for their faithfulness to
the British Government during two successive wars.

Mr Ayliff at the special request of

SIR GEORGE GREY

became Governor of the Industrial Institution founded by him for their benefit, which position he retained till failing health compelled him to relinquish it.

HE DIED AT FAURESMITH
in the Orange Free State
On the 17th of May, 1862
AGED 64 YEARS
His last words were a prayer for the people of his
former charge.

This TABLET was ERECTED by the FINGOES of HEALDTOWN

PREFECTS' ASSEMBLY Thursday 29 October 1953

Juniors Complaints and Answers to them

- 1 Lines when going to the meals abolished
 - (i) For discipline)
 - (ii) Punctuality in dining hall) could not be abolished
- 2 Strenuous manual work
 - For change of occupation when out of school or class room.
 - (ii) Lack of sporting amenities (stop of mischief) must be kept busy working. Dignity of Labour.
 - (a) Admittedly Bakery manual strenuous but work for few days long rest.
 - (b) Man employed for raking coal and some dumped in wood yard.
 - (c) Ash tins would be attended to and closed.
- 3 Seniors by age not allowed to smoke in dormitories
 - Feeling of court seniors to be seniors by age and not academically. Decision not finally made yet. Decision will work next year.
- 4 Diet poor and badly prepared
 - (i) Rise of things school cannot improve diet.
 - (ii) Next years rise (£28) not meant to improve diet but to make up for the expense in which school is. £25 amounts to 2/- per scholar.
 - (iii) Vegetables for consumption from both gardens. If any student knows what happens to vegetables let House Master know even in private.
 - (iv) Will speak to matron for food to be well prepared. Knows it to be dirty.
- 5 Permissions to the Girls Hostel curtailed
 - (i) Sufficiently long time you talk to girls at break.
 - (ii) For special permission you have to be questioned by House Master.
 - (iii) Not here in a camp for boys and girls cannot be encouraged.
 - (iv) Does not inconvenience any student here. Parents happy about the present condition.

- 6 Sitting down during prayers when incapacitated (unfit)
 - (i) For reverence sake.
 - (ii) Prefects are reasonable will allow unfit to sit.
- 7 Unfair expulsion of seniors
 - (i) Discipline committee not responsible to students and prefects but to Department and church.
 - (ii) Every student signed a declaration which stated that authorities have the right to send home students if their conduct is unsatisfactory.
 - (iii) Circular letter dispatched end of last year and beginning of year stating that strict discipline shall be maintained.

General Remarks: 1. Don't stir trouble when you do not get what you wanted even if through your representation.

2. Best thing to do stay up to the end of year and not come back to Healdtown. 3. Students forget to mention good things done for them by the Institution and only mention bad points.

<u>Under general</u>: Switch in the kloof to be attended to. <u>Students care</u>less with bathroom stops therefore sinks become dirty. Request them not to waste and spoil things.



'ALIS. VELUT. AQUILARUM. SURGENT.

Aobember 1951

"THE FIRST LONG WEEKEND IN 1951

"When I arrived in Healdtown on the 3rd February 1951, I was not treated as a newcomer because many of my friends who were at the Newell High School with me, were already there and welcomed me. As a result of this, I was soon used to the place and felt at home all the time.

About three weeks after the reopening of schools, I heard nothing else but the gossip about the long weekend. This was all Greek to me and I was curious to see it. A few weeks before this long weekend arrived one would hear music in every corner of the Institution.

One day when we were having our dinner in the dining hall, the chief prefect officially announced that the long weekend was near and that companies should prepare their items for the concert.

At last this long weekend arrived and started on Thursday evening when sketches were performed and a few musical items were rendered. On Saturday following the Good Friday, there was a concert and the choirs showed us what they were capable of doing. Of all the companies I think I must mention the Merry Basies, and the Streamline Sisters, as they were the only two that impressed me.

On Easter Monday we all went out to the flats for outdoor games, and came back at 12 noon for lunch. At 2 p.m. the indoor games started in the men's dining hall. Before it was 2 p.m. there were many students in the hall and I noticed that the students were all smart, clean and beautiful.

What I have learnt of Healdtown, is that it fights against discrimination and only wants students to live as brothers and sisters. I shall never forget the first long weekend."

(Adapted from Hewson, 1955)

PRINCIPAL TEACHERS OF HEALDTOWN

Industrial Institution

1856-1861 Mr 1862	(afterwards Rev) George A Rose C Birkett Stumbles
	trus Masiza, a Coloured Teacher, acted in 1864
	Maskery (Industrial Institution closed 1867)
	Teachers' Training School
1866-1875 Mr	George Baker
	H W Graham, MA (Cantab)
	George Baker
	James Lightfoot (Mr T Webster, Primary School Master, took charge during the illness of Mr J Lightfoot, 1889-90)
Ir	1890, owing to straitened finances, the newly appointed Governor, Rev R F Hornabrook, took charge, and carried on until 1894
1895-1896 Mr	Spensley
1897-1932 Mr	W R Caley
1932-1940 Mr	J H Dugard, BSc
	J Omond, BA
	W Dale, BA
1953- Mr	R D Knight, BA
	High School
1934-1950 Mr	E A Ball, MSc George Caley, BA G D H Langley, BSc

Practising School

-1925	Mr	J	J	Kissack
1926-1933				Woodward
1934-1935	Mr	E	Ho	lloway
1936-	Mis	s	M	Floweday

The following School Principals were trained at the Westminster College - Messrs G A Rose, C Birkett, G Baker, H W Graham, J Lightfoot, W R Caley, and J H Dugard, and the following

members of the Teaching Staff - Messrs Chapman, Spensley, Elderkin, Lewis, McAllister, Weale, Kissack, Kerruish and Towers.

44.4

Southlands Training College supplied the first Lady Superintendent of the Girls' Boarding Department, Miss Inge (1898-1907), afterwards Mrs J Kissack.



'ALIS. VELUT. AQUILARUM. SURGENT.

Aobember 1954

"MY FIRST RUGBY MATCH AGAINST LOVEDALE"

"When the fixtures of the year were out at the beginning of the year 1951, everybody around me commented on a Lovedale match which was due to be played in the first week of June.

I wondered why there was so much attention paid to this match but I soon cast aside the thought of it all until it was only a fortnight before the date on the fixtures card. The wonder was revived because of special care and time given to our practices in preparation for the match.

On Saturday morning on the set date I could sense the spirit of all the players and non players, it appeared to me that they were up against an enemy that day. I received many visits from the students, everyone advising me what to do.

The match was a ding-dong battle from the very word go. Things seemed to be going up-hill for us and when I took a glance at our fellows, I found out that they were seriousness personified, so I decided to go ahead myself because I could visualize that there was no other way of winning the match than the tough way.

After the match everybody was pleased with the results except of course people from Lovedale who took the trouble of hiring lorries, cars, steambikes, bicycles and even horses for the spectators to come over.

When I reviewed the match I learnt that Healdtown and Lovedale are the Cambridge and Oxford of African Colleges in South Africa as far as sport is concerned. My article would not be complete without my paying tribute to my 1951 Rugby team mates wherever they are. The team was a really solid side."

Dumile Kondile, 5m.

SAVE HEALDTOWN MISSIONARY INSTITUTION (STICKER)

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