

THE ROCK: THE HISTORY OF ORLANDO HIGH SCHOOL 1939 - 1984

Michael Marake Morapeli

A Research Report submitted to the Faculty of Education, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education

1984

ABSTRACT

This research report traces and records the historical development of Orlando High School, Soweto, South Africa, from its origins in 1939 to the present. This account serves to illuminate the history of state-provided secondary education for Africans on the Reef in particular, and in the country in general.

Attention is focused on three distinct periods or phases through which Orlando High School has passed. They are the pre-Bantu Education period (1939-1954), the Bantu Education period, up to the riots (1955-1976) and the post-1976 period to 1984. Each of these periods exerted different political and socio-economic pressures on the school that shaped its ethos, educative function and its growth.

The History of Orlando High School mirrors the phenomenal growth and significant developments in the educational provision for Africans over the last 45 years. There are, however, serious problems that account for the present crisis in this system of education. They need to be addressed boldly and urgently.

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Education in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

mmotapeh.

27 day of *december.*, 1984.

In Memory of Godfrey Nakene, first headmaster of Orlando High School
1908 - 1982

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am greatly indebted to Mr. Peter Randall, University of the Witwatersrand, for his guidance and valuable suggestion with regard to this research report. I am grateful also to the Department of Education and Training for allowing me access to Orlando High School and other records which proved invaluable for this research. Rev. O.S.D. Mooki, superintendent of the New Church of Southern Africa enthusiastically gave me information relating to the Std VII class at Mooki Memorial College which became the precursor of the first Orlando High School class in 1939. He also gave me extremely valuable information, letters and other documents about the origins of this school. My deep gratitude to him and to all my interviewees who generously gave me of their time, and in some cases helpful letters, old documents and photographs.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
 CHAPTER I	
EARLY HISTORY : 1939 TO 1954	1
1. Historical Overview	1
2. Origins, location and reason for establishment	7
3. The Start of the Communal Hall	17
4. Mr. Godfrey Nakene, the First Headmaster	19
5. The Rock Establishes Itself	24
6. Rapid Growth after 1945 : Reasons for this and Consequences	44
7. The Eiselen Commission on Native Education, 1951	52
8. Protests and Dismissal of Teachers at Orlando High School and Elsewhere	61
 CHAPTER II	
THE PERIOD UNDER BANTU EDUCATION 1955 TO 1976	87
9. School Under the Orlando School Board	90
10. The Principalship of Mr T.W. Kambule	95
11. Further Expansion and Progress	102
12. Rejection of Afrikaans as Medium of Instruction, and of Bantu Education	118
 CHAPTER III	
THE POST - 1976 PERIOD ; 1977 TO 1984	129
13. Attempts at Reconstruction	129
14. Post-script	147
15. Pupil and Student Attitudes	147
16. Conclusion and Future Prospects	152

CONTENTS
(Continued)

	<u>Page</u>
REFERENCES	154
BIBLIOGRAPHY	172
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	178
LIST OF APPENDICES:	
Map of Soweto showing location of Orlando High School.	(i)
Copy of letter from the Rev. Fieldhouse to TED.	(ii)
Copy of letter from TED to the Rev. Fieldhouse.	(iii)
Copy of circular to Parent Elected Members concerning the election of the Meadowlands School Board.	(iv)
Copy of letter from Mr K.B. Hartshorne to the Director of Education concerning departure of Mr T.W. Kambule.	(v)
Copy of letter from Circuit Inspector to Regional Director concerning reverting to name <u>Orlando High School</u> .	(vi)
The Plan of the Orlando High School.	(vii)
Copy of Departmental circular to Regional Directors and Circuit Inspectors concerning medium of instruction.	(viii)
Copy of circular to principals in Southern Transvaal Region concerning medium of instruction.	(ix)
Copy of Departmental circular to Regional Directors, Circuit Inspectors, School Boards and Principals concerning medium of instruction following June 16, 1976.	(x)

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Between Pages 51 and 52

1. The Principal, Mr G. Nakene, addressing the school at Assembly from the pulpit.
2. One of the best matriculation classes, 1954.
3. The Girls' Athletic Team, 1942.
4. Sports trainer, Mr G Kgomo, 1944 - 1958.
5. Ambition Brown, outstanding in Athletics, Sports and Debate, 1942 . 1947.
6. Abram Somo, Head Prefect, 1940 - 1945.
7. The Rugby Team that went on tour of the Eastern Cape, 1947.

Between Pages 101 and 102

8. Mr B M Masipa, Acting-Principal, 1939.
9. Mr C.K.Mageza, Principal, 1956 - 1958.
10. Mr T.W. Kambule, Principal, 1959 to 1977 being congratulated by Mr D.P.Pooe, member of the Orlando School Board in 1960.
11. Orlando High School Committee, 1954.
12. Orlando School Board, 1963.
13. In the School Board Office: Chairman, Secretary and Assistant Secretary, 1958.
14. Reginald Boleu receiving a prize form Mr C.Khoza, 1960.
15. Mr K. B.Hartshorne, Mr M M Prozeksy and Mrs E Hellmann during Orlando High School 21st Anniversary Function, 1960.
16. Representative of former pupils at 21st Anniversary Function, 1960.

Between Pages 146 and 147.

17. **The Masoek Family.**
18. **Messrs: Mkhwanazi, Mhlongo and Mtimkulu.**

CHAPTER ONE

EARLY HISTORY : 1939 TO 1954

1. Historical Overview

Orlando High School, fondly referred to as The Rock by its pupils, past and present, is situated in Orlando. It is one of the 30 townships that comprise the African residential complex of Soweto. To understand how the need for such a school came to be felt and recognised and how the various socio-economic and political pressures influenced its functions and development, it is necessary to provide an historical overview of Soweto in general and Orlando in particular.

Soweto is known throughout the world as a result of the pupil uprisings of 1976. At its nearest point it is 13km from Johannesburg city centre, while the section called Emdeni (Zulu word meaning 'at the boundary') is the farthest 32 km away. In 1939 the City Council of Johannesburg bought 1 300 morgen of land on the farm Klipspruit No 8, 15 Km to the south-west of the city¹ as a site for African residential areas. This is where the present-day "locations", generally referred to as the South Western Townships, are situated. (See Appendix i) The name "Soweto" is coined from the first two letters of these words. This sprawling, African residential complex now has, officially, a little over three quarters of a million African people, but there are probably more than a million and a quarter actual inhabitants. The discrepancy in these figures may be explained by the fact that Soweto has a large number of Africans who are, legally, not entitled to be living there.

The population of Soweto has continued to increase steadily despite the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, its amendments in 1930, 1937 and in subsequent years, to restrict and control the influx of Africans from the rural areas.

African shanty towns and slums mushroomed in and around the mining camp of Johannesburg, following the discovery of gold in 1886. Africans came from rural areas, far and near, to seek seasonal employment in Johannesburg, and on the Rand. This influx gained momentum at the beginning of this century and reached its peak during the inter-war years as a result of rapid industrialization and urbanization.

The effect of the 1913 Land Act had been to extend proleterianisation to entire families. This combined with a series of floods and droughts to propel thousands of Africans onto the labour market of the Witwatersrand.²

Initially, mainly single Africans flocked to the towns and cities but they were gradually joined by their families. The populations of other racial groups were also preponderantly bachelors in the beginning. A visiting journalist from abroad described Johannesburg in those days as "a camp largely populated by bachelors and barmaids".³

Attempts were made to settle Whites, Africans, Asiatics and Coloureds according to the principles of segregation as laid down by the Volksraad of the old South African Republic. Different racial groups were not to be mixed residentially. There was a move on the part of the Afrikaners to maintain racial purity and national identity. It could also be seen as a divide and rule strategy. Because of the severe shortage of accommodation, this policy was difficult to enforce, but this was not to be for long.

In 1903 the first "housing scheme" was established by the municipality for Africans in Klipspruit, which came to be known

as Pimville, 15 km away from the centre of Johannesburg. (The name Klipspruit is today the name of a new section, built in 1970, adjoining Pimville). Temporary corrugated iron shelters were provided by the Town Council of Johannesburg. This attempt at resettlement was not successful.

Because of lack of transport, Africans sought accommodation nearer their places of employment. According to Kagan, "in areas like Ferreirstown, Marshalltown, Fordsburg, City and Surburban, Jeppestown, Ophirton and Prospect Township white landlords constructed numerous rough shanties which were rented out to Blacks"⁴.

To the west of the town, Sophiatown was established by the Council in 1905 as a township for private ownership. At that time a few stands had been sold to Whites and there were also certain stands on which, because of restrictions in the title deeds, African or Coloured occupation was forbidden.⁵ Some Whites settled in this township but they soon lost interest in it as it gradually became a predominantly Coloured, African and Asiatic township. Its multiracial character was implicitly recognised when all restrictions against African occupation were removed in 1911 and 1921.

During this time the adjoining township of Martindale was established as a freehold township, with no restrictions against African occupation.⁶ Newclare, situated to the South of Martindale and Sophiatown, was proclaimed a township in 1912. Although it was restricted to Whites, in the next decade or two this was relaxed and accommodation was rented to members of other racial groups. By 1945 this area was occupied mainly by Africans, who paid exorbitant rentals to Asiatic and White landlords.

It is clear that the Town Council of Johannesburg and the White population generally, lacked any awareness of or concern about housing for Africans. Hellmann observes that the prevalent attitude was based upon the fiction that an African population as such did not exist on the Rand.⁷

It was not until 1918, when a series of flu epidemics broke out in Johannesburg, that the Council was stimulated into establishing Western Native Township. This was on a site which had previously been a brickfield, between Sophiatown and Newclare. Between 1918 and 1921, 207 houses were built there, and by 1923, accommodation for 2050 Africans had been provided.⁸ The policy which stated that Africans were not permanent urban dwellers was firmly entrenched by the Transvaal Local Government Commission (the Stallard Commission) which declared in 1922:

The Native should only be allowed to enter into the urban areas, which are essentially the White man's creation, when he is willing to enter and to administer to the needs of the White man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister.⁹

The Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, which arose from the reports of the Stallard Commission, forms a watershed in the history of the urbanization of Africans in South Africa. In terms of this Act the African was seen as temporary - a sojourner in the towns - and he was to be treated as such. This Act directed and empowered municipalities to provide housing for African workers and to establish Advisory Boards to represent their opinion. The Act also laid down that any "Native" who did not qualify by birth or length of residence to remain in an urban area could stay there for only 72 hours without a permit.

Furthermore, in terms of this Act, local authorities were required to set up machinery for housing Africans employed in town and to implement the influx control requirements by registering service contracts and endorsing out surplus Africans from the urban areas. In 1927 a Municipal Department of Native Affairs was established in Johannesburg. Later it became known as the Non-European Affairs Department (NEAD). A year later a Council Committee of Native Affairs was appointed to concentrate on these matters. Following this the Eastern Native Township,

commonly known as George Goch (named after a prominent mine owner), was established and large extensions were made to Klipspruit and Western Native Townships. By 1930, 2 625 houses had been built in these areas.¹⁰

The 1 300 morgen purchased by the City Council of Johannesburg to the south west of the city was further developed when a "model" location was planned where the present Orlando East was established in 1932. The slums and makeshift housing for Africans in the city were to be cleared. A competition was held for the best layout design of this township, which was to accommodate 80 000 persons and which was to provide all shopping and community services required by a population of that size.¹¹

As is pointed out later, those who fought for the establishment of Orlando High School in 1938, when the Transvaal Education Department (Native Section), appeared to be in no hurry, used this promise of a better deal to great advantage. There was initial reluctance, and even resistance, on the part of the Africans to leave the places where they lived, in and around Johannesburg, and to move to the new locations being established. They were, however, compelled to leave, when in 1933 the whole of Johannesburg, barring Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare, was proclaimed White under the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923. This promulgation meant that an estimated African population of over 43 000 was residing illegally in the places already referred to in Johannesburg. Hellmann remarks:

I remember what desperate efforts African families, evicted from Johannesburg's slum in the early thirties made to avoid going to Orlando, which was the first township to be established in this south-west area. Rather than go to Orlando, some families, unable to find a house in another of the existing African townships in Johannesburg or a shack in a slum, opted to break up, wife and children returning to the Country. Orlando represented loneliness, lack of amenities, something akin to exile.¹²

By 1935, 3 000 dwellings had been built in Orlando to house approximately 18 000 people. Stadler states that in 1938 the tighter enforcement of housing regulations by the Council and the extremely overcrowded and squalid conditions in most inner townships meant that there was less resistance to resettlement in Orlando East and it was reported by the City Council that 90% of those evicted were moving into the locations compared to 12% in the early 1930's.¹³ Some of the last groups of people to be resettled came from the Prospect Township, which was where the Kazerne Railway Goods Shed is presently situated. They were allocated houses in the Orlando East area, near Mlamlankunzi Railway Station. It appears that by this time the initial resistance to the mass removals had generally changed into enthusiastic and thankful willingness to be moved to the new township. Their attitude to the removal may have changed when they realised that there was in fact no alternative; they could no longer stay in their shanties in and around Johannesburg legally. But there was another consideration, presumably a more compelling one. Whereas in town they lived in overcrowded slums and paid exorbitant rentals to the landlords, in the new township they were allocated their own two or three-roomed houses where the rentals were much less. A Xhosa song, which is still remembered by the senior inhabitants of Orlando, who were involved in the resettlement scheme, used to be chanted:

Siyambonga uBallendin,
 Wasikhipha edolopini;
 Wasakhela umzi omutsha
 Okuthiwa i-Orlando.
 E Jerusalem abafazi bayakhala
 Bathi : Business ga-lose!¹⁴

Translated into English this happy song would be:

We're thankful to Ballendin,
 He removed us from town,
 And built us a new township,
 By the name of Orlando.
 In Jerusalem women are moaning
 They say : We've lost business!

The Mr. G. Ballendin, referred to in the song, was the director of the Non-European Affairs Department during the resettlement period. Jerusalem was a section of Doornfontein, Johannesburg, where the main occupation of the African women (who are now called shebeen queens) was the sale of corn beer (then known as Kaffir beer). The selling of this home-brewed beer was an illegal and lucrative business.

Looking at Orlando towards the end of the 1960's, Hellmann concludes:

From bleak outpost in the veld to pulsating vibrant community: this has been the transformation wrought since 1932.¹⁵

We now turn to the establishment and development of Orlando High School.

2. Origins, Location and Reasons for Establishment

The New Church of Southern Africa, which was founded by David William Mooki, played a prominent role in the establishment of Orlando High School. Since it is not one of the mainline churches, very little is known about it. I therefore consider it necessary to sketch briefly how it came to be established in Orlando, where it was the first Church to be built and also how its missionaries battled for the launching of Orlando High School in 1939.

The New Church was founded by the great Swedish religious reformer, Emanuel Swedenborg in Europe in 1770.¹⁶ Through his prolific writings this Church came to be established in many countries of Europe, as well as in America, Australia, New Zealand and Africa

...the most spectacular New-Church development in South Africa (indeed, the whole world) has been among the Bantu peoples. It owes its origin to an African, David William Mooki, who purchased an old copy of Swedenborg's True Christian Religion from a second-hand bookstall outside a furniture shop in Krugersdorp, Transvaal, in 1909. As a result of reading this difficult volume, and without knowledge of the existence of any New-Church organization, D.W. Mooki founded what he called "The New Church of Africa" in 1911. Eventually he contacted the British Conference, which adopted the movement as "The New Church (Native) Mission in South Africa" in 1917. Under a succession of White superintendents (including the present writer) the mission grew to about 20 000 members, thus becoming by far the largest New-Church organization in the world. It now enjoys complete autonomy as an independent body, called "The New Church of Southern Africa" under its first Black superintendent who is Rev. Gbed S.D. Mooki, distinguished son of the original founder.¹⁷

One of the White superintendents referred to above was the Rev. P.H. Johnson who arrived in South Africa from Britain in 1929.¹⁸ He had been given a mandate by the New Church to find a suitable site in South Africa on which to establish a theological college of the Church to train African Ministers. It was to be named Mooki Memorial College in honour of David William Mooki who had since died.¹⁹ Between 1930 and 1931 Mr. Johnson came to know about the Johannesburg City Council's plans to establish African townships in 1932.²⁰

He applied for a site to build a church and a college in Orlando. This was granted; he thus became the first missionary to receive a site to build a church in the new African residential area.²¹

The Rev. P.H. Johnson established this church in 1933²² on stand no 6504 Orlando, a quarter of a kilometre away from the Orlando Communal Hall. It forms part of the Mooki Memorial Complex. This missionary, who held B.A. and B.Sc degrees and was a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, started primary school classes in 1934²³ The Church received the approval of the Johannesburg Native Affairs Department to erect buildings which were to be used for the development of a private college. It was also granted permission to use one of the houses as a hostel and also to erect a new hostel on the site. To enable them to do this, and extend buildings, the municipality doubled the size of the site originally allocated to them.²⁴ (See appendix ii)

On Christmas Day 1937 the Church advertised in the Umthetheli wa Bantu and The Bantu World newspapers that pupils would be admitted to the College, not only for training for the ministry of the New Church of Southern Africa, but for Junior Certificate and First Year Teachers' Certificate. The advertisement was as follows:

MOOKI MEMORIAL COLLEGE
(In Course of Erection)
ORLANDO TOWNSHIP

With the new term commencing 18th. January 1938, it will be possible to admit Day Students for Native Primary; Higher School Certificate (Std. VI.), First and Second Year Teachers Certificate and Junior Certificate.

EUROPEAN STAFF

(B.A. (Lond.), University Diploma of Pedagogy)
TUITION FEES: 5/- per Term. (Textbooks provided)

Apply, by letter, to:

The Rev. Edwin Fieldhouse,
Principal,
Mooki Memorial College,
Orlando Township, 25
Johannesburg.

It was normal at that time for churches to start classes and then apply to the Provincial Education Departments for registration and subsidization.

At the beginning of 1938 there was a total of 17 students enrolled for the courses advertised.²⁶ The Rev. E. Fieldhouse, who followed the Rev. Johnson as the superintendent of the New Church, applied to the Transvaal Education Department for registration of the courses in a letter dated 8th February 1938. In it he stated that "while the primary purpose of the College is to train men for the ministry of the New Church, we desire also to serve native education by preparing students for the Junior Certificate Examination and for the Transvaal First and Second Year Teachers' Certificate." The letter made it clear that a start had been made "with a number of students for Junior Certificate and First Year Teachers' Certificate." Mr. Fieldhouse further pointed out in the letter that he was the acting principal and that his daughter, Miss. D.E. Fieldhouse, B.A. (London), who held the London University Diploma of Pedagogy (The "European Staff" in the advertisement) was giving full-time service. Arrangements were being made to replace an African teacher (with Cape III qualifications) who had died, with another.²⁷

In a letter (see appendix iii) signed by Mr. H.V. Burrough, the Transvaal Education Department turned down the application, stating that "the Department would not be prepared to admit candidates of this College to the Departmental Examinations." The reason given was that "this cannot be done under existing regulations". In a concluding paragraph that specifically refers to the launching of secondary education in Orlando, the Secretary advised that it was "considered desirable that any action to be taken.....should be taken in cooperation with all parties interested in this matter."²⁸

Who the "interested parties" were supposed to be, is by no means clear. One could say that the parents of prospective pupils could have been among them. But at this time there was no established education machinery through which they could make known their aspirations for their children. The Advisory Board, mentioned above, had already been formed in terms of the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923. Perhaps they could have reasonably been expected to take up an issue like the establishment of a secondary school, as an integral part of housing and civic matters. The role that the superintendents of various denominations played in the establishment of Orlando High School will be sketched later in this discussion. Whether the Transvaal Education Department had them also in mind is sheer conjecture.

The New church was naturally unhappy with the Departmental reply and unconvinced that theirs was not a just cause, worthy of more reasonable consideration. Their argument was that most parents of pupils who passed Standard VI in the primary schools could not afford fees in the church-based boarding schools. These were, in any case, few and far apart. The 1938 Transvaal Education Report on Native Education lists 5 of these schools, their respective enrolments, as well as the Pretoria Secondary School (Mamelodi?) which was established in 1938 with 33 pupils as the first state and day Secondary School for Africans in the Transvaal:

SCHOOL	Final En- rolment	Average Enrolment	Average Attendance	V Std	VI Std	I Form	II Form	III Form	IV Form	V Form	Total
Khaiso, Pietersburg	203	200	194	25	60	35	25	32	19	7	203
Kilnerton, Pretoria	61	58	57	-	-	29	24	8	-	-	61
Rosettenville Johannesburg	284	265	252	14	28	139	45	31	17	10	284
Warmbad	77	70	66	15	33	21	8	-	-	-	77
Lemana	90	90	81	38	37	6	8	1	-	-	90
Pretoria	33	29	27	-	-	33	-	-	-	-	33
Total	748	712	677	92	158	263	110	72	36	17	748²⁹

Lemana, near Pietersburg, was a Swiss Mission institution. Emmarentia Geldenhuis-Opleidingskool was in Warmbad, run by the Dutch Reformed Church. Khaiso in Pietersburg and Rosettenville (St. Peters) in Johannesburg were Anglican, while Kilnerton was a Methodist institution.

Besides the private high schools for Whites that were established in Johannesburg at that time, there were in 1938, 9 high schools for White pupils in Johannesburg under the Transvaal Education Department. Before 1935, when most Johannesburg Africans were still living in and around Johannesburg, most of these White schools were technically within easy reach of African children. The African pupils, could, however, not be admitted into them because of the policy of segregation (later apartheid) which was applied by missionaries from the 18th and 19th centuries, before state intervention. This policy was enforced and extended by the 1903 Ordinance and the Union Act of 1910 whereby grants in aid were provided for native education as a system distinct from that of the Whites. The nine high schools referred to were: Jeppe Boys, Jeppe Girls, Johannesburg Athlone, Johannesburg Forest, Johannesburg Girls, Johannesburg Helpmekaar, Johannesburg King Edward VII, Johannesburg Parktown Boys and the Johannesburg Parktown Girls High School.³⁰ In 1939 the tenth high school was established, the Johannesburg Highland North High School.^{*31}

When the Africans were being moved from the city area, they were assured that they would have all the necessary "community services" in Orlando. The New Church argued that since they had the facilities as well as staff and pupils who wanted to be taught, they would defiantly continue with their plans.³² The majority of the Std VII pupils registered at the beginning of 1938 were day scholars. In July they were joined by Rudolph Mtimkulu and Ellen Gobile who had just passed Std VI in the neighbouring St. Mary's and Methodist Primary Schools in the May/June 1938 examination.³³

* This is how these schools are listed in the TED Report. Johannesburg is, however, not used. The names are simply Athlone High, Forest High, etc.

According to the Rev. O.S.D. Mooki, during the course of 1938 the Chief Inspector of Native Education, Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen and Mr. N.D. Achterberg, the circuit inspector, visited Mooki Memorial College frequently, to discuss the provision of secondary education for the residents of Orlando. They said a state secondary school was under consideration for Orlando but the Department did not have the necessary funds to build it immediately. When they failed to dissuade the New Church from offering secondary school education, they decided that from the beginning of 1939 Orlando High School would be established with classes, to start with, conducted at the Orlando Communal Hall until such time as the school building would be erected.³⁴

Towards the end of 1938, Messrs. Seth Mphahlele and N.G. Mokone, the supervisors of schools in the Krugersdorp circuit (that controlled African schools in Johannesburg) requested all principals of primary schools in the Orlando area to inform their pupils that a new state high school would be started at the Communal Hall in January 1939. Mr. J.R. Monkoe, who headed the St. Mary's Anglican Primary School in Orlando, points out:

We at St. Mary's announced the news to the Std VI pupils with great enthusiasm. I'm sure other schools did the same. We also willingly donated blackboards, chalk and desks to the new secondary school. Rudolph Mtimkulu, whose name appeared first in the admission register, passed Std VI at St. Mary's.³⁵

The inspectors appointed Mr. Godfrey Nakene to head Orlando High School, but because he was due to do his final year B.A. on a part-time basis at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1939, they agreed that he could begin at the school in January 1940. Mr. Nakene was at that time principal of the Sophiatown Dutch Reformed Primary School. He then recommended Mr. Bartholomew Masipa, who was then without a teaching post, to be appointed

acting principal during 1939.³⁶ Mr. Masipa also visited primary schools in Orlando to indicate that a new school would be starting and that the location superintendent had given permission for the side hall of the Orlando Communal Hall to be used for conducting classes.³⁷

1938 was also the year when promotion examinations in the schools were changed from May and June, to November and December respectively. The Std VI pupils who started in July 1938 therefore, wrote their examinations at the end of 1939. This organisational change adversely influenced the number of pupils who were registered at Orlando High School during its first year. However, more about this later. As previously stated Ellen Gobile, (Mrs. Ellen Makhoba) who had passed Std VI at Orlando Methodist Primary School, and Rudolph Mtimkulu from St. Mary's Primary School, both joined the Form One (Std VII) class at the Mooki Memorial College. Other pupils in this class included Mohapi Poka, Obed Mpotso, Charlotte Mpotso, Mary Mpotso, Grace Ramakatane, Dinah Ntsane and Ruth Mokgosi (later Ruth Bomvana).³⁸ They were taught by the Rev. Mr. Fieldhouse, Miss. D.E. Fieldhouse and the Rev. O.S.D. Mooki.

At the beginning of 1939 all talk regarding the establishment of Orlando High School was translated into action. The Std VII pupils at Mooki were transferred to the new school which started at the Communal Hall nearby, in terms of the decision of the Chief Inspector of Native Education.³⁹ They formed the nucleus of the new school. Other pupils came from elsewhere, including Primville. The New Church of Southern Africa was delighted at this development and continued to give their support and cooperation with regard to all matters concerning the establishment of Orlando High School.⁴⁰ More about this later.

Ellen Gobile, who was in the pioneer class, and now a retired midwife, still has vivid memories of the establishment of Orlando High School:

Our number did not at all represent the number of pupils who desperately needed secondary school education. The idea of a day secondary school was entirely new. Most people could not visualize it. In a sense we were guinea-pigs; we are proud of it.⁴¹

The serious problems and handicaps associated with day secondary schooling in an area of the poor socio-economic type of Orlando will be further analysed and discussed. It will be sufficient to state that according to the Transvaal Education Report of 1939 Orlando High School was the second day secondary school to be established and registered in the Transvaal, the first being the one in Pretoria already mentioned. The table below gives the schools and their respective enrolments in 1939:

SCHOOL	Final Enrol- ment	Average Enrolment	Average Attendance	Std V	Std VI	Form I	Form II	Form III	Form IV	Form V	Total
Khaiso, Pietersburg	101	203	196	35	59	36	26	23	4	8	191
Kilnerton, Pretoria	176	78	75	-	-	19	28	28	1	-	76
Rosettenville Johannesburg	218	231	222	-	22	101	52	19	11	13	218
Warmbad	74	74	70	19	33	17	2	3	-	-	74
Orlando	11	13	11	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	11
Pretoria	31	34	32	-	-	16	15	-	-	-	31
Total	611	633	606	54	114	200	123	73	16	21	601 ⁴²

The table above shows an apparent decline in enrolment in comparison with the 1938 figures. Lemana Insitution appears in the 1938 and not in the 1939 statistics. It is not clear why this is so. The enrolment of Rosettenville (St. Peters) in Johannesburg indicates a drop of 66. Some pupils here who were day scholars and not boarders could have been affected by removals from the Johannesburg city area. The demand for secondary school education increased sharply at the beginning of World War II, when a massive inflow of African into towns and cities was stimulated, partly by the demand for labour in growing industrial sectors, and partly by the poverty in the Reserves (areas allocated to Africans in the rural areas, now called Homelands).⁴³

The same T.E.D. Report on Native Secondary Education concedes significantly:

The demand for the extension of facilities for post-primary education is growing rapidly. Decentralisation of secondary work is of course more expensive than the running of some few central secondary schools. On the other hand parents find it difficult to send their children to boarding establishments and the boarding schools, too, find it impossible to provide the necessary accommodation. Whether it will be practicable, apart from the question of funds, to establish a number of junior secondary schools, depends on the adequate supply of well qualified African teachers to undertake the work.⁴⁴

The establishment of Orlando High School, and its progress, or lack of it, may be viewed against this background. Its experimental nature is clearly implied as well as its historical significance.

3. The Start at the Communal Hall

Mr. B. Masipa had the formidable task of getting the newly established high school off the ground. For the whole of 1939 he battled single-handed, having to offer Afrikaans, English, Arithmetic, History, Hygiene, Geography and Bible. The syllabuses to be followed were laid down by the Transvaal Education Department and were exactly the same for all racial groups although the African pupils were allowed to do their vernaculars. Fortunately, Mr. Masipa was an experienced and competent teacher and this stood him in good stead. His last post had been at the Diepkloof Boys' Reformatory where he taught for some time.⁴⁵ It can, however, be accepted that under these circumstances it was virtually impossible to achieve a satisfactory standard in all the subjects. Besides the preparation which must have been considerable, he taught all eight periods a day and also had to find time to perform administrative duties. It is pertinent to ask what quality education the Transvaal Education Department thought would be possible in that situation. The critics of education for Africans often refer to the neglect it has suffered at the hands of the Government from the early days to date. When one looks at Orlando High Schools' start, it would be difficult to convince them otherwise.

The principal of the Orlando Methodist Primary School, Mr. Sydney Maseko, came in three times a week in the afternoon to teach Zulu and Xhosa.⁴⁶ He was a brilliant teacher. It is not surprising that he ended his teaching career a loved and respected inspector of schools in Johannesburg and the Vaal Triangle. His regular visits to the school to give lessons and assist in diverse ways helped to boost the morale of both Mr. Masipa and his first-year class. They always looked forward to his coming and it was apparent to him too, that his voluntary services were enormously appreciated.⁴⁷ Despite his own school responsibilities and

public commitments, he maintained this vital link with the school.

The infant high school was also particularly fortunate to procure the services of Mrs. H.E.Henderson, also on a voluntary and informal basis. Mrs. Henderson, a White social worker who grew up in Lesotho and could speak Sesotho fluently was in the employ of the City Council of Johannesburg, working in Orlando.⁴⁸ She subsequently worked throughout Soweto. She was popularly known as "Mmabasotho", a Sesotho name meaning "mother of the Basotho or African people." Twice a week she came to teach girls cookery. The kitchenette in the hall was put to good use. The girls benefited immensely from their contact with her. She also gave the class extra-curricular lectures on a variety of topics aimed at supplementing the formal teaching of the various subjects mentioned.⁴ "Mmabasotho" was held in high esteem by the Council for whom she worked. She had also won the hearts of the Advisory Board, the Non-European Affairs Department and various other influential bodies. This placed her in a position to do the badly needed public relations work for the school. Mrs. Henderson's life was characterized by considerable kindness and understanding. For many years to come she remained a friend and supporter of the school.⁵⁰

Mr. C.A. Jansen, the circuit inspector who succeeded Mr. Achterberg, together with the supervisors, Messrs Mokone, Motsisi and Mphahlele gave Mr. Masipa every possible encouragement and assistance. During their frequent visits to the school they talked enthusiastically about plans to put up buildings for Orlando High School. They indicated the proposed site, at the time, a bare and rocky patch of ground in the direction of Mlamlankunzi Railway Station. The school would be erected by the Transvaal Education Department.⁵¹

During this first year no sporting activities took place. Mr. Masipa was a keen choirmaster and the class used to sing many

songs, among them "Strike, strike the lyre". They also sang hymns in the morning. A family spirit prevailed in the small school - and this was encouraged by Mr. Masipa who treated all pupils as his own children. Ellen Gobile and Rudolph Mtimkulu say throughout 1939 he did not miss a single schoolday.⁵²

At the end of 1939 the inspectors advised that since a sufficiently high standard of work had not been achieved the whole class should repeat Form One in 1940. The principal of the school would be coming and there was every hope that the new building would be completed soon. It was hoped that this would ensure solid work. Rudolph Mtimkulu, now principal of an Adult Education Centre in Orlando under the Department of Education and Training observes:

We were disappointed to learn that we all had to repeat Form One, bitterly so. But we had confidence and trust in our teachers and inspectors. We accepted that they had our welfare at heart. When Mr. Masipa said bursaries would be available for those who would need help, we willingly consented to repeat Form One in our own interest.⁵³

In 1940 the pupils were back at the Orlando Communal Hall. The school building had not yet been erected. But Mr. G. Nakene was there, assisted by Mr. Masipa before he left to take up the principalship of St. Ansgars Primary Boarding School for Boys outside Juliwe location, Roodepoort.⁵⁴

4 Mr. Godfrey Nakene, the First Headmaster

In January 1940 Mr. Godfrey Nakene assumed duty as principal of Orlando High School. For the next 15 years he headed this school under difficult and trying circumstances, and yet he appears to have made a reasonable success of it. The concept of a day secondary school for Africans was new and just as new and clearly

experimental was the appointment of Africans as principals of secondary schools. The 1940 Transvaal Education Report on Native Education states rather cautiously:

It would be rash to express a definite opinion concerning the efficiency of Natives as secondary school teachers at this early stage. The Native community naturally welcomes the employment of Africans in posts of responsibility and one can only hope that they will prove to be so efficient and conscientious in the performance of their duties as to vindicate the policy of the Department and justify fully the great expectations of their people.⁵⁵

Mr. Godfrey Nakene originally came from the Northern Transvaal, district of Pietersburg. He was born on the 24 June 1908 in a village called Ramokgopa. After completing his primary school education, he proceeded to the Stofberg-Gedenkskool, Viljoensdrif, Orange Free State, where he did the Lower Primary Teachers' Course. As soon as he had completed this course he went to Natal where he trained for the Higher Primary Teachers' Course at St. Francis College, Marianhill.⁵⁶ There was then no African teachers' training college in the Transvaal that offered such a course. In Natal, the only other college offering this Higher Primary Teachers Course was Adams College near Amanzimtoti.

He started his teaching career in Johannesburg at the Dutch Reformed School in Ferreirastown in 1932. In 1934, following the removal of Africans from the City area already referred to (in this discussion), he was transferred to Sophiatown where he served as principal of the Sophiatown Dutch Reformed School⁵⁷ until he was appointed to the principalship of Orlando High School. He had obtained his matric in 1937 after attending afternoon classes at the Albert Street Methodist School organised by Mrs. Rheinallt-Jones.⁵⁸ Thereafter he and Mr. Harry Madibane, who was appointed principal of the Johannesburg Bantu High School

in Western Native Township, registered with Wits for the B.A. degree. They are said to be the first Black students to be admitted to the University of the Witwatersrand as part-time students.⁵⁹ As indicated earlier Mr. Nakene was supposed to have started as principal of Orlando High in January 1939 but because he was working on his final B.A. degree course then, his request to start in 1940 was granted. In 1940 when he assumed duty at Orlando High he held a Bachelors' Degree.

The pupils who were in Form One in 1939 repeated this class in 1940 and they were joined, among others, by Mr. Nakene's former pupils from the Sophiatown Dutch Reformed School. A good few came from the Pimville Government School in Klipspruit, among them Phineas Lehobo, who became an outstanding rugby player and subsequently a coach when he rejoined the school as a teacher. Abram Somo, the first prefect, came from Albert Street Methodist School in the City. Rudolph Mtimkulu was appointed time-keeper for the school and to enable him to discharge this function, Mr. Nakene provided him with a whistle which he blew to indicate the start of school, change of periods and the end of the day at the communal hall.⁶⁰

Mr. Masipa assisted Mr. Nakene for the first few months and then left to take over a school in Roodepoort. Mr. Dunstan Solomon Dladla, a graduate teacher of exceptional ability and outstanding qualities from Fort Hare, took his place. The pupils popularly referred to him as D.S.D.⁶¹

The subjects taught in 1940 were Afrikaans, English, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Vernacular (S. Sotho, Zulu and Xhosa) as well as Hygiene and Bible. Mr. Nakene taught some of the subjects besides carrying out his administrative duties; the rest were taught by Mr. Masipa, while still in the school, and later by Mr. Dladla.⁶²

A more serious school atmosphere prevailed throughout 1940 and, understandably, more work was done. The inspectors visited the school more regularly and never missed an opportunity to speak to the pupils with a view to encouraging them.⁶³ Although they had said the school building would be ready early in 1941 the new year saw Orlando High School re-open at the hall. There were then two classes sharing the small side hall; one big Form One class of 40 and a small Form Two class of about 20 pupils.⁶⁴

During the first quarter of 1941 Mr. Zeph Mthopeng joined the school. He was then a young and inexperienced teacher but his love and talent for choral music soon surfaced and he practised hymns in English and Black languages. He also trained a choir, thereby making a small start on what was to become a great tradition in choral music.⁶⁵

The Transvaal Education Department had in the meantime set up a special Committee Board of Control to assist with the establishment and administration of Orlando High School. This parent body which battled hard to have the school erected comprised superintendents of the various denominations running schools for African children in Johannesburg.⁶⁶ Members of the original Committee were Dr. Dexter Taylor of the American Board Mission, who was Chairman, Rev. Edwin Fieldhouse of the New Church of Southern Africa, Rev E. Carter of the Methodist Church, Father G.E. Raynes of the Community of the Resurrection (he was succeeded later by Father T. Huddleston) and Prof. R.F.A. Hoernle.⁶⁷

Rev. Fieldhouse had some architectural background and experience; he helped with the drawing of the plans for Orlando High School. At that time the Mooki Memorial College nearby, whose plans were drawn by him, had a pulpit outside where the assembly and devotions were held every morning. This feature was included in the building of Orlando High School⁶⁸ and it was from that pulpit

that Mr. Nakene made his announcements and inspired his pupils. Mr. Nakene often declared that "the Rock had the message of the pulpit." By this he meant that Orlando High had a christian base.⁶⁹ Mr. Randall Peteni, President of the African Teachers Association of South Africa, and one of the earliest members of staff points out:

One of Mr. Nakene's outstanding qualities as a Headmaster was his ability, by means of quaint but fluent assembly speeches from the pulpit, to arouse the enthusiasm of the pupils and his staff members. His mannerisms are still remembered to this day for their amusing quality, and still give delight to former pupils and teachers of the school. Certainly, during the first decade of the school, it was the pleasant atmosphere he created which produced notable academic and cultural achievements.⁷⁰

During the third term in 1941 the new building was finally completed and the school moved over to occupy it. It was a solid brick structure, basically functional. There were four classrooms, the principal's office, a staffroom and two small rooms on either side of the half-quadrangle-shaped school building. The four classrooms were all in a row, facing east, with the office and one of the small rooms facing the staffroom and the other small room on the opposite side.⁷¹ The school lacked basic facilities such as a library, laboratory, domestic science centre and a woodwork department. A school hall would have been a luxury even by the standards of the 1980's. Sportfields of any kind were nonexistent. It will be indicated later what special arrangements the school had to make to assist the pupils. That the lack of these facilities, which should form an integral part of a school, was a crippling disadvantage does not need to be laboured. The school however, progressed and became known far and wide. How this was possible is the subject of the next section.

5. The Rock Establishes Itself and Grows Rapidly

Stand No 6504 on which Orlando High School is built is flat, only slightly sloping from east to west. This patch of ground is so rocky that digging trenches for the foundations must in those days, have been an arduous task. Laying school gardens and preparing paths was achieved by blasting and the removal of solid sandstone. Mr. Nakene and his staff time and again organised work parties of boys and girls to clear the ground and to beautify the school.⁷² The latecomers, and other pupils who had to be punished for infringement of one or other of the school regulations, often had to work in the school yard invariably digging with picks and other tools, so that flowers and lawn could be planted. The culprits would work for a period or two; those punished for more serious offences worked for half a day, the whole day or even a few days in exceptional instances.⁷³ Because of this rock which had to be vanquished and tamed, the Orlando High School came to be called The Rock.⁷⁴ This name the Rock was, however, subsequently popularized in a figurative sense in inter-high school matches where it served to indicate that Orlando High School was strong and invincible. It was employed in 'victory songs', 'war cries' and in exhorting fellow pupils who were representing the school to greater effort. 'The Rock' crushed its opponents and came to be viewed by its pupils as unbeatable or hard to beat. Cries of 'The Rock!' at assembly or on the sportsfields imbued Orlando High Schools pupils with determination and pride. Past and present pupils of Orlando High School still fondly refer to it as The Rock.⁷⁵

Former pupil of Orlando High School and now Head of the Department of Didactics at the University of the North, Prof. Pali Francis Mohanoe elaborates:

Under Mr. Nakene "the mighty Rock" was not just another "tintinkie" school that you went through without it

leaving its indelible imprint on you, product of the Rock. It was not possible to go through the Rock without it going through your heart and capturing part of it. This invariably led to the inevitable commitment to and identification with the Rock. There was no way of extricating yourself; no matter how hard you tried. You had become an integral part of the school and it coloured your feeling, thinking and action - indeed your entire personality.

To its pupils the Rock was a pillar of strength, a fountain of love and inspiration that made it possible for its pupils to stand their full height, with their heads held high. To others it was a formidable and yet respected pulverising educational force. This was largely because of the untiring efforts of Mr. Nakene. His commitment and loyalty to and confidence in his school and its pupils were unconditional. To him the Rock was invincible. We still remember how in a basketball match "the Rock scored 20 and Botshabelo just, just managed to score 34". Was the arithmetic suspect? I doubt. One also recalls how superior we always had to be over the legendary but illustrative "Pampoenfontein High School". We trounced that imaginary school in all positive respects. Nor did we spare Madibane's Western High School with which we had a healthy rivalry.⁷⁶

The motto adopted by the school also helped to prod both teachers and pupils to great heights of achievement. It is couched in Latin Nihil sine labore mortalibus datur, meaning "nothing is given to mortals without labour." Mr. Nakene decided on it on the advice of Prof. R.F.A. Hornle, University of the Witwatersrand, who was closely associated with Orlando High School.⁷⁷ He also liked it because it characterised the way he and his friend and colleague Mr. Harry Madibane, principal of Western High School, received their education.⁷⁸ Mr. Nakene delighted to tell his

pupils, in an effort to motivate them, how they had received their education by battling against formidable difficulties. After teaching for the whole day they used to cycle uphill to attend lectures at Wits. They also cycled extra long distances to reach their tutors at their homes so that they could receive extra lessons.⁷⁹ He would conclude by saying that his pupils (of Orlando High School) had far fewer obstacles between them and education and it behoved them to reach great educational heights.⁸⁰ But nihil sine labore mortalibus datur! All pupils who came into the school were obliged to learn the motto by heart. It was made applicable in lessons and extra-mural activities, as well as in general life situations. The need for self-application was drummed home to them. After Mr. Nakene had explained this or any other matter that he wanted clearly grasped by all, he would ask if they understood. This he framed the way only he, Mr. Nakene, could do by calling out "stood-stood!" and the thunderous response elicited from the pupils would be "under!"⁸¹ This meant the matter was understood. To his pupils the message was clear and unambiguous.

Mr. Nakene invited Mr. Walter Sejamutla, a well-known composer from Bloemfontein, to come and compose a school anthem. One morning some boys were sent to Mlamlnkunzi Station just more than half a kilometre away to go and meet Mr. Sejamutla and to direct him to the school. The only description they were given of the composer was that "he is a short man."⁸²

When Mr. Sejamutla arrived, the whole school had been re-assembled and was introduced to the composer. His vitally important mission and commission were explained to the school. It had to be a song that would cement the school, give the pupils a vision through their school years and in later life. Mr. Sejamutla subsequently visited the school a few times and finally came up with a piece of music in Setswana, entitled "Pina ya Orlando High School." (The Orlando High School Anthem). The words are as follows:

Bagaetsho tihwayang ditsebe tsa lona
 Lo reetseng se tlhagang kwa Gauteng
 Motseng wa Orlando. DC
 Mlamlankunzi go na le sekwele
 Se segolo sa Bantu High School
 Se ka mose go seporo
 Ha, ha, ha! Mm-mm-mm
 Tlong le se etletseng pele tlhe!

Ke sa barwetsana, makau a Ma-afrika
 Re ikanetse thuto, e lebisang dikobong
 Maikano a rona nihil sine labore
 Ao! Modimo o re thuse re
 Fumane Kopo ya rona!

Re bolela tlhamane, ya sekolo sa rona
 Se etelecweng pele ke baruti ba dikobo
 Ba tswelletseng dithutong
 Tse tswang ntlheng ya koloni
 Mo tulong ye go thweng Fort Hare University

Sekolo sa rona ke lencwe mo ineng
 Ja bagolo ba thuto. Mmoloki Jesu re
 Etelepele gore se atlege.⁸³

Translated the song would run as follows:

My people, listen carefully
 And hear what comes from Johannesburg
 In the township of Orlando. DC

At Mlamlankunzi there is a school
 It is a Bantu High School
 It's situated this side of the railway line
 Ha, ha, ha! Mm-mm-mm
 Please come and uplift it.

It's for young women and young men of Africa
 We're committed to education that leads to gowns
 Our motto is nihil sine labore....
 Oh! God help us achieve our goals.

We relate a story, a story of our school
 That is led by the learned with degrees/gowns
 Who passed their courses in the Cape
 In an institution called Fort Hare University

Our School is The Rock so called by
 The leaders in education
 Redeemer Jesus Christ lead us
 Lead us on so that it may succeed.

Mr. Z. Mothopeng conducted this school song. It was always sung in a spirited way. All pupils loved it and felt that it had a special message for them and for the whole country. It was sung on all special occasions such as when there were important visitors, at the beginning or close of a school term or when the unity or solidarity of the school needed expression. Sometimes Mr. Nakene would start it at the beginning or end of his announcements in assembly; the pupils always sang it so well and with such enthusiasm that it inspired them and enhanced their pride in the school.⁸⁴

Orlando High School attracted well-qualified and dedicated teachers from all over South Africa. One reason was the popularity that the school gained right from the outset; it projected a healthy and progressive African image that many wanted to be part of. Furthermore, the school was in Johannesburg, the city of gold and Africans in their hundreds of thousands were being attracted to the Reef in general and Johannesburg in particular. The reasons for this have already been discussed. This immensely benefited the school and ensured a steady flow of staff during the period under review.⁸⁵

* By March 1942 when the school was finally settled in the new building it had a staff of five, all of them B.A. graduates: Messrs. Godfrey Nakene, Dunstan Solomon Dladla, Peter Raboroko, Randall Langa Peteni and Miss. Phylis Maseko (later Mrs. Mzaidume).⁸⁶ In April there was a vacancy for an Afrikaans Master. Mr. Nakene recommended Mr. Lazarus Sydney Masoek to Mr. Jansen, the Circuit Inspector, and also to Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen, then Chief Inspector of Native Education. Mr. Masoek, a former pupil of Mr. Nakene, was then on the staff of the Sophiatown Dutch Reformed Primary School.

Although he was academically under-qualified for the post, he held the Primary Lower Teachers Certificate and the "laer" and "hoër" "Taalbond" qualifications and had Afrikaans as his first language. A special concession was granted by Dr. Eiselen for Mr. Masoek's appointment and he became the first Black teacher in the Transvaal to specialise in Afrikaans. Mr. Masoek, who has taught continuously at Orlando High School for over 40 years (and longer than anybody else) and is now on the threshold of retirement, comments:

In 1938 while at Stofberg-Gedenkskool, our Boarding Master, Rev. S.G.S. Ntoane, told us that day secondary schools would be established in Western Native Township and Orlando in 1939. He advised us to work hard and to aspire to take up posts at these schools. Those words registered in my mind and I could imagine myself teaching in one of these schools as a specialist in Afrikaans. I subsequently pursued studies in Afrikaans primarily as a result of what Rev. Ntoane had urged us to do - teaching in secondary schools.⁸⁷

The six staff members referred to (Mr. Z. Mthopeng had left during this period to teach in the Orange Free State) presented the first 12 pupils for the Junior Certificate Examination under the Transvaal Education Department, at the end of 1942.

Three pupils, Eric Gumbi, Charles Mpulo and Rudolph Mtimkulu, passed in the first class, the five second class passes were Ellen Gobile, Dorothy Melato, Phineas Lehobo, Francis Majambe and Abram Somo, while Solomon Motha, Simeon Mookose, Velaphi Tshabangu and Thomas Mofokeng obtained partial passes which they converted into clear passes in the 1943 supplementary examination held in February - March.⁸⁸

This effectively gave the school a 100% pass rate and this served as great encouragement and impetus to the pupils and staff. The 13 were then entered for the first year matriculation class. It is not surprising that the roll increased sharply and additional classrooms were needed. Many parents who had doubted the effectiveness and potential success of an African day secondary school were convinced that it was a workable proposition. The result in 1943 was four Form One classes, three Form Two, two Form Three and one Form Four Class. Total number of pupils 343.⁸⁹ This figure is insignificant by today's standards, but viewed in historical perspective, it represented phenomenal growth in a period of only 5 years.

At the beginning of 1944 all 13 Form IV pupils were promoted to Form V. They were presented for the Transvaal Education Department Matriculation Examination at the end of that year. Abram Somo was one of these candidates. He was then in his fifth year as head prefect of the school and was also responsible for giving orders for the pupils to march to class from assembly, where they stood in lines according to their classes. He vividly remembers:

Everybody thought we would all fail matric because we were 13 in number. The results were indeed poor because only one pupil, Charles Mputo, obtained a school-leaving pass. Everybody else failed. Charles Mpulo wrote one subject in a supplementary examination and satisfied requirements for a matric pass. He subsequently registered at Wits.⁹⁰

In contrast to the first junior certificate results the initial matriculation results in 1944 were disastrous. This exposed the inadequacies of the school facilities and placed Mr. Nakene and his staff under much pressure to make up for the lack of a laboratory, library and experience on the part of the staff in teaching the matriculation class.⁹¹ Mr. Nakene and some staff members then visited White schools with matriculation classes to establish contact with them so that the Orlando High pupils could benefit from their facilities and exposure to their school environment. Debates were also organised against these schools so that pupils could learn from one another. Some of the schools that accepted Orlando High pupils for this 'cross-pollination' were King Edward VII, St. John's College, Jeppe and Helpmekaar High Schools as well as St. Peters in Rosettenville.⁹²

This move greatly helped both the pupils and the teachers at Orlando High. Some of the pupils, who had failed to make the grade in 1944, repeated matriculation in 1945 and passed. Among those were Simon Moeti and Jacob Lebona who both obtained first class passes and proceeded to further their studies at the University of Fort Hare. Jacob Lebona became a teacher and Dr. S. Moeti is now a medical officer in Francistown, Botswana.⁹³

During this period the school continued to do exceptionally well in the Junior Certificate Examination but did not always fare well in the matriculation examination.

In 1946 when the joint Matriculation Board Examinations were first written, there was one clear matriculation pass and twelve school-leaving passes out of twenty. Of the 7 candidates who wrote the Transvaal Education Matriculation only 2 passed. In 1947 there were only 5 failures from a class of 30, while fifteen matriculated.⁹⁴ It must be pointed out that some candidates with school-leaving passes subsequently improved on their results, gaining university admission.

Mr.(now Dr.) R.N. Gugushe joined the staff in July 1943. He had previously taught at Moroka in Thaba-Nchu. Although there was no official vice-principal post, he served in this capacity from 1944 to 1950, when he left the school on promotion as supervisor of T.E.D. (Transvaal Education Department) African schools. He was an outstanding mathematics teacher. Messrs. Kobe and Peteni had obtained first class passes at Fort Hare in their majors which were History and English respectively. They taught their subjects well and effectively. Mr. Kobe developed himself into an outstanding Geography teacher. Mr. Godfrey Pitje, now a lawyer, was acclaimed as a history teacher of rare ability. Mr. Nathan Molohe had both Afrikaans-Nederlands and English as majors (towards his degree) and could teach both with equal facility, something rare. Mr. Grant Kgomo was an English Master; in extra-mural activities he trained the pupils in rugby, soccer, tennis - all games in which he was himself a national star. Ezekiel Mphahlele, who was later to achieve international fame as an author, taught mainly English and he established himself as a producer of school plays. He was an actor in his own right. These are mere examples of special areas in which some staff members of Orlando High established themselves and were hero-worshipped by pupils and even colleagues. Having sketched this great diversity of talent in the staff, the main extra-mural activities are now considered. It is necessary to stress the fact that Mr. Nakene was out to develop all talents. Prof. Mohanoe says:

Mr. Nakene recognised the otherness, the distinctive individuality of each pupil that made him an individual different from others, an individual endowed with physical, mental and other skills to be unfolded. Each pupil was a real person, not just an abstraction or a cipher. Different attributes he fostered and recognised. Thus the bright, studious high-flier was prodded to the highest academic excellence, to look beyond the ordinary prospect of earning a bursary or scholarship. The physically well-endowed, good athlete was also recognised and encouraged.⁹⁵

Active teaching stopped at 15h00. From that time up to 16h30 it was generally "preparation" (as it was called) or study period. Teachers took turns to supervise this study session which was instituted because of the difficult socio-economic circumstances of the pupils and their communities. These will be discussed later. It was, however, during the study period that most extra-mural activities took place. One of the cultural activities that the school was very keen on was debate. The debates took place under the aegis of the senior English teachers who assumed a position of patron. Mr. R.L. Peteni was the first patron. Other staff members who promoted this activity in similar manner include Messrs. G. Kgomo, L. Makhubalo and G. Mamabolo. Early in the year the pupils elected a Literary and Debate Committee to plan and organise the programme.⁹⁶ Phineas Lehobo was Chairman of the Literary and Debating Society from 1940 to 1943, thereafter Simon Moeti became Chairman for a short time. Ambition Brown occupied the chair from 1944 to 1946 followed by Simon Ntshepe up to 1948. Then came Israel Taunyane, now President of the Transvaal United African Teachers Association. On Fridays during the study period pupils went to the Orlando Communal Hall for debate. Mr. Peteni explains:

Weekly debates were not compulsory, but attendance was always fair. The pupils were always enthusiastic in organising and participating in them and these in no small measure contributed to the fairly satisfactory standard of oral English. It was not difficult in those days to prevail on the pupils to speak English, which was, and has always been, the medium of instruction, in and out of class, and thus put into practice what they were taught in their English lessons and learnt in their reading.⁹⁷

Dr. A. Lembede a resident of Orlando in the 1940's, well-known as a scholar and colourful lawyer, had a reputation as a fiery and dramatic speaker in court and in public meetings. Pupils in

their debating meetings, particularly Rosette Ndziba, Ambition Brown and Charles Mpulo, emulated him and became good debators.⁹⁸

The School also invited well-known leaders and personalities to come and address pupils on a variety of topics. Among those invited were Mr. V.V. Mboobo, formerly principal of Atteridgeville, Rev. S.S. Tema, Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, Mr. Paul Mosaka, a respected Pimville academic and businessman, Dr. A.B. Xuma, prominent medical doctor and civic as well as political leader who later became president of the African National Congress, Mr. Selope Thema, Editor of the "Bantu World" newspaper and others.

These talks encouraged pupils to learn English and to endeavour to speak it well. The school debators always acquitted themselves well against established schools like Kilnerton, Botshabelo, Khaiso and others.⁹⁹

The Dramatic Society was at its peak in the late 1940's and early 1950's under the patronage of Mr. E. Mphahlele now Prof. Eskia Mphahlele. He trained pupils in drama and produced school plays which were performed to the entire school and presented to public audiences at the Orlando Communal Hall and the Donaldson Centre. Some of the plays produced were "The Bishops Candlesticks" and "The Minstrel Show". He himself was in the casts of these plays and this inspired and motivated pupils.¹⁰⁰

The Student Christian Association (S.C.A.) was active under the presidency of Mr. R. Gugushe from the middle forties to early fifties. Israel Taunyane was Chairman of the S.C.A from his Std 8 year until he passed his matriculation.¹⁰¹

In 1942 Orlando High took part in the first African inter-high school athletic meeting which was held at the Johannesburg Bantu Sports Grounds. Miss Phylis Maseko was trainer of the girls assisted by the two head girls Joan Nevana (now Mrs. Masoek) and Caroline Luvuno. The other staff members who trained athletes

were Messrs. D.S. Dladla, R.L. Peteni, L.S. Masoek. The Orlando High Girls team won a trophy and the next day a photo of the team was taken with Mr. Nakene and Miss. Maseko.¹⁰² Mr. Masoek recalls:

One of the outstanding girls in athletics was Winnie Moatshe. She was a sprinter and was the fastest girl in Johannesburg for two or three years. Another impressive athlete was Ambition Brown. He was a specialist and unbeaten champion in short distances like 100 and 220 yards. Ambition was, by the way, also outstanding in soccer, rugby and boxing where his ring name was "Brown Bomber."¹⁰³

Joe Louis, the World Heavyweight Champion then, was called the Brown Bomber.

Elizabeth Mabaso (now Mrs. Tine), who has been on the staff of Orlando High School for 30 years, had an enviable record as a pupil in the 1940's. She was unsurpassed at high and long jump for many years. Mrs. Tine, who teaches Home Economics, is affectionately referred to by pupils as "Magogo",¹⁰⁴ a Zulu word for granny. She taught their parents.

Other athletes often referred to by present and past pupils as giants that the school produced are Joseph Masipa (short distances), Moses Masipa (Field Events, especially high jump), Gabriel Mogotsi (mile and 880 yards), Cannon Nqandela (440 yards and field events), Benjamin Rasmeni (short distances), Paul Gaarekwe (100 and 220 yards), Willie Dinane (100 and 220 yards), Willard Msomi (100 and 220 yards) and R Makhudu (220 and 440 yards).¹⁰⁵

Mr. Ezekiel Mphahlele was also the teacher in charge of boxing in the school. He was assisted by a fellow staff member and friend, Khabi Mngoma (now Prof. Mngoma in the Music Department, University of Zululand), who was then a good amateur boxer.¹⁰⁶ The "G. Boys" (G for Gymnasium) as the school boxing club came to be known, was a force to be reckoned with in the African boxing

circles. Schools like Western Bantu High, Kilnerton, Botshabelo and Khaiso suffered crushing defeats against this club.¹⁰⁷ Mr. Joe Mphahlele, who was a pupil at The Rock from 1948 to 1952, was the Captain of the club during this period and he asserts:

The boys demolished all opposition in the schools. Ultimately they had no choice but to affiliate to outside associations for better competition. We had skilful boxers who did so well as to annexe district and provincial titles.¹⁰⁸

The following record of the boys is indicative of the high level of achievement of the school:

NAME	DIVISION	TITLE	YEAR
Manase Madi	Flyweight	Jhb & District	1951
Norman Motsoaledi	Bantam	Jhb & District	1952
Sam Modikwe	Feather	Jhb & District	1952
Mike Nkuta	Feather	Jhb & District	1951
Peter Mosai	Light	Jhb & District	1952
Lesane Dithebe	Welter	Transvaal	1951-1952
Joe Mphahlele	Middle	Jhb & District	1952 ¹⁰⁹

The other school boxers who acquitted themselves well and became school heroes included Ambition (who served as captain), Gibson Makatalele, Gilbert Seabela, Isaac Moephuli and Fred Sishaba who also served as captain.¹¹⁰

In September 1952 the "G. Boys" were involved in a boxing tournament against the Kimberley Boxing Club. After all the Orlando High Boxers in the lower divisions had won their bouts, Joe Mphahlele, Lesane Dithebe and Peter Mosai had no opponents. "They vanished during the course of tournaments", states Joe Mphahlele.¹¹¹

The most spectacular boxer associated briefly with Orlando High was Jake Tuli. He did Form One at Orlando High School in 1945. Although he was already a boxer in the stable of Andries Pelepele Mkhwanazi, he did not box at school. "It was for tactical reasons, the school had lots of boxers from rival clubs."¹¹² Jake, after whom the Orlando Swimming Pool is named, ended up being the S.A. Flyweight Boxing Champion as well as the British and Commonwealth Flyweight Champion. When he was already Transvaal and National Champion he greatly inspired and went out of his way to assist up-and-coming boxers at Orlando High.¹¹³ His home is not far from the school.

One of the first and most popular sporting activities that Orlando High engaged in right from 1940 was soccer. It had already become extremely liked by school boys as well as by adults who had formed clubs and associations. Some of them sponsored and encouraged by local authorities and employers. This they did to ward off boredom among people and employees but also to defuse passions and also as a means of social control. At that point in time the school did not have any resources and equipment that most other games would need. Yet a start was made as soon as the number of boys was eleven plus.¹¹⁴ A British Football Commentator explains the reasons for the spread of football. What he has observed would apply equally to South Africa and Orlando High. This is best stated in his own words:

No other sport lent itself so easily and cheaply to the varying conditions of urban life. It was simple to play, easy to grasp and could be played on any surface under any conditions, by an indeterminate number of men. It needed no equipment but a ball, and could last from dawn to dusk. Football could be played by anyone, regardless of size, skill and strength.¹¹⁵

In all townships and the city there were well-known clubs and great football stars that school boys and students emulated.

Andries "Pelepele" Mkhwanazi, the great boxing trainer in Orlando, had already started a football club with his boxers in 1939. The club was called the Orlando Home Boys;¹¹⁶ it is this club that a little later adopted the name of Orlando Pirates: the professional football club with a reputation and a huge following. Besides the Orlando Pirates the other soccer clubs that inspired the youngsters in the schools were Naughty Boys and African Morning Stars in Sophiatown, Eastern Leopards (who later changed to Eastern Brothers) in Eastern Native Township or George Goch, Pimville Champions in Pimville and Hungry Lions in Sophiatown and Western Native Township.¹¹⁷

The Orlando High School teams were trained by Mr. D.S. Dladla. He was later assisted by Messrs. L. Masoek, G. Kgomo, T. Dube and R.L. Peteni. They trained the school teams well and thus laid a solid foundation for what became a great soccer tradition for Orlando High.¹¹⁸ Isaac Mothei, who did the Junior Certificate from 1942 to 1944 after passing Std VI at the St. John Berchman's Primary School in 1941, was one of the first school soccer stars and also played for Orlando Pirates in the Saturday League. The other outstanding players were Jerry Mbatha, Velaphi Tshabangu, Joseph Ramushu, Tapson Mathanda, Cecil Dinalane, Elliot Ndlovu and Phineas Lehobo. "Kilnerton, St. Peters, Western High and Wilberforce were always sure of getting a trouncing from us. We never disappointed them",¹¹⁹ says Isaac "Rocks" Mothei. Mr. L. Masoek proudly says:

Orlando High School has produced more professional soccer players than any other high school in the country. I can only mention a few great names like Kaizer Motaung, Webster Dichaba, Ratta Mokgwatleng, Jomo Sono, Jerry Sadike, Ephraim Mashaba, Julius Sono and Kagiso Mogale. The list is long and impressive.¹²⁰

Some of the players mentioned have become household names in the field of soccer nationally, and to a limited extent, internationally. There is, therefore, justification for regarding Orlando High School as the "Home of Soccer."

Mr. Victor Keke Sondlo, former pupil of Orlando High and now Secretary/Organisor of the Transvaal African Rugby Union has a formidable task of getting rugby off the ground in African schools. He states with conviction:

It is a matter of great regret that the introduction and playing of rugby in African schools in the Transvaal and the rest of the country was neglected after such an encouraging start at Orlando High School. We would, by now, certainly be having Black players not only of Springbok calibre but also of international renown. Now we must start from the beginning.¹²¹

That is how he ends his story of rugby at Orlando High which had 1947 as its vintage year. Victor Sondlo enrolled at the Rock as a Form One pupil in 1943 after passing Std VI at the St. Cyprians, Sophiatown. He had played rugby in Queenstown before he came to Johannesburg. At Orlando High there was then no rugby. He, together with other boys who had played rugby and loved it, Francis Majambe and the Nziba brothers, Rosette and Russel, approached Mr. D.S. Dladla about introducing rugby at school. Victor Sondlo remembers:

Mr. Nakene was extremely enthusiastic about the introduction of rugby. He gave it his full support and said the more sporting activities, the better. At assembly he referred to rugby as a sport of "the Amadoda" - men.¹²²

A start was made. Mr. Dladla organised practices from March 1943 with most players completely new to the game. He had been an outstanding tennis, soccer and rugby player while a student at Fort Hare. Through hard work and strict discipline his team started playing in matches after the June break. It was affiliated to the B Division of the Transvaal Bantu Rugby Football Union.¹²³ Rugby quickly 'caught on' in the school and an ever-increasing number of pupils joined the club. Francis Majambe was the first Captain.¹²⁴

Western High School also introduced rugby, the trainer was a staff member, Mr. Lancelot Gama, now a medical doctor in Springs. To encourage rugby in schools and also to make it convenient for them, the Union arranged for Orlando High and Western High, the only two Union Schools, to play their league matches on Wednesday afternoons.¹²⁵ These schools played the other B Division teams on Saturdays. The matches between Orlando High and Western High became great occasions of rivalry between the Rock and Dynamite - the name by which Western High was called by its pupils and teachers. Virtually the whole pupil bodies of both schools turned out 'full force' to witness these matches and to cheer their teams.¹²⁶

After a series of matches in 1943 Orlando High School team emerged the winners of the league and were presented with a big trophy called Nogaga Trophy donated to the Transvaal Bantu Rugby Football Union by Mr. Nogaga, an induna (mine foreman) at Crown Mines.¹²⁷

On the eve of such matches and of athletics, music and other inter-school contests, Mr. Nakene would spend considerable time at assembly encouraging the players and spectators. After the matches, whether the teams had been victorious or not, he would 'talk at length' about the performance as well as the importance of giving of ones best in all endeavours. He regarded extra-mural activities and the development of talent of whatever kind, as an essential adjunct to formal education offered in the classroom. If the teams or choirs had come back triumphant from encounters with other institutions, he would convince all that the success had been achieved by the whole school and he would thereupon urge them to transfer the energy and interest to academic pursuits. The various extra-mural activities were used as an intellectual stimulus.¹²⁸

In 1945 Mr. Dladla left the school and Mr. Benjamin Diphoko, a teacher from Kimberley, took over rugby. Mr. Diphoko was himself an A Division player of a club in the Transvaal Bantu Rugby Union

and he trained the school club with great enthusiasm backed by love for the game and experience. During that year the school team fared infinitely better than in 1943. In the 1946 season the Orlando High School team was so strong that it penetrated through to the finals. Mr. Grant Ngomo played in the team and assisted Mr. Diphoko.¹²⁹

Mr. Japie Mentjies, the circuit inspector, heard about the school rugby debut and encouraged the team to go on the 1947 tour of the Eastern Cape. Every time he came to the school he spoke to the team trainers, the captain (by this time Victor Sondlo) and some players. Mr. Mentjies helped to imbue the school rugby team with deep love and great respect for this game. Mr. Morris Zimmerman, the well known Transvaal Rugby Union coach and selector later gave a hand in the training of the school team at Ellis Park. It was presumably through Mr. Mentjies that this happened.¹³⁰ Special three colour complete outfit was bought from school funds and arrangements were finalised for the historic tour in June 1947.

The tour took the team to Queenstown (against an adult team called Breakers), Kimberley (against Gorebrown High School), East London (Malcomes High) and Alice (Fort Hare University and Lovedale). The Orlando High team had mixed fortunes in this campaign but what excited both the players and the whole school was that the Rock team had managed a total of 129 points against the 115 gained by the more experienced teams visited, some of them with a whole history or tradition of rugby in their favour.¹³¹ Tim Couzens supplies a useful background to this by stating that:

Blacks of the Eastern Cape are primarily rugby players. This seems to be because rugby came earlier to South Africa and was disseminated through the mission schools. The blacks of the Eastern Cape came into contact with whites in significant numbers rather earlier than others and rugby thus became entrenched.¹³²

This exposure and success of the team brought happiness to the school. The teachers who went on tour with the team were Messrs Grant Kgomo and Simon Tshabalala.¹³³ After this tour the team was promoted to the A section of the Union and it continued in its trail of victories. The team played against mine teams such as Rand Leases, Ventersport, Robinson Deep, Crown Mines, Simmer and Jack Mines, Anglo-Vaal etc.¹³⁴ In the words of Dan Twala, Chairman of the South African Soccer League:

The mines were happy to see the popularity of soccer amongst the miners since it helped the mines keep them busy over the week-ends and it helped their recruiting programme.¹³⁵

The above was said with reference to football but it applies equally for the reasons why rugby, indeed as well as other sporting activities, were, and are, still encouraged and sponsored by the mine bosses.

In this regard Tim Couzens adds that:

...the mines were not anxious that their charges mingle with the blacks of the locations, for as Dan Twala has said, "Boys go to locations and meet the girls", and liquor and gambling ensured a high rate of absenteeism on Monday morning.¹³⁶

Many outstanding soccerites including Cecil Dinalane and Phineas Lehobo switched over to rugby and in this way soccer was ousted by rugby at Orlando High School towards the 1950's.¹³⁷ Outstanding players of rugby were revered as amadoda (real men). Some of these players were regularly included in the Transvaal African 15 against other provinces. They are Victor Sondlolo (Fly-half), Simon Ntshepe (Forward), Ambition Brown (Wing) Benjamin Rasmeni (Forward) and Russel Nziba (Forward), Fred Sishaba (Forward) and Hobart Nolutshungu (full-back). The other good players who made up the school team included Clayton Mavimbela, Robert

Sishaba, Amos Khumalo, Sidwell Motloun, Rosette Nziba, Phineas Lehobo, Tapson Mathanda and Francis Majambe.¹³⁸

Rugby reached its peak in 1948 after the 1947 tour. Most of the mine teams suffered defeat against Orlando High and they were subsequently reluctant to play against Amakhwenkwe (boys) for fear of being out-played and humiliated. After 1948 when most of the key players had left, rugby continued to be played at Orlando High School but it declined in standard and popularity when Grant Kgomo concentrated on tennis.¹³⁹ Almost all the newcomers to the school had not played rugby before. However, rugby continued as a school sport until the mid-fifties and finally ground to a halt.¹⁴⁰

Victor Sondlo is now employed by the TVL Bantu Rugby Union to promote this game at high school level in African schools. It is clear that if these schools had not been excluded in the Craven Rugby programme, this situation would not have arisen. South Africa would have a far greater pool to draw material from for this sport that she is recognised internationally for.

sports
As mentioned earlier, Grant Kgomo was an extremely keen and versatile sportsman of rare ability. When he decided to concentrate on tennis he became the South African National Tennis Champion among Africans from 1945 to 1961. Under his influence as trainer and coach of Orlando High School tennis became very popular among pupils. Mr. Cyprian Mahlaba, former pupil of Orlando High and now school counsellor on the Psychological Section of the Department of Education and Training, Soweto, had a lot to do with tennis while at this school and after he left.

During the period 1947 to 1950 the tennis scene at Orlando High was dominated by two outstanding players who later became players of repute when they left The Rock. Macdonald Lehlokoe was the school singles tennis champion from 1947 to 1950. He later became an outstanding tennis player in the South Eastern Orange Free State.

The other was Peter Mathews from Germiston who later established himself as a great tennis player on the East Rand. However, the Golden Age of Tennis at the Rock was from 1950 to 1953 when the school produced four remarkably good players who came to be known as The Big Four.¹⁴¹

The Big Four were Jonas Mohlabane, David Nthuping, Cyprian Mahlaba and Philip Makgalemele. They set an unbeaten record of not losing a match in the four-year period against all high schools and training institutions for Africans in the Transvaal. When they had demolished all opposition in the Transvaal, they played and won their matches against Basotholand High School in Maseru in 1952 and Adams College in Natal in 1953. The present King of Lesotho was a team member in the Maseru contest of 1952.¹⁴² Cyprian Mahlaba later became the youngest ever president of the Johannesburg and District Lawn Tennis Association. He also became the first Director of the Black Tennis Foundation.

6. Rapid Growth After 1945: Reasons and Consequences

In order to understand the rapid growth of Orlando High after 1945 it is necessary to sketch the great inflow of Africans into Johannesburg during this period. The five years of World War II saw Africans converge on the City of Gold to fill jobs created by industrial expansion during the war. The Reserves (areas allocated to Africans in terms of the Land Act of 1913, which, together with later urban additions, form the basis of the present Homelands) were overcrowded and poor. The Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 had made provision for controlling this influx of Africans into Johannesburg and other cities but during the war the measure was officially relaxed as a result of the need for increased labour.¹⁴³ Johannesburg African population in consequence increased from 250 000 in 1939 to 395 000 in 1946.¹⁴⁴

In the face of this population increase and the virtual end to all domestic building as a result of both the manpower shortage

and the war effort, the housing position in the Johannesburg area became critical. In 1941, 4 500 African families had registered for housing with the City Council, although the manager of the Non-European Affairs Department estimated that many more had not registered.¹⁴⁵ Initially, at least, those seeking accommodation were housed as sub-tenants in existing locations. This often meant two families with children living in three or four-roomed houses. According to Stadler:

this practice was to spread immeasurably, legally and illegally, and it was estimated at the time that there were approximately 8 000 unregistered sub-tenants in Orlando East.¹⁴⁶

Squatters camps and shanty towns erupted. At this time a leader who was to dominate African civic politics in Johannesburg for the next three decades came on to the scene. He was James Mpanza, who became popularly known by the name of Sofasonke (a Zulu expression meaning 'we'll die together'). When James Mpanza encouraged his squatter followers to go and establish shanties on the bare veld across the railway line from Orlando High School, he is commonly quoted as having said, "Masiyeni, Sofasonke" (Let's go; we'll die together)¹⁴⁷ Another name by which he is known countrywide is "Magebula" (One who grabs or takes by force). This is said with reference to the spirit with which he appropriated land for use by squatters.¹⁴⁸ It is now history that in March 1944 a group, mainly from Orlando East, Newclare and Kliptown, led by him, set up 250 shelters of hessian around wooden frames in Orlando.¹⁴⁹ By April the number had grown to between 6 000 and 8 000 and at its height there were 20 000 in this camp¹⁵⁰ that came to be known as Masakeng (Sotho) or Emasakeni (Zulu) - "the place of the sacks". When Amasaka ("Sacks Towns") were started in 1944, Orlando High School pupils were among the first to get to the scene, led, out of curiosity, by Rudolph Mtimkulu and Phineas Lehobo.¹⁵¹ Father Trevor

Huddleston, who ran the Anglican Mission in Sophiatown, describes that day on March 1944, when thousands of Africans picked up their belongings out of Orlando and other areas and took to the veld:

In the late afternoon there were hundreds of people, hundreds of families, streaming out on to the veld, erecting shacks of mealie stalks, hessian, poles, biscuit tins, old iron - anything that would provide shelter. . . to face a winter under such conditions rather than wait any longer for the houses that were never built.¹⁵²

It is well-nigh impossible to imagine what life was like in an instant settlement such as that. Prof. Eskia Mphahlele, who was on the staff of Orlando High School then, and used to walk across it from his home at No. 8280 Orlando West to the school wrote:

In the valley between Orlando East and Orlando West lay Shanty Town. Here, thousands of Africans had established a settlement, improvised various rickety structures for purposes of accommodation, and continued to defy the attempts of the authorities to get them to build more houses.¹⁵³

In an earlier account Mphahlele described his feelings:

The squalor and poverty here touched me deeply. I was back in Second Avenue. I tossed and turned in my waking and sleeping hours, and I saw no way out of the mental and spiritual conflicts that were harassing me. In 1947 I decided not to go to church anymore.¹⁵⁴

In response the City Council erected 4 042 temporary breeze block rooms which accommodated most of this first batch of squatters at a rent of five shillings per month.¹⁵⁵ But this did not solve the housing crisis.

In 1946 a second and third squatter movement took place into municipal land in Orlando, Pimville and Dube, and in early 1947 it was estimated that there were 60 000 to 90 000 people involved.¹⁵⁶ This is how the shanties of Moroka and Jabavu came about. All the City Council could do was to provide an elementary water and sanitary service: batteries of pit privies, stand pipes, refuse removal services and an emergency medical service.¹⁵⁷ It has been succinctly pointed out that:

The problems, to which squatting was a desperate response, lay much deeper than the housing crisis. The Bantu World, reporting at the time, observed that it had its origins in the abject poverty of the Reserves and concluded that the problem could not be solved by the enforcement of rigorous influx measures, but only by the revision of the Native Land Policy (Stadler 1978). *

The vast inflow of black people into Johannesburg meant that there was a surplus of labour and wages could be kept down during a period of rapidly rising costs. These low wages were insufficient to meet the rising subsistence costs and squatting was seen as an attempt to reduce this cost. The Alexandra bus boycott in 1944, the rent boycotts and squatting could all be seen as collective efforts to reduce the cost of subsistence.¹⁵⁸

The City Council evidently could not cope with this rapid war-time (and post-war) industrialisation, changing economic requirements and the large population increases taking place. The Union Government stepped in by appointing the Native Laws Commission in 1945 under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice H.A. Fagan. Its report was tabled in 1948 which stressed, significantly, that the migration of Africans into towns was a natural economic phenomenon which could be regulated and guided but not reversed. It further recommended that the stabilisation of labour, be encouraged and facilitated. The Fagan Commission was of the opinion that the total segregation of the races was utterly impracticable.¹⁵⁹

* Soweto, op. cit., p.11

Orlando High School was adversely affected by this vast population increase. Its own popularity was enough to ensure an ever growing enrolment. The inflow of thousands of Africans into Johannesburg alone, more than quadrupled the demand for secondary school accommodation. By 1944, besides Orlando High and Western High Schools, only the Alexandra Secondary school had been established. The latter had classes up to the Junior Certificate level; for this reason even Alexandra secondary pupils went to Orlando High and Western High for their higher education. As Western High was not as popular as Orlando High, and taking into account the fact that it was not a growth point, the enrolment at the Rock reached embarrassing proportions in 1944. There were then nine classrooms and during this year the western wing was hurriedly put up which included four additional classrooms, a laboratory (which lacked proper science apparatus for some 12 months to come) and the arts and crafts room.¹⁶⁰ During the next few years the laboratory and arts and crafts centre were used as classrooms. The Bantu Methodist Church nearby was also used to accommodate two junior classes while the Orlando Communal Hall was once again used to house two other junior classes.¹⁶¹

Another measure that was employed to tackle the problem of large numbers was that of creating huge classes, especially at the first and second junior certificate levels. The writer was in one of the four Form I classes with an average roll of 110 in 1950.

That this post-war population increase and the resultant explosion of numbers at Orlando High School adversely affected educational standards in the school cannot be over-emphasized. Mr Nakene's task of drawing up a time-table to cater for classes at the main school and those at the church and communal halls (which are up to a kilometre far apart) was an arduous one. The teachers had to walk from point to point to get to their classes. A negligible number owned motor cars and so much valuable time and energy were wasted. The pupils in the remote classes also occasionally travelled to the main school for certain lessons and

for administrative matters. The principal's supervision, the teaching of the staff and the progress of pupils under those circumstances suffered immeasurably. There was an inescapable feeling among staff and pupils who were posted at the remote campuses that they were disliked and discriminated against. This attitude in turn had a detrimental effect on their output.¹⁶² It is reasonable to conclude that the staff and pupils who remained at Orlando High under those circumstances did so for lack of another alternative. In the meantime very shaky foundations were being laid for the secondary school education in those junior classes. The cumulative effect of all this, invariably became evident in the poor Junior Certificate and Matriculation Examination results. Given the abjectly poor socio-economic position in which an average African family in Orlando lived in an overcrowded two or three-roomed house with scanty furniture and no books or any form of reading matter, it is understandable that some people were astonished that there were passes in the public examinations at all.

The crisis at Orlando High School in the 1940's may be taken as representative of what obtained in all African schools throughout the four provinces at that time. The root cause was inadequate funding of African education. This resulted in poor pay for the teachers.

The low salary scales introduced in 1928 could not be revised until 1946, when increased funds had become available. These revised scales were as follows for professionally qualified assistant teachers:

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Primary Lower	£120 x 9 - £201	£90 x 6 - £150
Primary Higher	£138 x 9 - £246	£102 x 6 - £186
Matriculation plus Professional Certificate	£156 x 12 - £336	£114 x 8 - £250
Professional Certificate plus four degree courses	£174 x 12 - £354	£126 x 8 - £262
Professional Certificate plus eight degree courses	£192 x 12 - £372	£138 x 8 - £274
Professional Certificate plus degree	£210 x 12 - £390	£150 x 8 - £286
		163

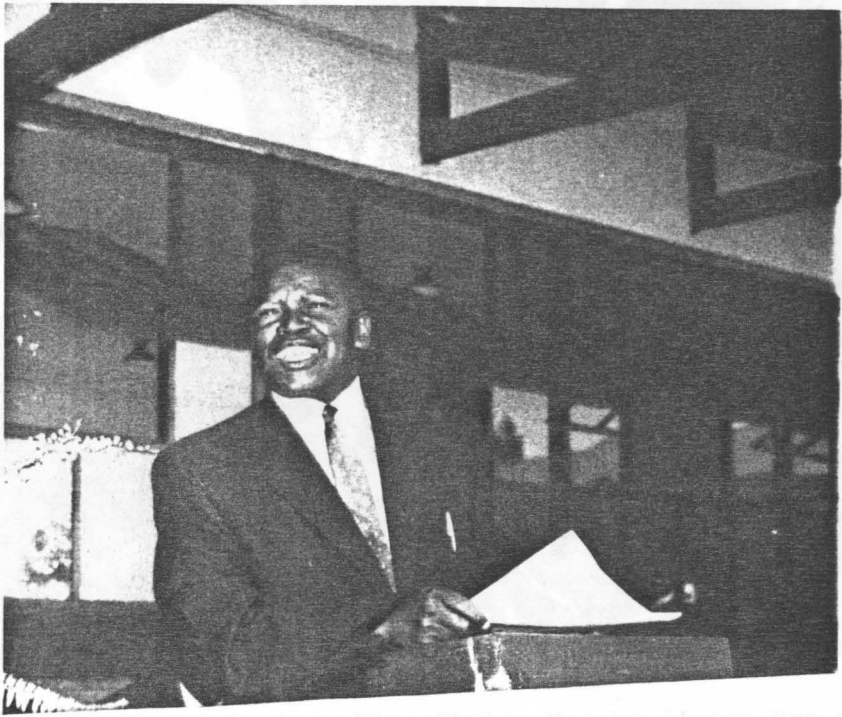
The cost of living allowances were also paid according to marital status and annual salary. Against this background Frank Molteno believes that during this period:

Overt resistance on the part of black teachers in the first half of the century was limited in all respects. When they did raise their voices publicly it was most commonly to demand higher salaries and better working conditions for themselves. On 6 May 1944, for example, teachers along the Reef staged a demonstration in support of their demand for improved salaries. Teachers and community members marched through the streets of Johannesburg singing 'Morena Boloka' and bearing banners on which their demands - which included free universal education and more schools - were inscribed. After the demonstration, a large rally was addressed by numerous leaders of groups and organisations including the President General of the ANC, Dr. A.B. Xuma, who pledged Congress's support for the teachers and pleaded for unity in their ranks as the only way of struggling through to victory.¹⁶⁴.

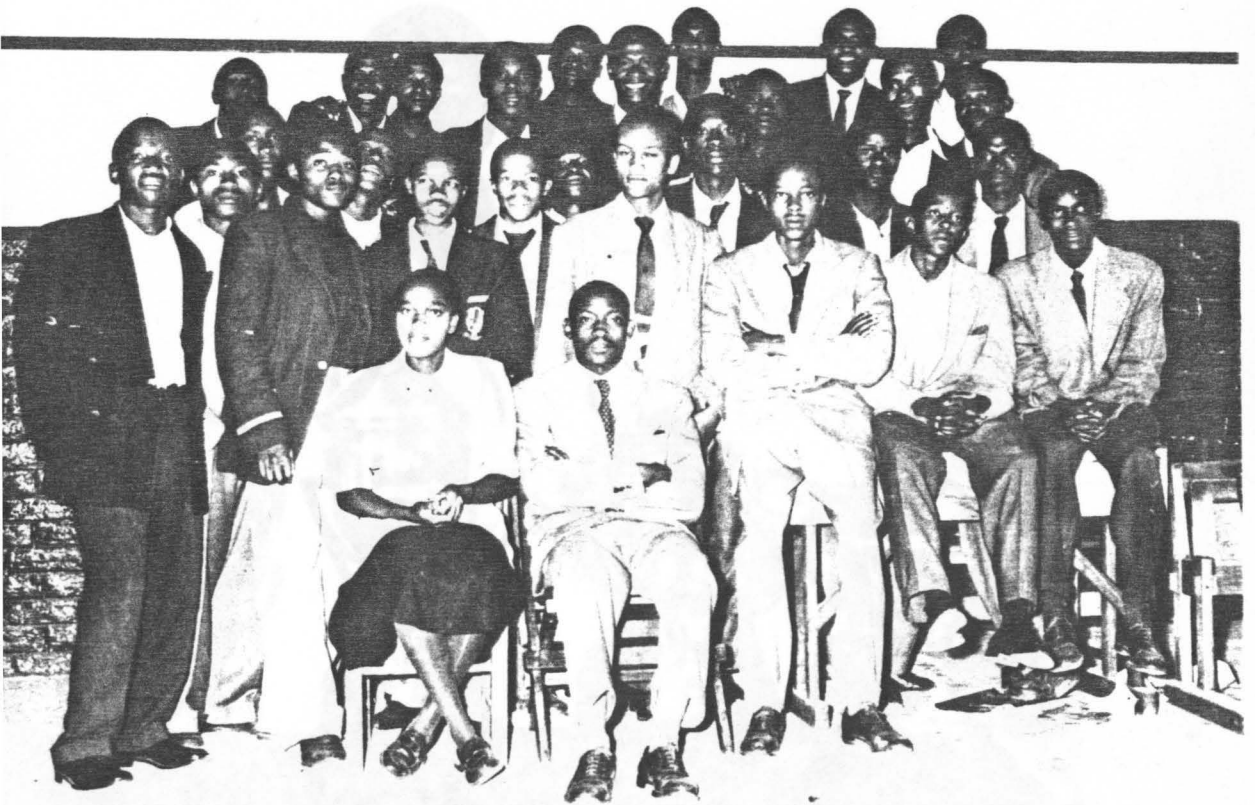
The various provinces were legally responsible for the control of education for Africans, but the responsibility for providing the necessary funds resided with the Central Government. In terms of the 1925 Act the State expenditure was fixed at R 680 000, supplemented by a proportion of the direct taxes (poll tax) paid by Africans which was increased progressively between 1925 and 1945. According to Dr. Wollheim "during the years 1925 to 1935 the enrolment of African pupils increased by nearly 75 percent whereas expenditure rose by only 50 percent."¹⁶⁵ He also writes:

In 1935 the position had become so severe that the government appointed an Inter-Departmental Committee, consisting of the four Chief Inspectors of Native Education and the Director of the Bureau of Educational and Social Research, under the chairmanship of Mr W.T. Welsh, to examine and report on the systems of Native education of the Provinces and to make recommendations in regard to the future.¹⁶⁶

The principal concern of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education (the Welsh Commission) was whether or not the State should assume responsibility for the administration and financing of African education. It is necessary to point out that since Union the four provinces had been entrusted with the responsibility for white school education. The Welsh Commission said they sought "to do adequate justice to the educational requirements of the native people"¹⁶⁷ and they recommended that African education should be financed by the Union Government on the same principle as operated in the education for Whites, that is, that annual per capita grants should be paid on the basis of 110 per cent of the number of pupils in attendance the previous year.¹⁶⁸ This recommended State intervention was not adopted until 1945 and, therefore, compared with white education the per capita expenditure of Africans remained low, as the following table shows:



Principal, Mr G Nakene, addressing the School at Assembly from the
pit.



of the best Matriculation Classes with the Class-Teacher,
Godly Mamabolo, 1954.

ted on the extreme right are Prof. P F Mohanoe and Prof. J Seretlo.



r G Nakene (Principal) and trainer Miss Phylis Maseko (later Mrs Mzaidume)
as first Athletics Girls' Team, 1942.



r G Kgomo, staff member and well-known Sportsman, helped with the
training of Soccer, Tennis and Rugby Teams from 1944 - 1958.



own, outstanding in Athletics, Debate: 1942 - 1947. Abram Somo, Head Prefect: 1940 - 1945.



Left:

The Rugby Team that went on tour of the Eastern Cape, in 1947.

With the team are Messrs. G. Nakene (Principal), G. Kgomo & D.S. Dladla in light jacket

Per Capita Expenditure on Schooling 1930 to 1945

<u>Date</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Africans</u>
	£ s d	£ s d
1930	£22.12.10	£2.02.08
1935	£23.17.02	£1.18.06
1940	£25.14.02	£2.04.04
1945	£38.05.10	£3.17.10 ¹⁶⁹

The form of State intervention referred to above did not take the form of central control. When ultimately action was taken in 1945, limited parts of the Welsh Commission's report were recognised. This was a major reform introduced by the Smuts Government to make some concessions to the growing aspirations of Africans. The financing of African education was placed on an entirely new basis in terms of the National Education Finance Act (Act no. 29 of 1945) according to which expansion would no longer be determined by the amounts derived from the African General Tax. Instead, all funds to be made available to the provinces (that were to continue administering African education) would be drawn direct from the Consolidated Revenue Fund, the estimates being placed on the votes of the Union Department of Education.¹⁷⁰

According to the 1945 - 51 Commission on Native Education, real progress resulted from this new basis of financing African education. Expenditure on African education increased from £2 610 673 in 1946 - 47 to R5 041 901 in 1950 - 51.¹⁷¹ During this period more teachers' grants were made available to Orlando High School. Four more classrooms were added including homecraft and woodwork centres. Five kilometres away Musi High School was established in 1948 and it became the second secondary school education institution in the complex referred to as Soweto.

7. The Eiselen Commission on Native Education 1949 - 51

Commenting on the education for Africans before the Bantu Education system M. Horrell states that:

There were 587 586 pupils in 1945, less than 3 percent of them in post-primary classes. It was calculated during the following year that only 30,8 percent of the children in the seven to sixteen years age group were attending school. In 1950, the average school life of the African children who did go to school was only four years. Many never reached Standard I.¹⁷²

It is clear that the educational provision for Africans in the pre-Bantu Education era was hopelessly inadequate, wasteful of human resources (because of the high-drop out rate) and abysmally ineffective, considering that less than 3 per cent reached the post-primary level. It may also be described as elitist, for it catered only for the fortunate few.

To recapitulate, before 1955 most African schooling was run by various missionary enterprises. These schools could qualify for State grants-in-aid if they were registered with the Provincial Education Departments. In order to be registered a school had to follow syllabuses laid down by the Department, while the day to day administration was in the hands of a superintendent employed by the province and advised by an elected parents' school committee. The provinces drew up special syllabuses for African primary schools and in the secondary schools Africans followed the same syllabuses as white pupils although the former could study their own languages up to Matriculation level.¹⁷³ The Cape, Transvaal and Free State Education Departments conducted their own matriculation (university entrance) or school leaving certificate examinations which were normally written by pupils of all races in schools under their control. Similar examinations were conducted by the Union Education Department and the Joint Matriculation Board: this Board also co-ordinated the standards of other examination bodies. African candidates could enter for any of these examinations.¹⁷⁴

Writing on African education during this period Tom Lodge gives an overall assessment.

Though the system included some justly prestigious schools, it had serious shortcomings. Being atrociously paid, teaching was not an attractive profession and many teachers were under-qualified. Mission control could be heavy handed and paternalistic and resentment of it (especially at rural boarding institutions) could often boil over in fierce and destructive riots. There was a vast imbalance in the number of primary schools and secondary pupils. Until 1945 the system was seriously under-financed as expenditure depended on the level of African taxation revenues. Finally, wartime industrialisation and its corollary, urbanisation, had contributed to fresh pressures on the educational system. The need for some form of public intervention was beyond dispute.¹⁷⁵

The Nationalist Government accepted the need for intervention, though its first concern was not so much with meeting African educational needs, but rather in attempting to control the social consequences of educational expansion.¹⁷⁶ When they came into power in 1948 they found themselves committed, for the time being, to the provisions of the Act no. 29 of 1945 introduced by the Rt. Hon. J H Hofmeyr. In January 1949, the Government appointed a Commission on native education, under the chairmanship of Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen, with the following terms of reference:

"(a) The formulation of the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under everchanging social conditions are taken into consideration.

- (b) The extent to which the existing primary, secondary and vocational education system for Natives and the training of Native teachers should be modified in respect of the content and form of syllabuses in order to conform to the proposed principles and aims, and to prepare Natives more effectively for their future occupations.
- (c) The organization and administration of the various branches of Native education.
- (d) The basis on which such education should be financed.
- (e) Such other aspects of Native education as may be related to the preceding."¹⁷⁷

It is necessary at this stage to indicate that only a few major recommendations and related points will be dealt with here. This area has been extensively written about and there is therefore no need to go into detail.* Referring to the above-mentioned terms of reference, attention is drawn to the fact that the Commission had to begin on the premise that there should be distinctions between white and black education. Dealing with this aspect the Commission acknowledged that Africans who had given evidence did not hide "an extreme aversion to any education specially adapted for the Bantu".¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless the Commission had brushed that aside saying:

Educational practice must recognize that it has to deal with a Bantu child, that is, a child trained and conditioned in Bantu Culture, endowed with a knowledge of a Bantu language, and imbued with values, interests and behaviour patterns learned at the knee of a Bantu mother. These facts must dictate to a very large extent the content and methods of his early education.¹⁷⁹

* See for example works by M. Horrell, T. Lodge, L. L. Sihlali, P. Kallaway, etc.

The Christian National Education Policy manifesto which was published in 1948, the year the Nationalist Government came into power, states that "the teaching and education of the native must be grounded in the life and world view of the white, most especially those of the Boer nation as the senior white trustee of the native".¹⁸⁰ It also refers to "the right and task of the state"¹⁸¹ to control and give guidance to the native on "the grounds of the cultural infancy of the native"¹⁸² This explains to a large extent why the "extreme aversion" of informed African opinion was ignored. To fully understand the thinking behind the Eiselen Report, it is imperative to keep in mind the Christian National Education Policy "calling and task of white South Africa with regard to the native. . . ¹⁸³

In the Report the Commission first addresses the uncertainty or vagueness that existed amongst both the White and the Africans themselves with regard to the aims and objectives of education. In order to remove the vagueness that existed they attempted to restructure rather than reform African education. Dr. H.F Verwoerd, Minister of native Affairs, said:

. . . good racial relations are spoilt when the correct education is not given. Above all, good racial relations cannot exist when the education is given under the control of people who create wrong expectations on the part of the Native himself, if such people believe in a policy of equality, if, let me say, for example, a communist gives this training to Natives.¹⁸⁴

In what may be regarded as the key to the whole report the Commission sets out the aims of the concept of the Bantu Education. The Commission noted that contemporary African education (as given by the missionaries) produced conflict between traditional tribal society and Western European society.

This conflict often resulted in pupils despising tribal culture and trying to choose Western culture. Instead of this conflict that led to rejection of "Bantu" or "Tribal" Culture, the Commission saw education as a primary source for the rebuilding and extension of that culture. It concluded that this could be best done by using the Reserve areas for this purpose, provided they were developed.¹⁸⁵ Bantu Education was to be seen as part of the overall policy of Apartheid.

The Reserves, being areas in which Bantu culture functions most completely, have a special task to perform in the furtherance of the development of Bantu culture and schools. Many educated Bantu feel that the Reserves are fast becoming economic and cultural slums; places to be avoided by the educated and the enterprising.¹⁸⁶

The Welsh Commission had recommended in 1936 that African education be transferred from the control of the Provincial Councils to that of the Union Government. The next question they considered very carefully was the particular Department of State to which it was to be assigned.

The proposal was put forward by some witnesses that Native education is so integral a part of the Native policy that it should be administered by the Native Affairs Department. This view, however, finds little support amongst educationalists or the Native people. Their objections are based on experience as well as on principle.¹⁸⁷

The chief reasons why the Department of Native Affairs was considered unsuitable for administering education are then set out in detail by the Welsh Commission. Given that the Eiselen Commission placed African education under the Union Government (as did the Welsh) but decided to assign it to the Department of Native Affairs and given that this very point was to be one of the central issues in rejecting Bantu Education persistently and, ultimately, violently, it is considered important to reproduce these reasons here:

- (i) The matters with which the Native Affairs Department has to deal are already so multifarious and the burdens on the head of that Department so heavy, that the position would become intolerable if education were added to it.
- (ii) The Native Affairs Department cannot adequately deal with a matter like education. The head is an administrative officer, usually selected for his magisterial experience and legal knowledge, and not an educationist. Education has in modern times become so specialised that educational training and experience are essential qualifications for the head of a department administering a large educational system.
- (iii) In view of the fact that there already exists a Union Department of Education, there is little or no justification for setting up for the Union duplicate educational machinery under the Native Affairs Department.
- (iv) If Native education were placed under the Native Affairs and not under the Union Education Department, the Natives would imagine that they were getting an educational system different from, if not inferior to, that of the European.
- (v) Responsible witness expressed the view that it would be unfortunate for education - which is primarily a matter of the spirit - to be linked up with a Government Department which is generally associated in the Native's mind with the collection of taxes and the administration of justice. It is not fair to education to place it under a department whose functions are very largely regulatory.

The Committee feels that these arguments as a whole are conclusive and, therefore, recommends that the administration and financing of Native education be dissociated from the Native Affairs Department (Including the Native Affairs Commission) and be placed with the Union Education Department.¹⁸⁸

The Eiselen Commission ignored the above-mentioned arguments and deviated from the Welsh proposal. For them the development plan for the African, which they proposed in their Report, would "make provision for their advancement along a broad and related front". With these considerations in view they concluded:

Your Commission, therefore, considers it essential that the control and administration of Bantu Education should also fall under a Union Department.

The head of the Division would be the Secretary for Bantu Affairs and under him there would be three departments, namely the Department of Bantu Administration, the Department of Bantu Technical Services and the Department of Bantu Education. As an important body within the Division of Bantu Affairs we have proposed a Development Authority. The functions of the Development Authority would be in the first instance to evolve comprehensive plans for the development of all aspects of Bantu life. These plans together with the necessary finance and the personnel required would have to be approved by Parliament.

Three stages of education are necessary in order to comply with these requirements.

- (a) a lower primary school to provide a minimum of literacy for all children;
- (b) a higher primary school which will serve not merely to continue the work of the lower primary school but will sort out the children most suited for further education and begin to guide them in appropriate directions;
- (c) a series of post primary schools whose functions will vary but which will provide the types of educated Bantu necessary for the development of Bantu society.¹⁸⁹

This Commission then examined the financial implications of this recommendation. As indicated in this discussion, there was a radical change in the financing of African education in terms of the Native Education Finance Act 1945, according to which financing and expansion would no longer be determined by the amount derived from the African general tax. The latter principle was by virtue of Act No. 5 of 1922. The Eiselen Commission, in contrast, made it clear that they were in favour of a system in which part of the money for African education came directly from African taxation. This Commission recommended some form of return to the 1922 principle. There were, however, important modifications made to it. As education increased skills and led to a consequent increase in earning power, the Africans would be expected to contribute more towards their own education.¹⁹⁰ The CNE principles already referred to also stipulated that: the financing for African education must be placed on such a basis that it does not occur to the cost of white education.¹⁹¹ The implications and interpretations of the principle involved here will be discussed in the next section.

In 1953 the Bantu Education Act was passed. It conferred wide powers on the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H F Verwoerd, but very few of the detailed recommendations are specifically mentioned in the Act. Some of these were mentioned by Dr

Verwoerd and other Cabinet Ministers not only when the bill was being piloted through parliament, but also when it had become law and was to be implemented. That Bantu Education was rejected and resisted by parents, teachers, pupils as well as by various African and liberal organisations, it is now history. What now follows in this discussion is how the introduction of this system of Education affected Orlando High School in particular and other schools in general.

8. Protests and dismissal of teachers at Orlando High School and elsewhere

The resistance against the Bantu Education system, with special reference to Orlando High School, can be understood only when viewed in the light of previous protests by the Transvaal African Teachers Association (TATA) against a separate system of "Native Education". Such protests had also been undertaken by other bodies, like the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA)

The TATA was formed in 1906. The Transvaal Education Department foresaw in 1939 that this body would be very influential.

About one quarter of the teachers in this Province belong to the Transvaal African Teachers' Association, an organisation recognised by the Department and given representation on the Advisory Board. It is a matter for regret that this Association does not command more universal support, because it is the only body which, on behalf of the Native people, puts forward from time to time, definite proposals on professional matters for the consideration of the Department. Such proposals would naturally carry far more weight if the Association were a truly representative body.

A flourishing Teachers' Association with many active branches spread over the whole Province would inevitably have a very invigorating influence on the

teaching profession. Branch meetings with their discussions of the teachers' problems would lead to professional co-operation and competition and would not fail to stimulate the teachers and their pupils to greater effort both in the more usual school activities and in craftwork and sport. It is, therefore, the desire of the Department to promote the growth of this Association in order that it may become a more effective agency in Native Education.¹⁹²

In 1949 three Orlando High School teachers were elected to top executive positions in TATA. Mr Zeph Mothopeng became President, while Messrs Isaac Matlhare and Ezekiel Mphahlele assumed the office of Editor and General secretary respectively. They were to become, perhaps in a way not anticipated by the Transvaal Education Department an "effective agency in Native Education". From that year they launched an attack against the syllabuses of Native Education and the text books used which they saw as glorifying the White man.¹⁹³ They read papers at a well attended meeting in Witbank and explained what was wrong.¹⁹⁴ In the monthly newspaper they advise and warn fellow African teachers:

THE PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION are universal. There is no such animal as NATIVE EDUCATION. The modern African teacher must realize that the textbooks on teaching methods he was made to read during his training are not sacred articles of a bible which he must follow slavishly, even in changing African society. In fact, most, if not all, of these books have been written in order to make the African teacher, and thereby the pupil, feel that his education does not and shall not be part of the wider pattern of universal education, but shall make him just a curio to be seen by foreign tourists and local anthropologists, or shall warp his mind according to the will of white slave-drivers. The teacher is made to feel that his duty is to foster and nurse the abilities and interests of the child along a road leading back to his primitive past under the pretext of guarding and preserving his culture.¹⁹⁵

The paper called The Voice in Orlando (and later The Voice of Africa), from which the above is an extract, was mimeographed by Ezekiel Mphahlele, Khabi Mngoma, Isaac Matlhare (founders) and later joined by B.W. Ngakane the only one who was not a teacher at Orlando High.¹⁹⁶ The Voice which consisted of six to eight pages, ran from 1949 to 1952. It was widely distributed in the Orlando area and there were often copies circulating among the pupils at Orlando High. The writer vividly remembers how as a pupils at The Rock they used to read the voice with eagerness born of curiosity.

It was a paper of special and political criticism. Very Orlando in flavour. It often took a very satirical line against the elite who were trying to play their role in an anti-social way, we thought. Bantu Education also became a topic. The Voice ran from '49 to '52. It contained virulent attacks; we just didn't hold any punches at all. Nakene saw himself being satirised and made a fool of. We didn't sign our names on any articles. Nobody knew the authors of The Voice.¹⁹⁷

More about The Voice later. In 1950 and 1951 Zeph Mothopeng, Issac Matlhare and Ezekiel Mphahlele were re-elected to the chief executive positions.¹⁹⁸ When the Eiselen Commission Report was released:

As members of the Executive of TATA, we realised that the report was completely malicious in intent and spirit. Its recommendations, if accepted, were going to lead to something more sinister than what we had been campaigning against in the case of the Native Education syllabuses. It was this realisation which led us to decide immediately to launch a full-scale campaign against the proposed system throughout the Transvaal.¹⁹⁹

In a lengthy article entitled "Politics and the African Teacher" The Voice scoffs, sneers and then rejects the Transvaal Provincial Gazette "barring African, Coloured and Indian teachers from membership of political organisations or from taking an active part in politics". It points out that :

the African teacher belongs to a majority group in this country and yet this group has no status in the political structure of the country. The African teacher is part of this landless, poverty-stricken and wage-earning class which is enmeshed not only by a host of discriminatory and oppressive statutory provisions, but also by cast-iron humiliating and insulting customary restrictions. It is for this teacher who is denied "the vote, the mace of power", that this regulation has been framed and enacted.²⁰⁰

This long article ends in a spirit of defiance which was to be embodied in action.

Thanks to his indomitable national character, the African teacher still calls his indefatigable spirit his own; and thanks to this spirit, he cannot be at the beck and call of arbitrary legislation of this nature. He cannot, and dare not, remain any longer a mere plastic automaton in the clutches of power politics.²⁰¹

In defiance of the Transvaal Education Department regulation Zeph Mothopeng, Isaac Matlhare and Ezekiel Mphahlele travelled to various parts of the Transvaal to address teachers' and parents' meetings. They "warned the people against the dangers of the proposed system of education not only for the child but for Africans as a people with a historical destiny."²⁰² Referring to the statement by Dr. Verwoerd quoted earlier, they said the Government rhetoric implied that Communists and missionaries were teaching Africans to be rebels. In their public statements they repudiated this claim saying, if anything, "missionaries were

equally culpable because they taught us about the virtues of humility before authority"²⁰³ Tom Lodge agrees with this judgement.

It is doubtful that many missionaries had quite such egalitarian beliefs as Verwoerd was to attribute to them and certainly few were communists and the Government was to considerably underestimate the difficulties of instilling an ideology of subordination. Official thinking on African education was tendentious, naive, and brutally simple.²⁰⁴

Orlando High School was one of the schools visited by the Eiselen Commission to hear evidence in the production of a blueprint for 'Education for Natives as a separate Race'²⁰⁵ It is not clear how much time they spent at the school and who they heard evidence from besides the principal. The log book of the school, a huge document with important entries dating from 1939 when the school was established, was destroyed by fire during the 1977 riots when six classrooms and the administration block were gutted by fire.²⁰⁶ In his biography Prof. Mphahlele states:

Our principal at Orlando High School ... openly declared his stand on the side of the Government and the proposed system of education. At staff meetings and at morning assembly he expressed his unhesitating belief that Africans were going to climb up the professional ladder in the new dispensation. He was desperate to convince us and the pupils. His favourite phrase on those occasions was, 'there is activity behind the lines ... there is activity behind the lines', meaning there is a lot coming, a lot of goodies for all and sundry. What proved to be so tragic and turned the principal into a pathetic character was to watch him at morning assembly playing prophet in front of those eager faces. He was selling Bantu Education to them and acted as a gate-keeper for the inspectorate.²⁰⁷

writer was a pupil at Orlando High School from 1950 to 1952 and can confirm that Mr Nakene used to make pro-Bantu Education pronouncements. Whether it was right or wrong for him to have done so is highly arguable. One thing he was not unaware that pupils in the school were being abused, by some members of staff including TATA Executive and others, what he considered negative ideas about the proposed system of education. However, I can add with certainty that this wrangling confused the pupils and divided them into two opposing and even antagonistic camps. When matters came to a head in 1952, following the establishment of the break-away segment at the Donaldson Orlando Community Centre (the People's High School) violence broke out between the two opposing rival bodies. This development is treated in some detail later.

Prof Mphahlele asserts that when he and his colleagues continued to campaign against Bantu Education, Mr Nakene repeatedly warned them. "You've got children" he would say and then proceed rhetorically: "What will happen if you lose your jobs?"²⁰⁸ This did not deter them.

We, the target teachers, felt we had a mission and we could not throw in the towel because Nakene said so. We persisted in our campaign.²⁰⁹

As they did. To the bitter end. For this courageous stand they earned themselves the admiration and very high esteem of the African teachers in particular and all the opponents of Bantu Education in general. History has proved them right. But in an effort to defend themselves and to discredit Mr Nakene, Prof Mphahlele's above statement further states that he (Mr Nakene) was mismanaging the school. He accused him of misusing school funds and over-enrolling the school so as to embezzle the fees of the extra pupils.²¹⁰

The writer was a pupil at Orlando High School from 1950 to 1952 and can confirm that Mr. Nakene used to make pro-Bantu Education pronouncements. Whether it was right or wrong for him to have done so is highly arguable. For one thing he was not unaware that pupils in the school were being exposed, by some members of staff including TATA Executive and others, to what he considered negative ideas about the proposed system of education. However, I can add with certainty that this wrangling confused the pupils and divided them into two opposing and even antagonistic groups. When matters came to a head in 1952, following the establishment of the break-away segment at the Donaldson Orlando Community Centre ("The People's High School) violence broke out between the two opposing pupil bodies. This development is treated in some detail later.

Prof. Mphahlele asserts that when he and his colleagues continued to campaign against Bantu Education, Mr Nakene repeatedly warned them. "You've got children" he would say and then proceed rhetorically: 'What will happen if you lose your jobs?'²⁰⁸ This did not deter them.

We, the target teachers, felt we had a mission and we could not throw in the towel because Nakene said so. We persisted in our campaign.²⁰⁹

Persist they did. To the bitter end. For this courageous stand they earned themselves the admiration and very high esteem of the African teachers in particular and all the opponents of Bantu Education in general. History has proved them right. But in an effort to defend themselves and to discredit Mr. Nakene, Prof. Mphahlele's above statement further states that he (Mr. Nakene) was mismanaging the school. They accused him of misusing school funds and over-enrolling the school so as to embezzle the fees of the extra students.²¹⁰

During the course of this study I have questioned a number of former pupils and teachers of Orlando High School concerning this allegation, especially with regard to the corruption charge, and all, without exception, are of the opinion that this was sheer counter - vilification on the part of the three staff members. All admitted that the school was over-enrolled but this was unavoidable as a result of the post-war influx of Africans from the Reserves and the inadequate provision of African secondary schools in the area. This development in the school has already been dealt with and it is inconceivable that the huge classes in the school and the extra classes at the Bantu methodist and Communal Halls could have been unknown to the inspectors and the School Committee.

A large number of pupils at Orlando High School during this period could not afford to pay fees and Mr. Nakene never expelled them or took any harsh action against them. On the contrary, he was always willing to assist struggling pupils financially from his own pocket. All past pupils and teachers I approached with regard to the suggestion of misappropriation of funds on the part of Mr Nakene said it was unfounded. Prof Mphahlele says:

Our campaign against the Bantu Education and Nakene's endorsement of the system that we found abominable split the teaching staff into two distinct camps. An atmosphere of mistrust and paranoid suspicion crept in slowly. . . . Before the rumpus that followed the Eiselen Commission Report, the teachers at Orlando High School had developed a notable team spirit. In 1949, the school had, for the first time, managed a hundred percent Joint matriculation examination pass. We used to have good results in all subjects. Three of us, Zeph Mothopeng, Isaac Matlhare and I, were producing excellent results in our subjects.²¹¹

The three teachers were absolutely dedicated and efficient in their professional work, especially Mr, Zeph Mothopeng and Mr. Ezekiel Mphahlele. As indicated already, besides General Science and Mathematics that Mr, Mothopeng taught with great skill, he was

also a choirmaster and conductor in his own right. Pupils at the school fondly referred to him as "Cobra" because it was thought that his forehead resembled the head of a cobra. Mr. Mphahlele was an excellent teacher of both English and Afrikaans, a rare combination in African schools. He headed the department of English, after Mr. R. L. Peteni. Mention has already been made of his work of an extremely high standard in boxing and drama. The two were virtually hero-worshipped by both fellow staff members and by pupils. But they were by no means the only excellent teachers the school boasted of. Prof. Mphahlele, in commenting on a letter (discussed fully later) written by Mrs. A. W. Hoernle (chairperson of the School Committee at the time of the crisis) in which she insinuates that the three teachers had not been doing their work, says,

"If anything, the three of us had contributed significantly to the excellent results that had become an annual feature of the school."²¹²

The other teachers who deserve special mention included Mr. D. S. Dladla, Mr. R. L. Peteni, Mr. R. H. Gugushe (Vice Principal) Mr. L. S. Masoek, Mr. D. Kobe, Mr. G. Kgomo, Mr. K. Mngoma and Mr. L. Makhubalo.

A month after the 1951 TATA elections in Pretoria the three officials received a letter from the Transvaal Education Department stating that the Department had learned that they were connected with The Voice of Africa, which the Department called a "subversive" publication.²¹³ They were asked to confirm or deny this allegation.

We replied in the negative and asked the Department to furnish us with the source of their information - to which we received a reply to the effect that the matter was considered closed.²¹⁴

Towards the end of 1951, Messrs Mothopeng, Matlhare and Mphahlele faced a charge in the words of the investigating police officer, "of publishing a paper without registering it and without stating your names or where it's published".²¹⁵ They appeared in court and were defended by Mr. Anton Mostert²¹⁶. He got them off on a legal technicality.

He discovered that you only need to register a paper if it appears at intervals of one calendar month. None of the issues appeared within that interval at all. They were very irregular; sometimes less than a calendar month, never from the first to the thirty-first.²¹⁷

"This affair added fuel to the fire at Orlando High School."²¹⁸

It is significant that after their acquittal they continued to publish the paper. By July 1952 when they stopped, following their dismissal, they had published three volumes between September 1949 and May 1952.²¹⁹

Besides publishing this paper in which they exposed the wrongs and injustices in all spheres of life, the main target was the educational dispensation for Africans. In 1951 after their re-election to the TATA Executive positions, they began to campaign quite effectively against the Eiselen Commission Report.²²⁰ They held meetings of teachers and parents to explain and condemn it. "Matters came to a head when the Transvaal Chief Inspector of Education was heckled at a prize giving ceremony. The principal reported the teachers he suspected of organising the pupils to the Department and they were later sacked."²²¹ What precipitated their dismissal was when they sent a memorandum to the Transvaal Education Department in which they drew attention to the fact that Orlando High School was being mismanaged.²²² They probably resorted to this tactic to deflect attention from themselves.

However, when Mr Nakene got to know about it he "immediately wrote to the Department calling for a Commission of Enquiry whose terms of reference were to inquire into staff relations."²²³

The three of us had been singled out for special attention. The staff was split right down the middle and those who were siding with the principal went to town in the statements they made against us. The Commission completed its work subsequently and Nakene and his crowd won the day. We were fired, Matlhare, Mothopeng and I.²²⁴

Following the inspector's two weeks visit to the school, Messrs Mothopeng, Matlhare and Mphahlele each received a letter from the Transvaal Education Department dismissing them from the teaching profession with effect from July 31, 1952. They were paid for August, also, in lieu of a month's notice.²²⁵ As far as the three teachers were concerned the inquiry was evidently a pretext for a witch-hunt and the authorities got every amount of help from the head.²²⁶

The School Committee members at that time were Dr. A.W.Hoernle (Chairperson) Rev. S.G.S. Ntoane of the Dutch Reform Church; Mr. E. Mathabe, a prominent businessman from Pirmville; Rev. O. S. D. Mooki, of the New Church in Southern Africa; Mr. R. V. Selope-Thema, editor of a newspaper The Bantu World and Rev. D. Esterhuyse, of the Dutch Reformed Church.²²⁷ The School Committee fully supported the principal and according to Rev O.S.D. Mooki, they had repeatedly warned the three teachers against their open attack on the principal, Mr. Nakene, their colleagues and the education system in general.²²⁸ Norah Taylor, a friend and confidante of Mr Ezekiel Mphahlele, wrote a letter to Dr. Hoernle inquiring on his behalf and received the following reply:

I think that you will agree with me that in a school the interest of the children is paramount. During the whole of this year I have had one report after the

other of unsatisfactory work being performed, and a spirit of unrest and slackness in the school. I therefore asked the Education Department for an inspection of the work of the school. This inspection was done by senior inspectors of the Education Department and every teacher's work was inspected, including that of the principal. As a result of this inspection, which took two weeks, the Department decided to dispense with the services of three teachers. One of these was Ezekiel Mphahlele. We have replaced these three teachers and the pupils themselves say they are getting better teaching than they have had the whole year. Further, in spite of all attempts to cause unrest in the school and even a boycott of it, the vast majority of the children have settled down very well and the school is functioning more normally than it has done for a very long time. 229

On Tuesday 5 August 1952 The Torch, a radical newspaper based in Cape Town, ran a front page article with the heading "Transvaal Teachers Dismissed." Declaring it an "open case of political victimisation" this newspaper wrote:

Three officials of the Transvaal African Teachers Association were summarily dismissed from their posts at the Orlando High School last week. They are the President Mr. Z. Mothopeng, the General Secretary, Mr. E. Mphahlele, and the Editor Mr. I. Matlhare. Their services were terminated as from last Monday and they were paid a further month's salary in lieu of notice. No reasons for their dismissal were given by the Transvaal Education Department. 230

The article also gave details of the T.A.T.A. statement in which the reasons for the dismissal which was described as "unprecedented action" are tabled. They were rejection of the

Eiselen Commission Report by the T.A.T.A. Executive, boycotting of the Van Riebeeck Celebrations in which the officials had been actively involved, the successful fight for the recovery of the money of the Association "which they said the Department had withheld unreasonably" and also the fact that they had criticised the Department's retrogressive syllabuses for African Primary Schools.²³¹

The Cape Times in a sub-leader called upon the Transvaal Education Department to "issue the doubtless excellent reasons for its action as soon as possible." The leader was critical of the fact that, instead, Dr. A.W. Hoernle had been giving "explanations" of the dismissals. She denied that the three teachers had been dismissed because of their membership of T.A.T.A.²³² The Torch published a statement by Mr. A. Fataar, Secretary of the Cape Teachers Federal Council:

The shocking news of the unwarranted, high-handed and completely undemocratic action of the Transvaal Education Department's summary dismissal of the President, Secretary and Editor of the Transvaal African Teachers' Association has stirred the non-European teachers in the Cape in no uncertain manner.²³³

Dr. Hoernle was severely criticised by the teachers' organisations as well as by a certain section of the press for her part in the dismissals. She declared in the press that it was on her representations to the Administrator that a commission of inquiry was sent to investigate into conditions at the High School, and that the teachers had been dismissed as a result of the findings of the Commission.²³⁴ She was also said to have "tried to confuse the issue by denying that the boycott of the Van Riebeeck Celebrations and of the Eiselen Commission had anything to do with the dismissals." Dr. Hoernle was at the time President of the Institute of Race Relations. "Her attack on the teachers shows up extremely well that liberals are dangerous to the people."²³⁵ Prof. Mphahlele says:

Only someone with the liberal arrogance of a Mrs. Hoernle could have doubted our interest in the educational welfare of the children under our care. The irony of the situation, of course, was in the fact that Mrs. Hoernle (as Chairperson of the School Committee) and the inspectorate victimised the three of us precisely because of a commitment on our part that went even deeper than their administrative interest. We were paying a price for seeking and telling the truth. The antics of the likes of Mrs. Hoernle went even further. She attacked us in scathing tones in the White press to make the point that we had been dismissed because we were "rebel teachers."²³⁶

On Sunday 17 August 1952 a large protest meeting originating in the concern felt by many parents was held in Orlando where speakers pointed out "that the Government is using the schools in order to enslave the minds of the people." The parents expressed determination to see that their school (Orlando High) ran properly and for the benefit of the people. They passed resolutions demanding that the teachers should get their jobs back and demanding the resignation of the Principal. The pupils at the school were also behind their progressive teachers and a decision was taken that the pupils would go on strike unless the teachers were reinstated.²³⁷

A Parents' Protest Committee was formed at the meeting to fight for the reinstatement of the dismissed teachers. The Chairman was Mr. M. Maseko and the Secretary Mr. K. Mngoma, a teacher at Orlando High School. The Committee decided to take action and to call upon the parents to withdraw their children peacefully from Orlando High School as from Monday, 25 August. The boycott would continue until the three dismissed teachers are reinstated. Parents at the meeting generally accepted that the proceedings against the three teachers were a premeditated witch-hunt. The Committee was delegated to organise alternative classes for the children during the boycott.²³⁸

From Monday 25 August the boycott of Orlando High School by about 200 pupils began. This was the first organised boycott to hit Orlando High School. The total school enrolment was in the region of 750. I was then a final year Junior Certificate pupil and clearly remember that while the great majority of pupils admired and respected Messrs. Mothopeng, Matlhare and Mphahlele, and what they stood for, they nevertheless loved Mr. Nakene and regarded him as a father who had their welfare at heart. The African pupils in Orlando and Johannesburg as a whole were politically conscious. Some were members of the ANC Youth League, while some of their parents, neighbours and relatives were active members of the ANC or even the Communist Party. They therefore found themselves in a conflict situation. While they sympathised with the dismissed teachers, loyalty towards Mr. Nakene also represented loyalty towards their studies. This explains why less than one third of the students joined the "Ma-Africa School" or "The People's High School" as the classes at the Donaldson Orlando Community Centre were called.

On the second day of the boycott the three teachers were arrested. The charge was incitement to public violence and the police first refused to allow bail.²³⁹ The Torch reported that this was a set back to the boycotters. Those arrested would appear in Court on 8 September 1952.²⁴⁰ In the meantime many parents and pupils had lost confidence and had become afraid of the consequences of the pupil's strike.

Despite this the classes at Donaldson continued to be well attended by boycott pupils (over a 100 of them, this article said) and the majority were still out of school.²⁴¹ Those who did not boycott could not go on normally with their lessons at Orlando High School. Prof. Mphahlele states:

While Mrs. Hoernle was waging a war of words against us in the press and the pupils were out on strike, the three of us were arrested. We were taken to the

infamous Johannesburg prison known as The Fort or No. 4 where we were locked up for four days. Subsequently, bail was granted.....We were charged with inciting the boycotting pupils and thus the consequent public violence.²⁴²

The accused appeared in the Magistrates Court, Johannesburg, on Monday and Tuesday, 8 and 9 September, 1952. During the second day the prosecutor decided to drop the charges against them. It had been alleged that they had incited certain scholars of Orlando High School to commit acts of public violence against scholars who refused to participate in the boycott of the school. On the first day Mr. Nakene was cross-examined by Mr. I.M. Stoller, for the accused. On Tuesday the 9 September the Crown called three scholars to give evidence. Prof. Mphahlele explains:

It was the moral courage of those pupils who had been coerced into becoming state witnesses (Crown witnesses as they were called then) that gave us back our liberty. In a series of statements from the dock, a number of pupils recounted the pathetic tale of how they had each been taken to a local police station. Once there, each was compelled to sign an affidavit incriminating us. The Judiciary still exercised a respectable measure of judicial discretion in matters of this nature. We were acquitted!²⁴³

The classes at the Donaldson Community Centre continued for the next two months with numbers dwindling progressively. Some of the pupils who abandoned those classes and chose to return to Orlando High were gladly received by Mr. Nakene, while others left off school and that was the end of their schooling careers. "A handful who swallowed the bitter pill to the end were involved in the mercy dash to Modise-Sekitla to complete their education."²⁴⁴

Modise-Sekitla was a secondary school in the Hammanskraal area headed by Mr. A.B.C. Motsepe, a former colleague of the three teachers at Orlando High School. Arrangements were made with Modise-Sekitla to enable final year pupils to write their external examinations there. But this was not before bitterness and ill-feeling had erupted into violence between the boycotting pupils and those at the school. On Saturday, 1 November 1952 the Rand Daily Mail carried a report:

About 30 young Natives, formerly pupils at the Orlando High School, attacked present pupils as they were about to go home yesterday afternoon. The present pupils were stoned, stabbed and battered with fists. They fought back.²⁴⁵

Captain W.A.E. Kokot, Area Officer, Booyens, was reported as saying 18 of the attacking pupils had been arrested and would appear in Court. He elaborated:

The attackers were all former pupils at the school, and are now pupils at another school in the area. There has been friction for some time, and the motive for the attack was to injure and intimidate the matriculation class to prevent members from writing their examinations next week. Shots were fired, but no revolvers were seen. One youth is alleged to have been shot in the toe.²⁴⁶

The Rand Mail also stated that the three dismissed teachers had "started a school of their own" in Orlando. Statements of this nature appeared in the press a number of times and they infuriated Messrs. Mothopeng, Matlhare and Mphahalele because they regarded them as completely false.²⁴⁷ Both the Parents Protest Committee and the dismissed teachers repeatedly explained that the classes at Donaldson Centre were conducted by the Parents Committee and not by the dismissed teachers. They regarded the Rand Daily Mail statement as an attempt to discredit them and justify their dismissal.²⁴⁸

It is appropriate to tell the story of Mr. Ephraim Peggy Senne with reference to the abovementioned fighting incident. When Peggy joined the school in 1949 he lived in Sophiatown and was already a "toughy," having been working as a queue marshall at the Odeon Cinema in Good Street, Sophiatown, a place frequented by gangsters and hardened criminals.²⁴⁹ Peggy had been at Orlando High for 3 days when he noticed that there was a gang called "The Otto Gang" in the vicinity of the school in Orlando.²⁵⁰ This gang terrorised pupils and robbed them of money. They molested girls and sometimes walked into the school to call and threaten them. Peggy bravely challenged one of them called "Saint" at Mlamlankunzi Station who then ran away saying Peggy would live to regret what he had done.²⁵¹

The next day when other pupils and I got off the train at Mlamlankunzi Station "Saint" and "The Otto Gang" were there waiting for us, or rather for me. They provocatively started pulling girls and calling them names. I accepted that as a challenge against me and I had come prepared and armed with a revolver. My friend Sam Modikoe, also from Sophiatown, was also armed and ready for a fight. In the fierce fight that followed we emerged the victors and the pupils were both relieved and delighted.²⁵²

After that fight in which the gangsters were beaten, Peggy did not go to school. He went back home, too scared to go and face the principal and staff members. But the story of his bravery reached the school and a few days later Mr. Nakene went to his home to encourage him to come back to school. Peggy did so.²⁵³ He heard afterwards that in his absence a staff meeting had been held where it was decided that the school could not lose a boy such as he. All pupils and teachers were relieved and happy to see him at school.²⁵⁴ A few days after the Mlamlankunzi

encounter with "The Otto Gang" the school elected prefects and Peggy was elected Head Prefect by the pupil body. He was then in Form One. From that day onward the thugs were never seen in and near the school. They also stopped terrorising and robbing pupils.

Gangsterism is a serious problem in African townships and other residential areas. Schools sometimes become hunting grounds for gangsters who attack and rob pupils of money and other valuables. In certain cases they demand a "protection fee" from both pupils and teachers. In extreme cases pupils who fail to satisfy the demands of the gangs opt to join them, leave school or do both. All these alternatives have far-reaching educational and social consequences.

In 1952 when the school split into two over the dismissals, Peggy did not join the boycotters and, therefore, during the fighting that broke out in November he was able to play his protective role.²⁵⁵ In the course of the fighting when the pupils at the school were attacked he called on everybody to remain in the quadrangle while he, assisted by other senior pupils, "fought back" as Captain Kokot put it.²⁵⁶

The youth who was shot in the toe was a small Form One boy, Isaac Matlhare. Dr. Isaac Matlhare was until recently a medical doctor in Soweto. He is now a district surgeon in Botswana. After the fight in November 1952 when the attackers had been repelled and the police had intervened, Isaac Matlhare went to a staff member, Mr. L.S. Masoek, to indicate that he had been shot in the toe during the fierce battle. Mr. Masoek asked him: "Where were you when you were shot?" In reply Isaac said: "Sir, I was standing next to you!" Mr. Masoek trembled with fear.²⁵⁷

The shot that hit Isaac was, in fact, an accident. It had been fired by Peggy when he tried to ward off the attackers. He revealed this after the 18 pupils, from the People's High School had been cautioned and discharged.²⁵⁸

When the year 1952 ended so did the boycott of Orlando High School. The "People's High School" at the Donaldson Community, less than 2 kilometres away from Orlando High, fizzled out. But the protest against the Eiselen Commission Report and the introduction of Bantu Education in terms of Act No 47 of 1953, gained momentum.

The TATA, unlike its sister organisation in the Cape did not link educational issues with broader concerns and resisted calls by some of its members for a similar political affiliation.²⁵⁹ However, The Good Shepherd, its journal, condemned Bantu Education in no uncertain terms:

It (the Government Commission) wants to find out how it can give the African training necessary to make him an efficient worker, without giving him any real education, for the simple reason that it would be dangerous if the oppressed sector of the population were sufficiently advanced to fight for their freedom.²⁶⁰

From 1952 TATA began organising Anti-Bantu Education teachers' conferences in Johannesburg and the East Rand and attempted to set up or revitalise Parent Teachers' Associations so as to lend some popular weight to resistance to Bantu Education.²⁶¹ As a result in February 1954 people at the Moroka-Jabavu meeting called for the boycott of schools. Attempts of varying degrees to organise school boycotts were also made in Alexandra, Western Native Township, Sophiatown, Benoni, Brakpan, Orlando and Katlehong. Tom Lodge remarks:

Compared to Cape teachers, the opposition to the Act demonstrated by Transvaal teachers was less widespread. Relatively few Transvaal teachers suffered dismissal from their jobs as the consequence of criticism of the authorities. Unlike their Cape colleagues, Transvaal teachers were subjected from 1950 to a strict provincial prohibition on political activity. Nor did the ANC (unlike the Cape based organisation) interest itself in the preoccupations of teachers in the early 1950's.²⁶²

Mr. (now Professor) Mphahlele approached the ANC activists in 1952 in an attempt to discuss Bantu Education with them, but he failed to elicit much interest. The ANC, at the time, had all its energy and attention concentrated in the organisation of the Defiance Campaign. There were relatively few teachers in the higher echelons of the ANC and those teachers who remained in Congress after 1952 tended to be Africanist-inclined (e.g. Zeph Mothopeng, A.P. Mda, Godfrey Pitje, Peter Raboroko, Robert Sobukwe, Potlako Leballo and Tsepo Letlaka.)²⁶³ In the light of the above explanation Tom Lodge concedes:

Nevertheless, in the links they did establish with parents through the Associations in Johannesburg and the East Rand, their activity forms an important part of the backdrop to the community boycott of schools that took place in those areas...²⁶⁴

The Cape African Teachers' Association (CATA) formed in 1921 was among the bodies and organisations that gave both oral and written evidence to the Eiselen Commission during the period 1949 to 1951.²⁶⁵ In its memorandum CATA completely rejected the idea of different educational systems for the different ethnic groups.²⁶⁶ The Commission was concerned with the "formulation of the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race." In contrast to it CATA gave the Commission what it considered should be the aims of all education:

- "(a) A sound education aims at the development of a whole and complete personality, i.e. it aims to develop the individual to his fullest capacity, mentally and physically.

- (b) It should enable him to take his place in the life of the community, i.e. fit him to earn his livelihood.

- (c) By basing his education on his interests and capacities, it should enable him to enjoy his leisure in the best possible way, i.e. it should develop his artistic capabilities.

- (d) It should make him capable of assuming the responsibilities of citizenship."²⁶⁷

According to Sihlali, the CATA memorandum reached the very heart of the difference between itself and the apologists of the Country's policy of apartheid or segregation, when it declared:

It is obvious from this that in any given state the aims of education must be the same for all its citizens, since there cannot be two or more kinds of citizens within a state. Any such term, therefore, as 'Native Education' is untenable, because it immediately violates the very principles of education."²⁶⁸

At its Cape Town Conference in 1952 CATA passed a resolution on the Eiselen Report in which it rejected entirely the Commission's recommendations, called upon all Black teachers to organise the people and explain the recommendations of the Report and warned the African people against the danger of accepting portions of the Report which appear to be progressive, as all recommendations are inseparably bound up with the fundamental aim of educating

the African child for a subordinate position in society.²⁶⁹ The Bantu Education Bill was introduced and passed in 1953. During the course of the debate the Minister of Native Affairs made utterances which clearly revealed the motive of the education system envisaged. These convinced CATA more than ever before, that the Bill and later the Act, must be fought. Sihlali draws attention to the following:

When I have control of Native Education I will reform it so that Natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them...People who believe in equality are not desirable teachers for natives...When my Department controls Native education it will know for what class of higher education a Native is fitted, and whether he will have a chance in life to use his knowledge.²⁷⁰

Even though the Bill made provision for the imprisonment of any teacher who broke any of the regulations that would be drawn up in terms of the Act, CATA was poised to oppose it. In December 1953 the Executive of the CATA convened a union-wide conference of teachers "to protest against the passing of the Bill."²⁷¹ Dr. Eiselen, Chief Official of the Native Affairs Department, in a statement to the press which was broadcast over the air, warned teachers not to attend the conference; accused CATA of being "against all order" and seriously warned those who disregarded the warning.²⁷² This conference went ahead; it was mainly attended by CATA members with a handful of militants from Natal and the Transvaal. The Teachers' League of South Africa, a body of Coloured teachers, was also represented.²⁷³

Sihlali, who draws attention to the fact that his "information is not second hand", but ~~presided~~ as an official of CATA over conferences that denounced "Eiselen Schooling", writes:

Soon after the promulgation of the Act, members of the Special Branch made it a point to attend all meetings of the branch of the CATA. Not only that, but they made the rounds visiting teachers at their schools, interrogating them about their political beliefs and affiliations and the teachers organisation to which they belonged. In August, 1954, armed police entered a number of schools and produced warrants to search classrooms and the homes of teachers. I was one of those subjected to this outrageous treatment in the presence of my pupils. In one instance a certain teacher had his person searched in front of his class.²⁷⁴

After that followed dismissal of five of the six office-bearers of CATA together with four prominent members." There was not even the semblance of a trial, nor were there any reasons advanced for their expulsion from teaching."²⁷⁵ This was in September 1955, the year Bantu Education was introduced. Subsequently, a "batch" of teachers was dismissed each school term. Some of the teachers dismissed were leading members of the profession. Instances are given of teachers who had been dismissed from teaching who were banned from taking or remaining in alternative jobs.²⁷⁶ Sihlali also received similar treatment. After being sacked from teaching he found a job. But "only a few days after members of the Special Branch had intimated that he would be sacked by his employers, he was in fact summarily dismissed".²⁷⁷

It was not only the teachers through their organisations and the parents who protested against Bantu Education. Soon after the publication of the Eiselen Commission Report, the Institute of Race Relations convened a national conference in Johannesburg to study it. This conference was attended by 274 persons of all racial groups representing 159 different educational organisations throughout the country.²⁷⁸ The conference resolved:

While accepting the fact that Africans are ethnologically a separate race, Conference does not consider that they are a community unrelated to the rest of South Africa. It believes Africans are not culturally, economically or politically independent, but that they are an integral part of South African society.²⁷⁹

The Conference also made another point concerning the type of culture that should be transmitted by education. In this regard, while upholding the primacy of an education designed to develop the whole personality of the individual, Conference recognised that education must inevitably take socio-economic considerations into account, but these should never be paramount. It finally indicated that all that is worthily characteristic of the African peoples....may and should be used as an instrument of education and may, when interest and circumstances permit, become an element in the education of other groups as well.²⁸⁰

In a paper read at this Conference, Drs. A.W. Hoenle and Ellen Hellmann challenged some of the findings of the Eiselen Commission and said they had overestimated the possibility of educating Bantu children for a specific adult occupational and social role.²⁸¹ They concluded by saying:

To regard the South African economy as a European economy, dependent only on migrant labour...is to misrepresent reality...What has been established is not a European economy, but a South African economy, which cannot maintain itself, let alone develop, without harnessing the skills of all the peoples of this country...Education, all education, must be directed towards training the individual for the requirements of modern society and preparing him to take a responsible place in it.²⁸²

A prominent African educationist, Dr. (then Mr.) D.G.S. Mtimkulu, had said three years earlier that:

Africans seek for integration into the democratic structure and institutions of the country. To them one of the most effective ways of achieving this is by education - an education essentially in no way different from, or inferior to, that of other sections of the community...²⁸³

It is thus abundantly clear that protests against the introduction of Bantu Education were registered by various organisations and individuals. The state, however, decided to ignore the strong opposition to the new system of education for Africans and launched it in 1955. At that time Orlando High School had already become an arena for struggle and it continued to be so with an accelerated tempo and intensity of feeling. To a greater or a lesser extent that was also the position in other African schools.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PERIOD UNDER BANTU EDUCATION 1955 TO 1976

At the end of June 1955 Mr. Godfrey Nakene left Orlando High School on promotion. He had been elevated to the position of Sub-Inspector in the Pretoria East Circuit.¹ In terms of state policy this was the highest position he could occupy in the inspectorate. Positions of fully-fledged inspectors of education for Africans were open to them only in the Homeland Education Departments. In Pretoria Mr. Nakene was placed in charge of three African Inspectors of schools who were referred to as Supervisors.² At the head of the circuit was a Circuit Inspector, a White.

When the Orlando High School said farewell to Mr. Nakene during the third term of 1955, under the Acting Principalship of Mr. Derek Kobe, he (Mr. Nakene) had been Principal of The Rock for about 15 years. It is therefore not surprising that a large number of people, his former pupils, parents, teachers from far and near, converged on the school to thank him for his great contribution to education.³

All present at the function said Mr. Nakene had succeeded in moulding Orlando High School into a great educational force with a proud tradition.⁴ They seemed to say "Si monumentum requiris circumspicere...If you wish to see his monument look around you."

Mr. C.A. MacDonald, the Circuit Inspector, said Mr. Nakene's leadership had been characterised by integrity and ability⁵ and went on to announce that at the recommendation of the School Committee representing the parents, the Department had agreed that the school's name be changed to "Nakene High School." He concluded by saying he thought the decision to name Orlando High School after Mr. Nakene was an appropriate honour in recognition of his laudable and pioneering work at the school.⁶

A decision taken in the early 1960's to revert to the former name of Orlando High School caused much bitter controversy . This matter will be discussed in some detail later.

In 1969 Mr. Nakene was promoted to the position of Circuit Inspector in the Ramokgopa Circuit in Pietersburg under the Homeland Lebowa Department of Education.⁷ He held this position until 1973 when he retired. He had worked almost all his life in the area designated as "White" in terms of the Group Areas Act, mainly in Johannesburg. But he could only be appointed to a full inspectorship of education in a homeland. As a result of representations by the African Teachers' Association of South Africa (ATASA) and the Black Inspectors Associations of Education change was implemented. The writer was the first African to be elevated to the position of Circuit Inspector in the "White" area in 1981. A year later Dr. S.K. Matseke was appointed to this position in Johannesburg. Early in 1984 Messrs. B. Khabele and D.P. Monyaise were appointed Circuit Inspectors in the Vereeniging and Johannesburg areas respectively. An increasing number of Africans are being appointed by the Department of Education and Training to posts which had previously been reserved for Europeans in the "White" areas. This move is viewed, even by unrelenting critics of "Bantu Education" and apartheid generally, as a step in the right direction.

On Saturday 19 September 1981 the past pupils of Orlando High School held the "Godfrey Nakene Day." They invited Mr. Nakene to be their guest of honour to pay tribute to him. Prof. Pali Mohanoe, former pupil of Orlando High School and now Professor in the Department of Didactics at the University of the North, spoke on behalf of past pupils. He explained the reasons for the Godfrey Nakene Day.:

Firstly, it is to pay homage to our former principal, academic father and mentor to whom we look up with inestimable pride and adoration. That is the principal focus. The subsidiary second focus is the spin-off from the first. This occasion affords us an excuse which no one can begrudge us, of meeting after many years. In a real sense, it is a home-coming occasion when we re-establish lost friendships and rededicate ourselves to the ideals of the Rock. It is an act of re-affirmation.

We, gathered here to-day are active participants in the creation of history at this school. We are bestowing honour on one who richly deserves it. We have the honour of basking in the radiance of his aura. We are beneficiaries of the very honour that we bestow on Mr. Nakene.⁸

Mr. Nakene died in February 1982. At that time preparations were under way to confer on him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in recognition of the work he did in education.

In the graduation ceremony at the University of the North in 1982 Mr. Godfrey Nakene and Mr. Harry Madibane (former Principal of Bantu Western High School) had honorary doctorates conferred on them posthumously.

Mr. Derek Kobe was asked by the School Committee and the Circuit Office to be acting Principal of Orlando High School from July to December 1955. During this period a school board had been constituted for the Orlando area and preparations were also being made to appoint a headmaster to succeed Mr. Nakene. Mr. Kobe, who was 32 years then, was told by Mr C.A. MacDonald, the Circuit Inspector and Mr. C.M. Phatudi the Sub-Inspector (now Chief Minister of Lebowa) that he would be too young for a school the

size of Orlando High School.⁹ At the beginning of 1956 when Mr. C.K. Mageza had been appointed principal of Orlando High School, Mr. Kobe assumed duty as principal at the Fred Clark Secondary School, near Pimville, which had been a mission school under the Salvation Army.

9. Orlando High School Under the Orlando School Board

In 1955 as has already been mentioned, the South African Government assumed control over African education. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 transferred administrative responsibility for African education from the provincial authorities to the Department of Native Affairs. School committees and school boards were established under this Act which provided that:

The local control of schools under the supervision of the State, will be entrusted to Bantu organizations which must learn to render for the community as a whole a service hitherto rendered by the mission churches for a section of the community only...¹⁰

The Orlando High School fell under the Orlando School Board which had been established early in 1955. A room at Orlando High School was made available to the Board for use as an office. This School Board consisted of a total of nine members; four nominated by the inspectorate, representing the Secretary for Native Affairs, and five members elected from among the parent-elected members of the school committees. The names of the members of this Board are listed below with their occupations, so that their educational background may be assessed:

MEMBER	OCCUPATION
Mr. Selope Thema (Chairman)	Editor of Bantu World Newspaper
Rev. O.S.D. Mooki (Chairman)	Minister of Religion
Mr. Paul Mosaka, B.A.	Prominent Business Man
Mr. A.M. Chakane	Senior Clerk, Baragwanath Hospital
Mr. B.S. Angoma	Shop Inspector
Mr. B.M. Masekela	Secretary, Donaldson Orlando Community Centre.
Mr. J.K. Skosana	Evangelist, Dutch Reformed Church
Mr. C. Moloi	Business Man
Mr. L. Masilela	Transport Contractor
Mr. J. Mogoje	Trade Union Assistant ¹¹

The Orlando High School teacher, Mr. H.D. Ramokgopa, who also assisted in the school with secretarial work, was appointed Secretary of the School Board.

Mr. Selope Thema died a few months after being elected to serve on the first Orlando School Board and also to be its Chairman. Rev. O.S.D. Mooki then took over as Chairman; his first Board meeting was held on 27 October 1955.¹² This Board did not serve its full term of three years. It was re-constituted in 1956 when a separate school board was established for the Meadowlands section of the present Soweto.¹³ (See Appendix iv)

The other people who subsequently served on the Orlando School Board and are closely associated with its history are Messrs. R.H. Bekwa (Vice-Chairman and later Chairman for over 10 years) H.C. Rampa, R. Molefe, D. Mokoena, F. Kubhayi, S.M. Ntshalintshali, J.G. Gumede, D. Smith, N.G. Ngcwabe, A.C. Maile and Chief Frank Mdingi.¹⁴

With regard to the powers and functions of the School Boards in general, Muriel Horrell states that:

The school boards are the employers of the teachers in schools under their control. Subsidies for salaries of

teachers are paid through them, and may be withdrawn by the Department on a month's notice without reason being given...Other duties of school boards are to maintain and control schools in their areas subject to Departmental approval, to plan and promote the erection of school buildings where necessary, to allocate, control and maintain school equipment, to investigate complaints, and to supervise the finances of school committees.¹⁵

The Orlando High School, as well as other schools, had school committees which controlled school funds, maintained school buildings and grounds, enquired into complaints and also advised the Orlando School Board in regard to the welfare and efficiency of the school.¹⁶ The school boards, therefore, had wide powers. It is worth stressing that the Orlando area and the whole of Johannesburg, as can be seen from the above, had African school board members of reasonable educational standard, in spite of the fact that there were no minimum educational qualifications laid down for members to satisfy, before they could be nominated or elected to serve on school boards. The school board system, under the Department of Bantu Education, generally came under severe criticism especially from the teachers. The teachers associations repeatedly voiced anger at being placed in the employ of people whose education level was in most cases below theirs. They also accused them of all sorts of irregularities including high-handedness, nepotism and corruption. However, all the past and present teachers of Orlando High School I interviewed said they had not experienced serious problems with the Orlando School Board. Mr. A. Tseleng, who served at Orlando High School as Vice-Principal for over 20 years, described this Board as "open-minded, efficient and exemplary."¹⁷ Mr. R. S. Moys the Circuit Inspector in charge of Orlando High School, who worked closely with the Board from 1970 to 1973 states:

No one could fail to be struck by the dignity and conduct of meetings. I would go so far as to say that I have never known meetings quite so ably conducted.

Their Chairman, Mr. Richard Bekwa was quite outstanding. Meetings were always conducted strictly according to procedure.... History may judge the school board system and individual boards and there were certainly complications and serious shortcomings - there can be no doubt that they were faced with very great problems and those that faced them conscientiously did great service. Among them the name of the Orlando School Board must stand very high.¹⁸

Towards the end of 1955 the Orlando School Board, acting on the recommendation of the Orlando High School Committee, appointed Mr. C.K. Mageza, a B.A. graduate of Fort Hare, who had previously been a teacher on the staff of Orlando High School from 1945 to the end of 1947. At the beginning of 1948, when the Pimville High School was established, he was appointed principal of that school. He therefore returned to Orlando High as Headmaster with 8 years experience. This was a higher post for him because Orlando High was bigger than Pimville High and given its long history and achievements it commanded a higher status than his former school.

The period of Mr. Mageza's principalship at Orlando High was short and turbulent. The relationship between him and some of his former colleagues (e.g. G. Kgomo and L. Makhubalo) at Orlando High School had been irreparably strained from the time he was a teacher at Orlando High.¹⁹ Even if Messrs. Kgomo and Makhubalo, as well as those of their colleagues who sympathised with them, were difficult and unco-operative Mr. Mageza miscalculated and mishandled the situation.²⁰ Mr. Richard Hutton Bekwa an exceptionally capable and experienced Orlando High School Board Vice-Chairman for 7 years and Chairman for 10 years reveals that:

The Orlando High School experienced serious problems during the short period when Mr. C.K. Mageza was Principal. He just did not seem to get on well with a large section of the staff. The Board held several inquiries concerning matters about certain teachers on

the staff including Messrs. G. Kgomo, L. Makhubalo and A. Tseleng. Some of these teachers eventually decided to leave Orlando High School. Among them good and dedicated teachers. Messrs. Kgomo, Makhubalo and Pokane joined the Orlando West Secondary School when it was opened in 1958. It was obvious to the Board that Mr. Mageza was failing to manage the school. Some of the staff complaints that he referred to the Board for investigation could not be substantiated. The Board was not surprised when he resigned in June 1958 to rejoin Pimville High School. The Board was, in fact, relieved because a decision had been taken to dismiss him. Mr. Prozesky, the Regional Director, had pleaded to the Board on his behalf but the Board was convinced that the school would be better off without him.²¹

The School Committee also heard complaints and conducted inquiries. They did not succeed in creating peace and harmony between the principal and his staff.²² There is nothing to suggest that they thought the principal was justified and beyond reproach in his actions. If this had been so, there certainly would have been open and known disagreement between the School Committee and the School Board. I have not come across evidence of this in my research. In the light of this position it is hard to understand the sentiments expressed in the illuminated address that Mr. Mageza received from the School Committee when he left the school in June 1958. Signed by the Chairman Rev. S.G. Sekono-Ntoane, the Secretary, Mr. S.M. Ntshalintshali, and also bearing the names of the Committee members: J.G. Gumede, I.D. Brown A.S. Malefetse, F. Kubbayi and C.N. Mgeleze, it says:

You have evinced your unfailing devotion to the school and community, instituting progressive innovations, which will perpetuate the memory of your service with us. May you continue with the good work in the fortunate community to which you are proceeding.²³

Mr. Mageza returned to Pimville High School as principal in July

1958. By the beginning of 1960 there had been such violent and persistent clashes between him and the staff there that the Pimville School Board dispensed with his services. Mr. M. Prozesky endorsed the action of the Board and did not intervene.²⁴

After the departure of Mr. Mageza, Mr. D.L. Mabuya, a B.Sc. graduate and science master on the staff of Orlando High, was appointed acting principal from July to December 1958.²⁵ In the meantime the principalship post was advertised. Mr. T.W. Kambule, who was then principal of the Alexandra Junior Secondary School, was appointed. He assumed duty at Orlando High School in January 1959.

10. The Principalship of Mr. T.W. Kambule

When Mr. Thamsanqa Wilkinson Kambule was interviewed by the Orlando School Board for the post of principal towards the end of 1958, they were determined to get the right man.²⁶ Perhaps they had no choice given the problems that had cropped up and been compounded since the departure of Mr. Nakene and especially those that had developed during and after Mr. Mageza's time. Discipline had declined, there had been a slump in the examination results from 1957 according to Mr. Tseleng, who was on the staff at the time and is still there now. This deterioration in results is also mentioned by Mr. K.H. Bekwa who was Vice-Chairman of the Orlando School Board at that time. Gangsters, notably the "The Twins", terrorised pupils and teachers alike and used to enter the Orlando High School premises to demand and collect "protection fee" from the school.²⁷ This problem was referred to in the previous chapter. At the interview for the principalship Mr. Kambule, who was 35 years of age, was thought to have been too young for the formidable task of rebuilding Orlando High. He told the Board that although he was only 35 years old and had been Principal of the Alexandra Secondary School for one year he would be equal to the task.²⁸

Mr. Kambule had wide and varied experience as a teacher. He had taught for one year at Munsifville, Krugersdorp, and for two years in Zambia where he also did land surveying. Before taking up the principalship at Alexandra secondary school, an extremely rough place, literally run by the "Msomi" and "Spoilers" gangs, he had been for 10 years a mathematics teacher of repute at the Western Bantu High School. He had also been actively involved in the organization and administrative function of the school.²⁹

The first matter that Mr. Kambule focused attention on, when he started in January 1959, was to get the discipline of the school right. During the first and second days he appealed to the pupils to be prompt in responding to the bell. He said he also expected them to be orderly and attentive at assembly. On the third day he thrashed the whole school, 600 pupils, girls as well as boys, with the help of some male teachers because they had not responded to his instructions and pleas. After the mass-thrashing he held another assembly to further explain to the pupils what level of behaviour and conduct he expected from them. From that time onward he never experienced any problems in this regard.³⁰ He is quick to point out that it was not corporal punishment (which he basically deplores and resorts to only in exceptional instances) that created the desired order and discipline. Its function was just to demonstrate to the pupils that once he had made a statement he meant every word of it.

Up to 10 years ago the use of corporal punishment in African schools was fairly common. It was inflicted even in contravention of the Departmental Regulations with regard to it. It is ironical that now, when generally far less of it is resorted to since the 1976 uprisings, pupils frequently mention it as the cause of class boycotts and school unrest.

Mr. Kambule introduced the wearing of tunics by the girls and also the school blazer.³¹ These were in the school colours which were

maroon and gold (introduced in Mr. Nakene's time). He inculcated a sense of pride in the school, instilled collective responsibility for maintaining discipline and an attractive environment.³² Reference was made earlier to the ragged and rocky nature of the school yard. With the willing help of his pupils, he blasted the remaining solid rock, covered the surface with good soil and planted grass and various types of flowers.³³

Mr. Kambule, small in physical build and dauntless, waged war on the gangs, including the "The Twins", "Black Swines", "Appaches" and "Belinas" who were rampant in the vicinity of the school. He announced at assembly that he did not want to see them in the school or anywhere nearby. They dared not interfere with the Orlando High pupils wherever they might be. One or two of the "tsotsis" neglected the warning and they learned a bitter lesson at the hands of Mr. Kambule personally and his male pupils who did not rest until a thug who had assaulted an Orlando High pupil had been brought to book. He effectively discouraged his pupils from joining gangs in the township and said they were already members of a "gang", Orlando High School; a gang with a difference.³⁴

Mr. Kambule, who was highly respected and admired by his pupils, achieved an incredibly high standard of discipline. About his pupils he says:

They realized that I led them properly and taught them all the time even extra-murally on all aspects of education. They were also aware that my intentions were not only pedagogically orientated; but that I gave them other dimensions of life. I assisted them in many ways but at the same time they knew that when it came to the crunch, I brooked no nonsense.³⁵

In 1960 Orlando High School organised a big function to celebrate its 21st anniversary. Past pupils were invited and about 600 of

them were present.³⁶ Senior officials of the Department of Bantu Education including Mr, M. Prozesky, then the Regional Director of the Southern Transvaal Region, attended the function. Local African personalities graced the occasion by their presence. Among them were educationalists (Messrs, R. N. Gugushe, G. N. Phatudi, D. Kobe, S. K. Matseke), Ministers of religion (S. G. Sekano - Ntoane, K. Nkabinde, S. S. Tema, O. S. D. Mooki) and civic leaders (J. Mpanza, H. Mdingi, G. Xorile, P. Lengene, P. Q. Vundla), medical doctors and prominent businessmen.³⁷

The guest speaker was Dr Simon Moeti, a medical doctor from Springs and former pupil who was in the second matriculation class of the school in 1945. He recounted vividly how The Rock had developed from infancy to maturity and also how they had battled in the early days without basic facilities such as a laboratory and library. Dr. Moeti praised Mr. Nakene, who was present as a guest of honour, for the way in which he motivated his pupils and was father to all of them.³⁸

The other speakers at this function were Dr. E. Hellmann, Mrs. D. Mabiletsa, Mr. M. Prozesky, Dr. A. B. Xuma, Mr. P. Mosaka and Professor I. D. MacCrone, then Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand.³⁹

Mr. Kambule taught mathematics throughout the period of his principalship. When the enrolment was as high as 1 500 in the late 1960's and early 1970's the inspectors suggested that he should stop active teaching so as to concentrate on supervision and control.

I never heeded this advice. They were asking me to make an impossible sacrifice. Teaching was important to me because it helped me feel the pulse of the school and partly enabled me to know all my pupils by name. Whenever I called the teachers to greater effort, they were defenceless against arguments which I put forth in

requesting more effective teaching because they knew that I also taught. This helped me get ample information about the goings on in the school. Further, I love teaching and derive pleasure in doing it. How could I deny myself this when I was at the helm of things? In my view a principal of a school must do some teaching - it does not matter how little.⁴⁰

With regard to actual teaching by a principal, Mr. Kambule's argument is extremely important and valid. In a school situation the principal, who is the professional head, must take the lead. It is no exaggeration that parents send their children to his school to be taught by him. His example is crucial.

Mr. Kambule succeeded in moulding Orlando High School into a well-known school with an exceptionally good tone and a progressive tradition. He had no difficulty in recruiting well qualified staff in the early 1960's. Besides Pimville Secondary School that we have already said something about, Fred Clark, under Mr. D. Kobe, which became the precursor of Morris Isaacson High School, was developing into a secondary school of great promise, especially after moving from Klipspruit to its present site. The Orlando School Board was satisfied with Orlando High School's progress. They were naturally disappointed when in June 1961 Mr. Kambule served the required three months notice because he was to leave to take "up a post in Swaziland at the invitation of the Director of Education there".⁴¹

Mr. (now Dr.) K. B. Hartshorne, a well-known educationist, then the circuit inspector in charge of Orlando High School, was concerned that Mr. Kambule was going to leave his school in September - on the eve of examinations. In a letter dated 28 August 1961, he made representations to the Director of Education, Swaziland:

It has been brought to my notice that Mr. Kambule has been offered a post under your Department, and has been informed by telegram that he is to report for duty on September 1st.

Mr. Kambule is Principal of a larger and difficult High School in which there are over a hundred final Junior Certificate candidates and thirty matriculation candidates. To remove Mr. Kambule at this juncture just before the examinations can only cause considerable disservice to the school.

Neither the school Board nor myself wish to stand in Mr. Kambule's way nor would we like to affect his future career. On the other hand we must protect the interests of the Nakene High School.

In view of this I trust that you will agree to allow Mr. Kambule's appointment to date from 1.1.1962.⁴² (See Appendix v)

It does not appear as though this letter elicited any response from the Swaziland Director of Education. Mr. Kambule then left Orlando High in September 1961 and was away for 6 months. Upon arrival in Swaziland Mr. Kambule discovered that he was not being appointed to the high post he had been promised.⁴³ In the meantime the Orlando School Board, who were making an effort to appoint a successor for him, heard about his frustration and indicated that they would gladly re-instate him. Mr. A. Tseleng had been appointed acting principal and so from the second term in 1962 Mr. Kambule was again principal of Orlando High School. The post had been advertised and he was among the applicants.

It has been pointed out in this discussion that the school had been renamed "Nakene High School" when Mr. Kambule started as principal in January 1959. When he returned from Swaziland in

April 1962, a decision had been taken by the School Board to revert to the name "Orlando High School". Since this matter is to this day a subject of bitter discussion and speculation, especially among former pupils and admirers of Mr. Nakene, with Mr. Kambule as a target of acrimonious attack, it merits elucidation and discussion.

The records indicate that, at the time Mr. Kambule was away the School Committee decided to revert to the former name, "Orlando High School". The Orlando School Board also discussed the matter in a meeting in December 1961 attended by the circuit inspector, Mr. K. B. Hartshorne, and the Regional Director, Mr. M. Prozesky.⁴⁴ They resolved to recommend to the Department, that the name Orlando High School be used.

In April 1962 the School Board secretary, Mr. A. A. Ramonti, wrote a letter to the circuit inspector in which he formally communicated the desire of the Board regarding the change of name. On 10 April 1962 Mr. Harshorne wrote to the Regional Director saying:

From the attached letter from the School Board you will see that it is their wish (and that of the School Committee) to revert to Orlando High School. There are good arguments for this, as the general public have continued to use this name for it, 'Nakene High School' has never been fully applied. The change would avoid the use of the name of a departmental official still living and also local difficulties over the replacement of this by the name of any other person. It is recommended that this proposal be accepted.⁴⁵ (See Appendix vi)

The reasons for changing back to Orlando High are not convincing. Efforts could have been made to get the public used to the new name. They knew Mr. Nakene. This change of name is highly regretted. It has the effect of withholding the honour already bestowed on Mr. Nakene. Hence the bitterness.



Mr B M Masipa, Acting-Principal: 1939



Mr C K Mageza, Principal: 1956 - 1958

Below: Mr T W Kambule (Principal, 1959 - 1977) being congratulated by Mr D Pooe, Member of the Orlando School Board during the Anniversary Function in 1960



Below: School Committee: Seated from left to right: Rev D E Esterhuise, Mr G Nakene (Principal), Dr A W Hoernle (Chairman); Standing from left to right: Mr R V Selope-Thema, Rev O S D Mooki, Er E Mathabe and S G S Ntoane: 1954.



Below: Orlando School Board Members: 1963:

Seated: Left to Right: Mr A Steenhüizen (NEAD, Mr R H Bekwa, Mr K B Hartshorne (Circuit Inspector), Rev O S D Mooki, Mr Smithers (Chief Native Commissioner), Mr H C Rampa (Vice-Chairman), Mr R Molefe. Standing: Left to Right: Rev J G Gumede, Chief F Mdingi, Rev K Nkabinde, Mr D Poole, Rev D Smith, Mr H R Nyanda, Mr F Kubhayi,



Mr A Ramonti (Secretary), Mr J Mahlangu (Assist. Secretary).

In the Orlando School
Board Office, 1958:

Seated: Rev O S D Mooki,
Chairman.

Standing Left:
Mr H D Ramakgopa,
Secretary.

Stading Right:
Mr J Mahlangu, Assist.
Secretary.

Below:

Reginald Boleu,
receiving a prize from
Mrs C Khoza, staff
member, during the 21st
Anniversary of the
school, 1960.
Appearing behind Reginald
is Mr (now Dr)
K B Hartshorne, Circuit
Inspector.





Some of the speakers at the Orlando High School 21st Anniversary Function, in 1960.

Above: Mr. K. B. Hartshorne, Circuit Inspector; Mr. M. M. Prozesky, Regional Director, S. Transvaal and Mrs. E. Hellmann.

Left: Dr. Simon Moeti, who spoke on behalf of the past pupils.



To this day repeated calls are still being made by former pupils of Orlando High School and admirers of Mr. Nakene for the correction of an act of injustice. At the "Godfrey Nakene Day" function in 1981, Prof. Mohanoe, speaking on behalf of all Orlando High School pupils, past and present, ended his tribute to Mr. Nakene by saying:

It can be said without fear of contradiction that Mr. Nakene understood fully that the rent we pay for living on this earth is service to others; and that the currency in which it is paid is self-less dedication to a cause greater than ourselves. It was in that spirit that Nakene served Orlando High School. Nakene loved Orlando High; he lived for Orlando High and made it what it is - an outstanding school. It has become intimately associated with him. Let the school that he served so generously and with such unstinting dedication reciprocate. I can think of no more fitting tribute, no greater or more appropriate recognition than the obvious. But even the obvious needs stating in definite and unequivocal terms : Let The Rock be renamed "Nakene High School"⁴⁶

11. Further Expansion and Consequences

The rapid growth of Orlando High School from the middle 1960's to an over-crowded school as well as the consequences of this development merit attention and we now turn to it. First of all the reasons for this growth.

It is true that Orlando High School grew bigger and bigger because of its popularity. It is also true that Soweto had grown considerably, following the slum clearance move from the 1960's. The main reason was, however, Government policy. Lower primary schools were being erected as part of the housing programme. Muriel Horrell states:

The Minister of Native Affairs said in 1954 that the erection of lower primary schools (up to and including Standard II) would have to be undertaken as part of housing schemes, the capital costs being recovered gradually by means of a small amount added to rentals.⁴⁷

On the other hand in both urban and rural areas African school boards had to apply for the establishment of higher and post-primary schools. These bodies had to bear half the capital costs (the R-for-R scheme) and also had to undertake full responsibility for maintenance and cleaning. The Native Affairs Department erected the buildings.⁴⁸

The school boards in Soweto, and indeed elsewhere, found it hard to raise the required sums of money for building higher primary and post-primary Schools. They levied what came to be known as a "building fund" as part of their school fund structure and they also appealed to public-spirited firms and other organizations for money towards building schools in this category. In the case of post-primary schools (secondary schools), besides the financial problem which was a major setback, there was also a policy hurdle in the way. In this regard Muriel Horrell quotes the 1959 senate speech of the Minister of Bantu Education when he said:

As far as the higher and post-primary schools are concerned, it is the intention to give preference to the Bantu areas because this is in the first place where the Bantu development must be promoted generally....An educational function is a function which must be instituted for the development of the community, and for this reason you must give that higher education in the areas at the places where the process of development has to be stimulated, and this

is in the Bantu areas. For this reason it is our policy to restrict higher primary, but particularly post-primary, education in the urban locations, but not in the Native areas; preference is given to the Native areas in regard to the establishment of that type of school.⁴⁹

This Government policy which restricted the establishment of post-primary schools in the urban areas, was the main reason for the rapid growth of Orlando High. In March 1961 the school had 619 pupils. The enrolment from 1964 to 1970 was as follows:

	A	B	RATIO
YEAR	TOTAL ENROLMENT	NO. OF TEACHERS	TEACHER-PUPIL
(i) 1964	722	23(1 privately Paid)	1:32
(ii) 1965	831	26(3 privately Paid)	1:32
(iii) 1966	942	26(2 privately Paid)	1:36
(iv) 1967	1080	28(4 privately Paid)	1:38
(v) 1968	1400	29(5 privately Paid)	1:48
(vi) 1969	1367	31(1 privately Paid)	1:44
(vii) 1970	1517	35(2 privately Paid) ⁵⁰	1:40

NB Information in columns A and B from Departmental Quarterly Returns.

The number of subsidized posts available to the school remained largely fixed from 1964 to 1968 despite the steady increase in pupil population.

In 1968 and 1969 the school received 3 extra posts respectively. When the enrolment increased sharply the Orlando High School Committee decided to employ teachers whom they paid from voluntary fees collected from the pupils.⁵¹ The amounts payable by each pupil to school funds were: stipulated contribution R4,00; sports fund R1,00; and building fund R5,00. The total per annum for each pupil was R10,00.⁵² The school also received financial help from Anglo-American and from Anglo-Vaal to pay the privately

paid teachers.⁵³ In 1968 Dr. Van Zyl, the Secretary for Bantu Education visited the school and decided to make 6 extra posts available.⁵⁴ In 1970 the number of posts were increased first to 33 and later in the year to 36,⁵⁵ but this still left the teacher-pupil ratio quite high as can be seen from the table above.

During the 1960's when the Orlando High School enrolment more than doubled, there were 13 classrooms.⁵⁶ The old laboratory, homecraft centre and the arts and crafts room were used as classrooms.⁵⁷ "Umtutuzeli", a maternity home next to the school on the northern side, was not being used at the time. The School Committee and the School Board negotiated for its use with the municipality to accommodate some classes.⁵⁸ This was agreed to, and as soon as the school had completed the necessary alterations and renovations to the building, six Form One classes occupied the building.⁵⁹ At the beginning there were no desks for the pupils! Later the principal approached some friends who supplied the school with the required furniture for use at Umtutuzeli.⁶⁰

Many parents were desperate to get their children into Orlando High School. Very often they left schools nearer their homes like Pimville High School, Sekano Ntoane High, Morris Isaacson High and Meadowlands which were during this time also full and crowded, but not to the same extent as Orlando High School.⁶¹ Some parents were prepared to go to the extent of buying their children desks which they took to Orlando High School to sit in after Mr. Kambule had indicated that the school was full and there would not even be a desk to sit at.⁶²

Towards the 1970's the Committee and the Board used the building fund as well as money made available by Anglo-American to put up seven additional classrooms. In 1974 a new homecraft centre, a laboratory and a block of fifteen new toilets were erected by Anglo-American as a gift to the school.⁶³ The plans for these buildings were drawn up by Anglo-American and approved by the

Department of Bantu Education. (See Appendix vii) This brought welcome relief to the school but the classes remained large and the school itself too big for effective control and management. The results bear this out; we will soon come to them.

Orlando High School has frequently attracted internationally known personalities and dignitaries. When they are taken on a tour of Soweto they express the wish to see this school which is among the oldest state secondary schools. Among them were Sir Edward Boyle, British Minister of Education, Lady Douglas-Home, Robert Kennedy, Sir Robert Birley and Jesse Jackson.⁶⁴

The American Senator Robert Kennedy and his wife visited Orlando High School on Wednesday June 8 1966. The pupils crowded around him and cheered him loudly when he addressed them, standing on top of a lorry.⁶⁵ Mr. Kambule had been told by the Department of Bantu Education not to allow Robert Kennedy to address the pupils but he allowed him to do so because he thought it would be an uplifting experience for them to listen to so prominent a figure.⁶⁶

Sir Robert Birley, Mr. Kambule says, unlike the other visitors, did not make a visit only to satisfy his curiosity, but to fulfil a duty and a mission - to be helpful.⁶⁷ When Sir Robert, this internationally renowned Etonian educationist visited Orlando High in 1965, he discovered that there was no library. Through his network of helpful friends in South Africa, Britain and elsewhere, he established a library for Orlando High School which was opened in 1968 by Professor MacCrone, the then Principal of the University of the Witwatersrand.⁶⁸ It is called the Sir Robert Birley Library and a plaque bearing this name is placed at the entrance to this imposing structure. It survived the wrath of the rebellious pupils in 1976 when the principal's office and classrooms were gutted by fire.⁶⁹

The Department of Bantu Education objected strongly to the library being named after Sir Robert, but Mr. Kambule ignored the objections. Sir Robert was worried that this would jeopardize his position but he assured him that nothing would happen to him.⁷⁰ According to Mr. Kambule the Secretary for Bantu Education wrote to him to warn him against Sir Robert "whom his Department considered to be a "Red" and requested that we distance ourselves, especially the children, from him."⁷¹

The Department hurriedly issued a circular to schools warning principals against allowing visitors to schools without first obtaining Departmental approval. This circular was aimed expressly at proscribing Sir Robert from getting to our school and thereby polluting the children's minds. Sir Robert wanted to know from me whether he should keep out. I told him that he was my visitor, he should continue teaching our Form 5 and go on with the plans for our library.⁷²

Sir Robert Birley was at the time at the University of the Witwatersrand for a three-year appointment as visiting Professor of Education. Professor A.R. Bozzoli, the Principal of Wits under whom he served, says by the end of the first six months he had revitalized the teaching and introduced his own brand of energy.⁷³ He had also met many of the heads of English schools in the city and lost no time in getting to know many more and visiting and teaching in their schools. Professor Bozzoli points out that by the end of the second year, there was not a school within reach of Johannesburg that he had not visited and taught in, and thousands of pupils had come to know him.⁷⁴

At an early stage, he had made a point of paying particular attention to schools for Black children of which there were a considerable number in Soweto, Johannesburg. He would never visit a school without requesting permission from the head to teach one of the

classes and this permission was not withheld. The Black children revered this lively, big man, teaching them history and Shakespeare in the authentic English tongue with a patience and knowledge they were not accustomed to.⁷⁵

Stressing the positive contributions Sir Robert made to the school and what he meant to it, Mr. Kambule states:

I first met Sir Robert in about 1965. We became friends immediately, he had an infectious humanity. My scholars, who numbered some 1500, took readily to him. He became an honorary member of our staff and taught European history to our Form 5: he was without doubt an admirable historian...During that year, 1965, the school had a singularly gifted boy, Wellington Tshazibane. Sir Robert was greatly impressed by this boy's intelligence and promised to do all in his power to see that the boy received higher education. And true enough, after this young man received his Bachelor of Science degree, Sir Robert arranged to place him at Oxford, and Wellington returned to fill a responsible post with the Anglo-American Corporation in his country of birth. However, Wellington's career was brought to an abrupt end by the Security Police of this.....country. He died within twelve hours of being detained during the 1976 troubles. His death was never explained.⁷⁶

Wellington Tshazibane was one of the most brilliant pupils Orlando High School has had. In the early 1960's he was the top of the Form One (over 400) Class in the June examinations. In July he was promoted to Form Two. He again obtained the highest marks at the end of that year. Mr. Kambule, aware of his potentialities, promised him that he would not do Form Four (first year matriculation class) if he could pass the Final Junior Certificate Examination with distinction. That means obtaining

an aggregate of at least 80%. Wellington did just that. He was placed in the final matriculation class where he again obtained top marks in all the subjects throughout the year. At the end of the year he emerged with a First Class Matriculation pass, including an A Symbol in Mathematics. Thereafter he obtained the B.Sc degree in record time.

As a result of the assistance he received through Sir Robert's large international circle of friends, Wellington was enrolled at the University of Oxford for an M.Sc degree in engineering. After completing it he stayed for some time on the Continent until he decided to return home. He is alleged to have committed suicide while in John Vorster Square, where he was detained for interrogation following the Carlton Centre blast after the 1976 riots.⁷⁷

Another former Orlando High School pupil of similar brilliance was Reginald Boleu of Orlando East. He obtained a first class distinction pass in the Junior Certificate Examinations. He was registered for Form Four in January 1960 and in March that year he secretly wrote the Joint Matriculation Examination and a month later he approached Mr. Kambule to show him his second class pass results. Reginald later studied at Roma University in Lesotho before going to Sweden on an exit permit where he obtained a doctorate in nuclear physics. He is presently on the staff of the University of Uppsala, Sweden.

In 1978 he made headlines in the local newspapers. He was back in South Africa representing Sweden at a World Science Conference which was held at the University of the Witwatersrand. The South African Government could not refuse him entry into South Africa. South Africa is a member of the body that organised the Conference.⁷⁸

Yet another brainy pupil from Orlando High School was Solomon Lefakane, now Dr. Lefakane. After a second class pass in matric he was registered at the University of the Witwatersrand where he

became the first African to obtain a degree in civil engineering. He worked for the Johannesburg City Council in the City Engineer's Department and later for the Swazi Government. Thereafter he left for the United States of America. When he returned 10 years later he held two doctoral degrees, one in medicine, the other in engineering. A few years ago he worked at Baragwanath Hospital; he is presently practising as a medical doctor in Garankuwa, near Pretoria.⁷⁹

The record of former Orlando High School pupils with enviable academic achievements would be incomplete without the mention of Jacob Bob Seretle, now professor and head of the Department at the University of Fort Hare. He obtained a first class pass in 1954 Joint Matriculation Examinations and then proceeded to Fort Hare for the B.Sc Degree which he completed in record time. Thereafter he did the M.Sc and doctorate in physics at the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of South Africa respectively.

There are, of course, many other former Orlando High School pupils who have distinguished themselves academically. Having referred in some detail to the achievements of the four pupils mentioned above we now turn to the overall examination results of the school, focusing on the period 1965 to 1975. They were as follows in the Junior Certificate or Standard 8 public examinations:

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Entered	117	161	231	197	197	257	288	366	322	200	317
1st Class	31	20	25	20	17	36	15	21	16	17	25
2nd Class	52	46	37	47	49	75	88	88	100	83	158
3rd Class	22	39	50	44	45	54	89	99	102	-	-
Failed	12	56	119	86	86	92	96	158	104	100	134 ⁸⁰

The above figures indicate a pass rate that fluctuates roughly between 90% in 1965 to 50% in 1974. The overall pass rate is, however, about 60%. The few pupils, generally one or two per year who obtained distinction passes have been included among the first class passes. Comment on these results will be offered shortly. The matriculation or Senior Certificate results for the corresponding period were as follows:

	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>
Entered	28	72	78	90	73	67	69	121	142	112	166
1st Class	1	1	1	3	-	1	-	-	1	1	1
2nd Class	3	8	5	21	40	37	3	39	61	40	101
3rd Class	8	17	8	-	-	6	11		-	-	-
Failed	16	46	64	66	33	23	55	82	80	71	64 ⁸¹

In the period under review the matriculation or Senior Certificate results have been shockingly poor, except during 1970 and 1975 when the school managed to achieve a pass rate of over 60%. From 1968 to 1974 the school entered its better candidates for the JMB Examinations and the rest for the Senior Certificate Examinations. The entries for 1965 and 1966 were for the JMB Examinations only while those from 1975 to date are for the National Senior Certificate only. And now in the next few paragraphs the reasons for the poor examination results in the school in general, but especially in the matriculation course, are considered.

With regard to the qualifications of staff Orlando High School was more fortunate than most African High Schools. However, because of the serious shortage of qualified teachers, Orlando High has had and still has, unqualified and underqualified staff, some of them handling the junior classes (where solid foundations must be laid) and even presenting candidates in various subjects

for the public examinations. The report of the panel inspection conducted from 1 - 3 June 1976 indicates that in a staff of 33 there were 11 teachers whose academic qualifications were matriculation, 13 were undergraduates and 9 were fully-fledged graduates.⁸²

The school has had to resort to the appointment of staff either in privately paid or in subsidised posts, who are not trained teachers. This unfortunate situation has persisted, despite the advice and warning of Mr. K.B. Hartshorne, the Circuit Inspector in charge, who wrote after an inspection in 1963:

The wisdom of appointing private teachers who are well qualified academically but have no professional qualifications is very doubtful, particularly when they have to teach Form I and 2 classes.⁸³

All inspection reports have pinpointed, with monotonous regularity, a few teachers who seriously neglected their work and in this way caused pupils entrusted to them, to perform poorly in the examinations. The 1963 inspection report refers to a number of teachers who are not 'pulling their weight' as they should, and who are holding back the further progress of the school.⁸⁴

In a short inspection report dated 14.9.1973 Mr. now Dr. S.K. Matseke, commenting on teachers whose work was below par said "Ek twyfel of dit werklik die onderwysers se erns is om hulle werk 'n sukses te maak. Indien wel, moet hulle met veel meer toegewydheid hul werk doen."⁸⁵ After studying an inspection report Mr. Jaap Strydom, the Regional Inspector, comments:

It is disturbing to note that there are teachers who even during the "abnormal" time of panel inspection have not properly prepared themselves to give a good lesson and to answer good questions. If this is the case during inspection times one wonders what the position is during the rest of the time.⁸⁶

Dr. F. Vermooten, the Circuit Inspector, gives two more reasons for the poor results. In a memorandum compiled after the 1972 results in which a 31,7 pass rate was achieved he writes:

Die eksamenuitslae van die (bogenoemde) skool was nie na wense nie, en dit kan aan die volgende oorsake gewyt word:

- (1) Sommige leerlinge skryf die G.M.R. - eksamen en ander die Seniorsertifikaateksamen. Die leerplanne, voorgeskrewe werke, eksamenfooi en eksamenvraestelle verskil van mekaar. Die twee eksamens is gelykwaardig maar ondervinding het geleer dat die Seniorsertifikaat eksamen meer billik is met die gevolg dat Bantoeleerlinge beter daarin presteer.
- (2) Deur vir altwee eksamens in te skryf word 'n baie swaar las op die prinsipaal, sy Vise-hoofde en sommige van sy personeellede gelê.
- (3) Die prinsipaal is gevra om ondersoek na die wenslikheid van oorskakeling na die Seniorsertifikaateksamen in te stel en sy bevindinge in viervoud aan die Kringkantoor te oorhandig.⁸⁷

This is the first reason, as given by Dr. Vermooten. The Joint Matriculation Board Examination is, no doubt, geared towards the needs of university requirements. A very small percentage of pupils who pass the Matriculation Examination go to university. The great majority go and work, while others enrol for training in various fields. My investigations have convinced me that even in White, Coloured and Indian Education Departments, the great majority of schools, almost all, enter their candidates for the provincial matriculation examinations. Dr. Vermooten continues:

2 'n Hoë Inskrywing

Die huidige leerlinginskrywing is ongeveer 1500. Die leerlinge is dagskoliere en baie van hulle kom na Orlando Hoer weens sentimentele redes. Indien alle leerlinge die naaste hoërskool aan hul ouerhuise besoek sal die toestand aansienlik verlig kan word.

Dit is duidelik dat geen hoërskool met so 'n hoë inskrywing behoorlik kan fungeer nie.⁸⁸

I accept the fact that some pupils joined Orlando High School for 'sentimental reasons.' Some of their parents are former pupils of this school. Others are sent to it because of its reputation, especially past reputation. But Orlando High School, as well as other high schools, mainly in Soweto and other major urban African residential areas, largely became too crowded as a result of the restriction which was originally imposed in the building of secondary schools in towns and cities. Mr. Kambule says he was in principle against refusing pupils who wanted to be enrolled at Orlando High School.⁸⁹ It did not matter from what corner of Soweto they came. In most cases he did this against the advice or in defiance of instructions from the inspectorate.

During January one year the circuit inspector arrived at Orlando High School and found hundreds of pupils in the yard seeking admission when, according to him, the school was full already. He asked Mr. Kambule to tell them to go elsewhere because there was no space for them at Orlando High. Mr. Kambule turned round and said to the Circuit Inspector "I'll ask them to go home and fetch their parents so that you can tell them that."⁹⁰ The penalty: poor results not only in matriculation but also in the Junior Certificate. These poor results are a blot on the record of the school during his time. If he had restricted his enrolment within reasonable limits great waste of human resources would have been avoided. Many more pupils would have emerged from the school better educated and with better results. This would have served the interests of the community in a more positive way.

The Orlando High School results continued to be poor. After 1976 and 1977 following the resignation of some teachers, including Mr. Kambule, they declined further because of the changes in principalship once every two years, from 1979 to 1984. More about these developments later. But in conclusion it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the poor results have also been a feature of most other African high schools. Educationists say the "pupil and teacher morale has declined significantly."⁹¹ Dr. K.B. Hartshorne, a former official in the Department of Bantu Education and a member of the Main Committee (the De Lange Committee) of the Human Sciences Research Council, says "the malaise at the core of the system is that black teachers do not believe in what they are doing because they don't approve of the system in which they are working."⁹² Mr. Job Schoeman, the Public Relations Officer of the Department of Education and Training "agreed that the morale was low, but attributed the results to the culturally deprived environment that Africans come from and to the drastic increase in the number of matriculation candidates over the past six years."⁹³ Mr. Schoeman states further that:

Unless everybody is involved in the pupils' education you are not going to have good results. The parents should work in close co-operation with the teachers and the pupils, and the pupils should not think they can pass examinations by being at school and not putting in at least four or five hours' study....unless teachers, pupils and parents are all committed to playing their part, the remedial steps taken by this Department will make no difference.⁹⁴

The post-1976 External Examination results will be presented in the next section of the history of this school. For now suffice it to state that the reasons and root causes of poor results indicated above apply equally for that period as well.

During this period of Mr. Kambule's headship, The Rock continued to be a force to be reckoned with in extra-mural activities. In an inspection report dated 24.5.1967, Mr. F.J. Van J. Wiese, the Circuit Inspector observed:

Die skool presteer redelik goed in buitemuurse bedrywighede en hou 'n groot aantal bekere. Die skoolkoor het ook met die jongste Provinsiale Bantoe Kunswedstryd goed gevaar en sal aan die Nasionale Kompetisies in Durban deelneem.⁹⁵

The school choirs fared very well in branch, district and provincial music competitions. The most outstanding senior choir referred to by the Circuit Inspector was under the baton of the Senior Music Master, Japie Mkhwanazi. In 1967 this choir alone won the school 4 large coveted trophies and emerged as the Transvaal Champion Choir among African schools. They were however, beaten into third place in the National Eisteddfod which was held in June 1967 in Durban. A Natal school choir, under a Mr. Dubazana, dominated the scene and became the winners of the National honours.⁹⁶

What Mr. Mkhwanazi's choir attained was, however, no mean achievement. A high standard of music was fostered in the school and this was evident in the singing at assembly when devotions were held. Talent in choral singing, was nurtured and developed, with Mr. Mkhwanazi and other teachers training pupils in various types of music. Great singers, some of whom rose to national and international status and reputation, received their basic training and inspiration at their Alma Mater.⁹⁷ It is a matter of great regret that because of lack of funds the music room and musical instruments that the school planned to acquire remained a dream. Under the circumstances of a severe shortage of classrooms, desks and even a laboratory and a library such facilities were and remained a luxury.

The other trophies that Mr. Van J. Wiese made mention of were for soccer, by far the most dominant extra-mural activity at Orlando High School, from the early 1940's of "Rocks" Mothei, one of the founder members of Orlando Pirates Football Club. In a major feature article focusing on Orlando High, The Sowetan reported:

With the advent of black professional soccer in South Africa, during the Indian Sports Ground days in the early 1960's, great and legendary names immortalised The Rock as the university of soccer. These include Kaizer "U K" Motaung, Dingaan "D and D" Phakathi, Saltheil Chokoe and "Brains" Mchunu. When black soccer gained ground in South Africa under the auspices of the National Professional Soccer League, eyes focused on Orlando High. The Rock embarked on producing more professional soccerites than ever before. It is no mean feat to boast of Jerry "Jericho" Sadike, Webster "All Nations" Dichaba, Ephraim "Shakes" Mashaba, Ephraim "Jomo" Sono, "K K" Sono and Teddy "Put Them Away" Phiri.⁹⁸

The proud tradition of soccer was maintained. It did not only develop talent and provide the vitally needed entertainment for the school, it created and sustained tone and morale for the school.

Other sporting activities were also engaged in. Athletics was popular. In this activity the school frequently had to be content with the second and third positions against strong teams such as Morris Isaacson and Orlando West High School. The Sowetan article singles out three young girls who could never be outrun. "The athletic tract was ruled by The Rock Trio - the More Triplets from Orlando East."⁹⁹

The extra-curricular programmes are an integral part of the educational process. What Orlando High and other African schools need to strive for is the expansion of the spectrum of these

activities to include chess, cricket, swimming, etc. Some of these sports have not been introduced in these schools because of limitations of resources, financial for acquiring the necessary equipment and, above all, in know-how. These problems will have to be addressed by the schools and their school committees so that many more pupils can take part in sport than is the case at present. Lack of variety is currently a serious problem.

It is not possible to write about education for Africans in the mid 1970's without referring to the problems of that time that originated in schools. The question of the dual medium of instruction in Standard 5 and at secondary school level sparked it off. It is necessary for us to determine to what extent Orlando High School was affected by this regulation.

12. Rejection of Afrikaans as medium of instruction, and of Bantu Education

As indicated earlier, the Bantu Education System was introduced in 1955. It was, however, only in 1958 that new syllabuses for the Junior Certificate Course were introduced. At that time this was a three year course after Standard VI. (This Junior Certificate is since 1975 a three year course, Post Standard V, in line with what obtains in White, Coloured and Indian systems of education). The syllabus in 1958 stated:

The principle of mother-tongue instruction will...also be applied at the Junior Certificate level of the secondary school, but the Bantu languages as media of instruction will be introduced progressively as the technical difficulties which render their effective use impracticable are overcome.¹⁰⁰

The non-examination subjects, Religious Instruction, Physical Education and Music were to be taught in the mother-tongue, in the case of the last two, if the teachers are qualified to do so.

Besides the three languages (mother-tongue, Afrikaans and English) there were generally 4 content subject to be taught in this course. These were not, at that stage, to be taught in the mother-tongue - yet. The stipulation was:

Half the subjects which are not taught through the medium of the mother-tongue must be taught through the medium of English and the other half through the medium of Afrikaans. If this rule cannot be carried out because of a lack of textbooks or of teachers proficient in one or other of the official languages, permission to depart from it must be obtained from the Department.¹⁰¹

The Department of Bantu Education did not rigidly enforce the three media requirements at the beginning, because of the factors mentioned above. But this means that the ruling was there and it was actually adhered to where circumstances made it possible. Dr. W.G. McConkey, former Director of Education in Natal, submitted a memorandum to the Commission of Inquiry into the teaching of languages in the Transkei. To him the use of three languages as concurrent media of instruction in secondary schools was unjustified:

In the course of the previous decade, all four provinces in the Union of South Africa had considered and rejected (three of them after considerable experimentation) the principle of dual-medium education for White children. In view of this experience it is obvious that the adoption of the principle of trilingual, triple-medium education for African children was not motivated on educational grounds.¹⁰²

The motivation will be referred to later. What needs to be pointed out now is that before 1974 "in strong contrast with its stated 50-50 policy, the Department allowed schools a choice whether to use English or Afrikaans"¹⁰³ and even said "it must be

stressed that it will be in the interests of pupils to use only one of the official languages. Most schools chose English.¹⁰⁴ This position must, nonetheless, not be construed as implying that the ruling was not being enforced at all and that pressure was not being brought to bear on principals and schools to implement the instruction. For instance, towards the end of the first year of his principalship at Orlando High School and early in 1960, Mr. Kambule, whose own command of Afrikaans is quite good, was being asked by the circuit inspector, Mr. K.B. Hartshorne, to arrange to have two content subjects taught in Afrikaans. Mr. Kambule argued that he did not have teachers capable of teaching in Afrikaans. His other argument was that there were no suitable textbooks in Afrikaans for use at Junior secondary school level. He feared that under the circumstances the pupils' progress would be hampered. This representation was communicated to the Regional Director, who in turn, wrote to the Secretary for Bantu Education to indicate the problems at Orlando High School with regard to this matter. In a letter dated 5.5.1960 with the heading "Nakene Hoërskool: Medium van onderrig," the Regional Director's reply from the Secretary was:

Die Department neem kennis van die moeilikhede waarmee bogemelde skool te kampe het in verband met die onderrig van inhoudsvakke in Afrikaans en goedkeuring word derhalwe verleen dat vir 1960 op die huidige basis voortgegaan word, waarna die saak weer in hersiening geneem moet word.

Pogings moet egter aangewend word om vakatures wat mag ontstaan met leerkragte te vul wat instaat is om verdere inhoudsvakke deur medium van Afrikaans te onderrig.¹⁰⁵

During the next three years Mr. Kambule did not see his way clear to implementing the 50-50 medium. He did not have teachers competent to handle subjects (Arithmetic and Social Studies were earmarked) in Afrikaans. He went on to make it clear that he

would be prepared to carry out the ruling as soon as his staff position made is practicable.¹⁰⁶ The Circuit Inspector in charge of Orlando High School wrote a letter to the Regional Director dated 31 October 1963 with reference to the question of medium of instruction at Orlando High School. In a letter almost a year later, on 9 September 1964, the Regional Director of the Southern Transvaal Region of Bantu Education in reply to the Circuit Inspector "quoted the following decision of the Department" for his information:

Toestemming word hiermee verleen dat by die Orlando Sekondere Skool in 1964 Engels as medium van onderrig gebruik word. Geen toegewing in hierdie verband kan egter vir 1965 gemaak word nie, tensy 'n baie grondige rede vir die toestand verstrek kan word nie. Intussen moet die Inspekteur vroegtydig met die skoolraad onderhandel om 'n bevoegde onderwyser daar te plaas wat Afrikaans in minstens een vak sal kan aanmeld.¹⁰⁷

It is not clear from the records what the Orlando School Board did concerning the procuring of a teacher who could offer at least one subject in Afrikaans. What is certain is that this school continued to use only English as the medium of instruction.

In the meantime during those years some of the Secondary Schools in Soweto were making an attempt to teach some subjects in Afrikaans. The present writer was on the staff of Morris Isaacson from January 1960 to March 1967 under Mr. D. Kobe, presently Secretary for Education in the Department of Education in Lebowa. Arithmetic and Social Studies were taught in Afrikaans. There were occasionally competent teachers such as Messrs. L. Mathabathe, S. Lekgetho and R. Mabuza for Arithmetic and C. Nkondo, N. Malebane, D. Pitje for Social Studies. But generally the arrangement was fraught with difficulties. Morris Isaacson was a big school with sometimes over 300 Junior Certificate finalists. While the abovementioned teachers

prepared final Junior Certificate classes, the Forms I and II would be taught either by people who did not know these subjects well but could teach in Afrikaans, or they would simply be taught in English. The switch over would then have to be effected in the final year. This invariably resulted in a situation where pupils in the same class answered questions in Afrikaans and English in the examination. They were never penalised for this but this lack of proficiency in the medium frequently affected their results adversely.

In April, 1967, I took over the principalship of Sekano-Ntoane Secondary School where the dual medium was being enforced along the lines at Morris Isaacson Secondary School. Messrs. N. Mphalo and W.C. Tlakula taught Social Studies in Afrikaans. It became obvious to me that their effectiveness was reduced by having to teach in Afrikaans. By far the best Social Studies Teacher was Mr. J. Mamabolo, the Vice-Principal. He was quite incapable of teaching in Afrikaans; he therefore taught English at which he was very good, unfortunately there were other teachers who could have taught it (English). Mr. L. Mahasane was an exceptionally good S.Sotho and Bookkeeping teacher. His Afrikaans was very good; he ended up being changed to Arithmetic in which he was not very confident, for the first three or four years.

Messrs. E. Mkabinde and T. Douglas, on the other hand, had no difficulty in teaching Arithmetic through the medium of Afrikaans. All the other arguments raised with regard to Morris Isaacson applied equally to Sekano-Ntoane. What needs to be added is that while the teaching in both Afrikaans and English tended to improve the general level of Afrikaans among pupils, it lowered the skill of expression in English. This phenomenon became noticeable when these dual medium (triple-medium because they were taught Religious Instruction in the vernacular) pupils reached Form IV, or first matriculation standard, where they were taught in English only.

Most schools, if not all, in the White areas (outside homelands), where the dual medium was applied, opted to offer Arithmetic and Social Studies in Afrikaans. There were reasons for this. By far the weightiest was the consideration that the 50-50 medium had to affect all junior secondary school pupils in the school or in the class group in which it was implemented. These two subjects were generally taken by all pupils and the moment the two were taught through the Afrikaans medium, this ruling was wholly or largely complied with. The other possible subjects like Mathematics, Bookkeeping (now Accountancy) Physical Science, Biology and Commerce (now Business Economics) were usually taken by some students and not others in all schools. If one of these was taught in Afrikaans (e.g. Physical Science) its alternative subject (e.g. Biology) would also have to be offered in Afrikaans. Schools also reasoned that since Arithmetic was mostly a figure-orientated subject it would not need ordinary language expression very much.

Some circuit inspectors conceded that the Afrikaans medium reduced to a greater or lesser extent, the effectiveness of the teachers who had themselves not specialised in Afrikaans or learned in it as a medium of instruction as well as the performance of the pupils who were then faced with the mastery of both language and content. They, nevertheless, indicated that it was the policy of the Department and nothing could be done about it. These inspectors frequently said sooner or later all concerned would become used to the medium of Afrikaans and therefore matters would improve. In the meantime the great majority of pupils and teachers involved in the Afrikaans medium complained bitterly to the principals, school committees, school boards and even to the Inspectors that the language handicap was harmful to their work, while some circuit inspectors could see reason, sympathised with the pupils and teachers in this matter and could only encourage them to continue doing their best under the unalterable circumstances, others adopted a hard and often haughty attitude to these complaints. They dismissed them as

pretext - voorwendsel - to evade teaching in Afrikaans. In Orlando High School Inspection report dated 9.6.1969, the Circuit Inspector, Mr. F.J. van J. Wiese, in a paragraph "headed"medium van onderrig" stated:

Alle medium van onderrig in die skool geskied deur medium van Engels. Die hoof sal dringend aandag aan die regulasie i.v.m. medium van onderrig moet gee. Die verskoning dat die onderrig deur medium van Afrikaans swak resultate lewer, is nie geldig nie.¹⁰⁸

Mr. Kambule did not give this matter urgent attention as advised. His school continued to use only English as the medium of instruction. Following a panel inspection carried out from 10 - 14 May 1971 the then Circuit Inspector Mr. R.S. Moys, sent a copy of the inspection report to the Regional Director with a covering letter that stated:

No subjects are taught through the medium of Afrikaans. I have been aware of this and I think I once dicussed this with you. My policy is to win people over to seeing the great difference it makes to have subjects taught through the medium of Afrikaans. Indeed I wish the same policy regarding media would be adopted in our White schools.¹⁰⁹

Mr. Moys also sent a circular to the Orlando School Board and to all principals of post-primary schools in Orlando in which he drew attention "to the regulations regarding media of instruction in post-primary schools, with reference to the official languages." This circular dated 2.7.1971 further stated:

You are now urged to give it timeous consideration with a view to further implementation in January, 1972. That there are difficulties I am aware, but, where they can be overcome, we should do so. Principals who are faced with insurmountable difficulties should apply, through me, for the necessary Departmental exemption. This should be done as early as possible so that the matter can be gone into in good time.¹¹⁰

A few developments which occurred from 1974 merit our attention since they led to the riot in 1976 over the very issue of 50-50 media. We shall come to them in a moment. With regard to this Departmental policy from 1955 to 1974 John Kane-Berman observes:

The rigid enforcement of the language policy stood to disrupt existing practice in probably as many as three-quarters of secondary schools. According to the Department's own statistics, only 26 per cent of all secondary schools in South Africa carried out the policy in full in 1968, as against 30 percent in 1962. This declining trend had probably continued in view of the flexible approach of the Department until 1974.¹¹¹

Up to 1974 Standard VI in African Schools was the top form in higher primary schools. In 1975, however, this class was eliminated and the period of schooling thereby reduced from thirteen to twelve years. This decision by the Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. M. C. Botha, brought African education in line with White, Coloured and Indian in the Country - a most welcome move. In this re-structuring from 1975 Standard Five was then to be regarded as part of Secondary and not Primary Schooling. "This meant that the 50-50 ukase was extended downwards by a year and made applicable to a form to which it had hitherto not applied at all, even in theory."¹¹² This affected schools in the White area. In the homelands the governments all chose to teach through one medium, English.

In August 1974 the Southern Transvaal Regional Directorate of the Department, under whose jurisdiction Soweto fell, issued instructions that the 50-50 rule was to be followed from the beginning of 1975 in Standard Five and upwards. (See Appendix viii) Non-examination subjects like Religious Instruction, Music and Singing and Physical Education were to be taught in one of the African languages, General Science and practical subjects in English, Mathematics and Social Studies in Afrikaans.¹¹³

In the Departmental Circular no. 6 of 1974 dated 17.4.1974 (See Appendix ix) Mr. Rousseau, then Acting Secretary for Bantu Education, had explicitly stated:

Should practical difficulties arise in giving instruction in half of the subjects through the medium of one or other of the official languages, departmental approval must be obtained for any deviation from the above decision. Departmental approval in such cases will be dependent largely upon the availability, or non-availability, of teachers competent to teach the particular subject through the official language concerned.¹⁴⁴

And finally, this circular concluded that:

Applications from schools must be submitted to Head Office through the normal channels, and must bear the recommendations of the Circuit Inspector and Regional Director.¹¹⁵

In theory then, schools could still deviate from the 50-50 rule with the permission of the Department. It was, however, established by the Cillie Commission which was appointed to investigate the causes of the 1976 unrest, that in practice, applications for exemption were rejected by the Southern Transvaal directorate and by the Department itself. Orlando High

School was, as it were, not directly affected by this because Mr. Kambule did not apply for exemption. In fact, he at no stage ever implemented the dual medium regulation despite the pressure, as we have seen, exerted on him by the circuit inspectors and the regional directors.

At a school near Orlando High School, Phefeni Junior Secondary School, pupils had been boycotting classes for many weeks over having to be taught Mathematics and Social Studies in Afrikaans. The principal, Mr. C. Mpulo, and his school committee had approached the Circuit Inspector concerned but he and the Regional Director were not prepared to recommend exemption for them. A week before the riots Mr Mpulo, in desperation, asked Mr. Kambule to accompany him and his school committee chairman, Rev. P. Ngwenya, to see Mr. W. C. Ackermann, the Regional Director, about the crisis at his school.¹¹⁶ According to Mr. Kambule the interview with Mr. W. Ackermann was very short. Mr. Mpulo and Rev. Ngwenya explained their difficulty and requested Mr. Ackermann to help them to be granted an exemption from the Afrikaans medium. He flatly refused for two reasons. He was not prepared to yield to demands by pupils and moreover, the ruling was an instruction from above and must be carried out.¹¹⁷ The three men then left.

Time and time again during 1975 and 1976 teachers' organisations, school principals, school boards (whose members are drawn from among parents and community leaders), parents, and the Soweto Urban Bantu Council sought to persuade the Department to relent - all to no avail. Application for exemption from the 50-50 rule from at least seventeen school boards (covering more than 100 schools on the Reef and in Pretoria) were brushed aside or ignored. At least eighteen members of school boards were dismissed from their posts by the Department in what many Soweto residents believed was a purge of people opposed to the 50-50 policy. The help of Opposition Members of Parliament was enlisted, but their entreaties to the Minister of Bantu Education and his deputies were also rebuffed.¹¹⁸

On the eve of June 16, 1976 there were ominous signs which were unfortunately ignored by the Department of Bantu Education. The exasperation of pupils drove them to extremes when they noticed that their parents in school committees and school boards were not listened to. They took the law into their own hands and violence was on the increase. Parental control and school discipline were wrecked; at times one can think irredeemably. Two days before the riots broke out Leonard Mosala, a member of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council, warned that children would not listen to their parents

.....because they think we have neglected them. We have failed to help them in their struggle for change in schools. They are now angry and prepared to fight and we are afraid the situation may become chaotic at any time.¹¹⁹

The actual events of the school unrest that spread from Soweto to many other parts of the country have been fully described elsewhere and will not be detailed here (see, for example, J.Kane - Berman, Soweto : Black Revolt, White Reaction, Ravan, 1978).

CHAPTER III

THE POST 1976 PERIOD; 1977 TO 1984

13. Attempts at Reconstruction

Following the school riots that erupted on 16 June 1976, the Department of Bantu Education took immediate action to reverse the ruling on the medium of instruction in Std. 5 and in all post-primary schools falling under its jurisdiction. (See appendix x) The Department of Bantu Education Circular No 13 of 1976 dated 12/7/1976 to Regional Directors, Circuit Inspectors, secretaries of School Boards, principals of Post-Primary Schools and principals of Higher Primary Schools with Standard 5 classes stated:

The principles and procedures enunciated . . . in regard to the medium of instruction in Bantu schools. . . are made known to all concerned, and come into force immediately.¹

By virtue of this circular which "supersedes all previous circulars on the same matter"² higher primary schools with Std. 5 and all post-primary schools had three options open to them with regard to the medium of instruction. The principal of each school had to apply on the attached form to the Secretary for Bantu Education for confirmation of his option of medium "after having received the recommendation of the school committee and school board concerned."³ The options were given as follows:

1. English as the medium (with additional attention to Afrikaans as a subject) and with the mother tongue as the medium in subjects where practicable.

2. Afrikaans as the medium (with additional attention to English as a subject) and with the mother tongue as the medium in subjects where practicable.
3. English and Afrikaans, respectively, as media in certain subjects with the mother tongue as the medium in subjects where practicable. ⁴

The Afrikaans decree was thus lifted in July 1976, less than a month after the outbreak of unrest in the schools and the country as a whole. Yet school boycotts continued to varying extents in different parts of the country. This led to a strongly held view, especially in official circles, that Afrikaans was not the cause of the uprising. It in fact was. What, however, cannot be denied is that the situation was exploited by many elements and organisations for their own ends. To expect the pupils to have peacefully gone back to their studies without any further trouble, certainly a desirable thing, was in itself hopelessly naive after the discovery of their own power in their sheer numbers; some of their friends and school mates had been injured, arrested or killed. The atmosphere in the African residential areas remained tense for ~~several~~ months. The south-western Transvaal Methodist Church synod said that:

the fundamental cause of unrest, violence, bitterness, and resentment is to be found in the social, economic, political, educational and religious conditions of the African people in general.⁵

In explaining why the unrest escalated John Kane-Berman's contention is that:

...the destruction which took place was such a violent protest against powerlessness, the consequence of months of frustration at the failure of authorities to

respond positively to repeated demands for the suspension of the Afrikaans decree, as it was a spontaneous explosion of anger at the shootings. Black youth was in revolt against, not only specific aspects of policy, but apartheid in all its manifestations and therefore, the country's political system itself.⁶

From July 1976 to the end of the year Soweto's education system virtually ground to a halt. The "Soweto Students' Representative Council" (SSRC) which was established at the beginning of August that year, was supposed to represent primary and secondary pupils in all matters appertaining to their schooling. It was, nonetheless, clear that other organisations also took advantage of the situation, as stated earlier, to give their own direction to the pupils. During this time the SSRC itself was confused, giving conflicting directives to pupils.

Confusion reigned over the SSRC's policy on examination boycotts. There was conflict within the council itself, and between it and large numbers of pupils, as well as among pupils in general.⁷

During this boycott pupils busied themselves in tactical moves to hit at the Government. One such move was to organise and monitor stay-aways for workers with a view to crippling the economy. Out of 5 of these stay-aways 3 were successful⁸

Only a small number of pupils at Orlando High School and elsewhere in the trouble-torn parts of South Africa, sat for the end of the year examinations.

There was . . . a widespread boycott of the examinations, which were postponed by the Department of Bantu Education until February. The boycott may have been partly due to fear of the police raids on schools. Several schools were burnt, however, and the police said this was an attempt by militants to disrupt the examinations⁹

The schools re-opened early in 1977 to enable pupils to make up for the time lost during the latter half of 1976. It took the pupils a long time to decide whether they were going to write the February examinations or not. After a lot of in-fighting, threats and counter threats among them, "calm was restored, and it appeared as if the great majority of pupils sat for their examinations."¹⁰

After the February examinations pupils closed ranks and thus became a strong body. They successfully campaigned against rent increases in Soweto in April 1977 and also secured the resignation of the Urban Bantu Council members. Under the leadership of Trofomo Sono, a student from Madibane High School in Diepkloof, from June 1977 the SSRC focused attention on education again and called on school board members to resign. Within a few weeks resignations had rendered half of the townships school boards inoperative."¹¹

All high schools in Soweto were adversely affected by these pupils activities. Orlando High School, which had not featured prominently in the 1976 uprisings because it was not directly affected by the Afrikaans issue took the lead in the 1977 class boycotts. By the end of April 1977 this school had virtually ground to a halt.¹² Most other high schools in Soweto effectively joined the boycott from the third term. The general feeling among Soweto pupils at that time was that Orlando High School had let down the other schools by maintaining a low profile in the "struggle". This probably explains why they were first to boycott classes "until Bantu Education has been scrapped". Without suggesting that Orlando High School was materially different from other schools in Soweto, it is nevertheless significant that this school, the oldest secondary school in Soweto, senior in status and respected, would appear not to have played a major role in the 1976 unrest and what followed in its wake. The four presidents of the SSRC and the schools in Soweto from which they came were Tsietsi Mashinini

(Morris Isaacson High School) Khotso Seatlholo (Naledi High School), Daniel Sechaba Montsitsi (Sekano-Ntoane High School) and Trofomo Sono (Madibane High School). Other schools which featured prominently in newspaper reports on unrest were Orlando West High School, Diepkloof High School, Musi High School and Phefeni Junior School.

During the third quarter in 1977, when a campaign was launched by boycotters to burn all Afrikaans books which the Department had supplied free to schools for teaching mathematics and social studies, Orlando High School pupils did not have these Departmental books to contribute to what was called "Book Braai". A large crowd of pupils from various schools in Soweto converged one morning on Orlando High School with Afrikaans books to burn.¹⁴ The intention of the pupils was to have the "Book Braai" on the premises of Orlando High School. Pupils of the latter school first refused to have their school grounds used for this. They stopped the visiting pupils from coming into their premises but could not do it for long; it was a matter of several schools against one. The burning of books eventually took place at the Orlando High School with The Rock pupils joining in - without books.¹⁵

Shortly after the "Book Braai" four Orlando High School classrooms and the vice-principal's office were gutted by fire. By then, Mr. Kambule's office was already in ruins, burnt months earlier.¹⁶

One other development which occurred during the third quarter of 1977 merits attention. All secondary schools in Soweto (except private schools) which were, until then, state-aided schools administered by school committee boards, were declared state schools and placed under direct control of the Department of Bantu Education as soon as the system of school boards had ceased to be operative in many schools. Under the school board system, as indicated earlier in this discussion, the teachers signed

contracts with these boards and were under them. The school boards hired and fired teachers. When the changeover came the approx. 1200 teachers teaching in Soweto's 40 secondary schools had to complete new contract forms, in terms of which they were directly in the employ of the the Department of Bantu Education, following the dissolution of the school boards. The effect of this contractual change was that all teachers affected were, in terms of the conditions of service which were the same as for all teachers in South Africa irrespective of colour, automatically on probation for 12 calendar months. Although the teachers were apprehensive of this move because they did not know exactly what to expect under the new arrangement, it can be stated without fear of contradiction that most teachers were generally pleased with the development; it removed them from the school board system which had been under bitter and continued attack from the African Teachers Association of South Africa from its very inception in terms of the Bantu Education Act, 1953. The teachers who were not prepared to enter into the new contract were to be considered as having resigned their posts with effect from the first day of October, 1977. Three teachers at Orlando High School chose not to complete contract forms because they were unwilling to continue their teaching careers as state employees.¹⁷

In terms of the changeover from state aided or community schools to state schools, the pupils desiring to attend the secondary schools concernend were required to be registered anew and had to sign an undertaking that they would abide by school regulations. By that time 27 000 pupils were boycotting classes and they did not re-register in spite of appeals to do so. Instead, they were ultimately joined in the boycott by primary school pupils who had been attending classes. This brought the entire schooling system of Soweto to a standstill.

The teachers in Soweto had also, in the meantime, been holding meetings to determine their stand in the light of school boycotts by their pupils. Various meetings were held by branches and districts of the Transvaal United African Teachers Association in Soweto and elsewhere to discuss the position in African education which continued to deteriorate. The SSRC, which had organised worker stay-aways and pressurised the school board and Urban Bantu Council members to resign from what they termed "puppet bodies", were also directly or indirectly calling on the teachers to demonstrate their solidarity with them against Bantu Education by resigning en masse. It has not been easy to assess the extent of the pupils' pressure on teachers. What did, however, happen is that following the deliberations in their meetings a large number of African teachers decided to resign in protest against Bantu Education. In a front-page article on 29.9.1977 : "Education : residents make urgent plea" the Rand Daily Mail reported:

With the total paralysis of Soweto's 40 secondary schools, the Soweto Residents' Committee has sent another urgent call to the Government to repeal the Bantu Education Act. So far 331 resignations of teachers at the schools have been received by the Government - including 10 headmasters - and about 27 000 pupils are boycotting the schools.¹⁹

One of the ten headmasters and the most senior was the principal of Orlando High School, Mr. T. W. Kambule having been a teacher for 33 years. He had been principal of Orlando High School for 20 years. Although Mr. Kambule's resignation caused a stir in educational circles and South Africa generally, it had not been altogether unexpected. He has come to be known and respected as an outspoken critic of Bantu Education and the apartheid policy as a whole. The Departmental officials had, on several occasions, taken him to task for his outbursts in the press against the Government and warned him to be careful, but he seems to have continued with impunity. Earlier on reference was made to the way in which he defied the inspectorate when they asked

him to enrol just enough pupils for the accommodation he had. His argument was always that the number of schools for Africans was hopelessly inadequate and he was not going to admit some pupils and deny others education. For instance, in 1967 when only 6 pupils out of 79 passed matriculation at Orlando High School he said:

Our schools are fast turning into social clubs. We are so overcrowded that no effective teaching takes place in the classroom. By 1970 we will have reached breaking point unless the Department does something to attract more teachers and build more schools.²⁰

Attention has also been drawn to how he flatly refused to implement the 50-50 language requirement, despite clear-cut instructions that he should do so without any further delay. The argument he clung to until the requirement was withdrawn early in July 1976 after the riots, was that the use of Afrikaans would not be in the interest of the children's education because he did not have teachers he considered competent enough to teach in this medium. According to him, even the pupils proficiency in Afrikaans did not warrant its use as a medium of instruction. With regard to his resignation Mr Kambule, said:

It is tragic that this has happened when Africans have hardly been introduced to real education. It makes one despair . . . The only thing that would persuade me to go back to teaching is the scrapping of Bantu Education or the sight of children flocking back to class. . . The authorities must do something about African education. These matters must be attended to before they escalate beyond correction.²¹

Mr. Kambule disclosed at the time that most of his staff members at Orlando High School were also resigning. Out of a complement of 39, 28 had signed resignation letters.²²

He left Orlando High School and the service of the Department of Bantu Education at the end of October 1977. He is presently a Senior Mathematics lecturer on the staff of the University of the Witwatersrand.

Mr. Kambule has been, and continues to be, severely criticised, even by staunch opponents of "Bantu Education", for leaving African children in the lurch and going to offer his expert services at an overwhelmingly White institution. That his resignation from Orlando High School and the Department of Education and Training is a great loss, is beyond question.

Throughout 1978 Orlando High School remained closed, the building being used to accommodate a lower primary school that had no buildings of its own.

In January 1979 Orlando High School was re-opened. Mr. Maphikelela Arthur Mthembu, who had been principal of the Orlando Adult Education Centre for about a year and a half, was transferred to this school as principal. Mr. Mthembu had been a pupil at the Orlando High School from 1953 to 1957.²³ He wrote his matriculation examination during the principalship of Mr C K Mageza and thereafter proceeded to the University of Zululand for his teacher training. After completing his Secondary Teacher's Diploma with 6 B.Sc degree courses to his credit, he joined his former school and taught mathematics and Arithmetic until June 1977 when he was promoted to the principalship of the Orlando Adult Education Centre (under the Department of Bantu Education).

When The Rock was re-opened in 1979 the atmosphere of unrest was still detectable and the then Regional Director of the Department of Bantu Education in charge of Johannesburg including Alexandra, Mr. J.L.C. Strydom, did not know what reaction to expect from both the pupils and the community of Orlando. It was for this reason that Mr. Mthembu was appointed. He was at the time, as mentioned

above, principal of the Orlando Adult Education Centre which had 10 satellite campuses in and around Orlando with its headquarters on the Orlando High School premises; he lived in Orlando and, as stated above, was a former pupil of Orlando High School and had been on the staff for some 15 years.

Mr. Mthembu, who was assisted by Mrs. P. N. Ramphomane, an extremely capable and experienced graduate science teacher, was asked by the Regional Office to enrol a total of 800 Standards 6 and 9 pupils from the Orlando area only. In all 20 teachers were allocated to the school.²⁴ The 400 Standard 9 pupils he enrolled in 1979 had lost a year in 1978 when they did not attend school. They were keen to learn and soon adapted to the routine and demands of the school. Among them, were very good matriculation pupils as well as some who were hopelessly below the prescribed standard. It was difficult to determine which transfer cards or letters were genuine and which were forged.²⁵

When Orlando High School was re-opened there were no old records available. Mr. Mthembu says:

The admission registers, logbook (a thick record with entries dating back to 1939 when the school was established), previous examination results, daily attendance registers, files and other important documents had been destroyed by fire. Mr. T. W. Kambule's office was burnt in 1976; that is where all the school records were kept. In 1977 four classrooms and the vice-principal's office were gutted by fire.²⁶

However, in January 1979, an incredible amount of work had been done by the Department of Bantu Education to clear the debris and to rebuild the school, part of which was in ruins. The eastern wing of the school which was destroyed by fire in 1977 had been converted into an impressive administration block, comprising a staffroom, kitchenette, toilets, vice-principal's office, reception, typists' office and the principal's office at the far end. Adjoining this block is a classroom. What was previously

Mr. Kambule's office had been converted into a classroom. The whole school had been provided with electricity; ceilings in all classrooms and floor tiles were part of the general upgrading programme in which the old laboratory had been remodelled for use as a junior laboratory.²⁷

Other schools in Soweto, if not all, had also benefited from the general upgrading programmes in which the classrooms had ceilings put in, walls painted and floors tiled. But by far the most significant government response to the education crisis in the wake of the 1976 unrest was the passing and immediate implementation of the Education and Training Act of 1979. The name "Bantu Education" was dropped and replaced by "Education and Training". This move was seen by the critics of the government as a change in name only. There were, however, improvements to be recognised and these set the tone for the reforms which were made public by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information on behalf of the Department of Education and Training. Besides the change in name (which was in itself desirable because the name "Bantu Education" had become repugnant) the Education and Training Act, 1979, contained "the declared intention of the government to provide equal education..... to all racial groups," provided for increased "capital expenditure on schooling for Africans"; "expansion of pre-primary school facilities"; improvement of teaching "through the provision of new training centres" and "a massive programme for the provision of technical education."²⁸ This Education and Training Act of 1979 is in itself an extensive subject for discussion. It is merely mentioned here as a catalyst for some of the attempts at reconstruction.

In terms of the Education and Training Act Orlando High School was administered and run by a governing council and no longer a school board or committee board. From April 1979 to March 1982 the Governing Council of Orlando High School consisted of Messrs. J. Chambers and S.K. Matseke for the inspectorate with either of them as chairman; Mr. M.A.O. Mthembu, the principal as secretary and the parent-members who were: Rev- S.L. Chipfupa, an Anglican

minister, Mrs. P. M. Chakane, a nursing sister and Mr. P. M. Phatedi, employed by a firm as a messenger.²⁹ A Governing Council has the same function as a school board except that it does not hire and discharge teachers but merely recommends an appointment or a dismissal of a teacher to the Regional Director and to the Department. This council also sees to the progress and the orderly running of the school.

The parent-members serving in the current Governing Council whose term of office is from September 1983 to August 1986 are Rev. S L Chipfupa, Rev. M. S. Tladi, Mrs. P. M. Chakane, Mr. J. Mphahlele and Mr. P. M. Phatedi. The inspectorate is represented by Messrs. T. Douglas and M. M. Phefadu.³⁰

The Orlando High School Standard 8 (which was previously referred to as Junior Certificate) results from 1981 to 1983 were as follows:

Year	Entered	Pass	Failed	% Passes
1981	384	228	156	59
1982	253	52	210	21
1983	279	85	194	30 ³¹

The position in matriculation with regard to the results was as follows:

Year	Entered	Matric	School-	Failed	% Passes
		Exemption	Leaving		
		Pass	Pass		
1980	418	48	167	194	51
1981	254	22	131	93	60
1982	150	26	76	42	68
1983	153	10	67	56	50 ³²

It was indicated earlier that the results in this period continued to show a decline. The reasons for the shockingly poor results have also been discussed in some detail; it is therefore considered unnecessary to do it again here.

At the end of 1981 Mr. Mthembu was removed from Orlando High School and transferred to the Morakapula Santho Adult Education Centre in Dobsonville, Soweto, as principal. It had become clear to the Governing Council, the Circuit and Regional Offices that he could not effectively manage the school. There were also serious problems with the administration of finances as well as irregularities in the examinations.

Mr. Rudolph Mtimkulu, whom we have already met in this account of Orlando High School as the first pupil to be registered at the Orlando Communal Hall in 1939, took over as principal in January 1982. Although Mr. Mtimkulu had already had wide experience as principal of secondary schools, he tendered his resignation at the end of 1982, writing, inter alia: "I am very clear that I will not make it. . . The school has monumental problems"³³ Mr. Mtimkulu, who says he was strained and almost a nervous wreck by the end of 1982, ended his letter of resignation by stating categorically, "I do not want the Orlando High School principalship anymore".³⁴ Records indicate that he had already done a massive amount of work in one year to get the school out of the mire. The inspectorate and the Regional Director, Mr. P. Engelbrecht, tried hard to dissuade him from giving up the position but to no avail³⁵

Mr. Mtimkulu was first offered the principalship of the Naledi High School, Soweto in April 1963. In April 1975 he accepted a transfer to the Mosupatsela High School, Krugersdorp as principal. When the Urban Foundation was formed after the 1976 riots, with the objective of improving the quality of life among urban Africans, Mr. Mtimkulu was appointed as Education Officer from October 1978.³⁶ He left that post in January 1982 to assume duty as principal at the Orlando High School.

The staff was inadequate in numbers and unstable. Out of 40 posts on the establishment of the school only 37 were filled. "It has been difficult to get posts filled even though vacancies were advertised several times". From the end of January 1982 to July "there were ten resignations, four went to university to further their studies, two accepted principalship posts and four others presumably got employment elsewhere".³⁷

With such staff shortages and reshuffles into the third term it is not surprising that the results were poor. It would appear that during 1982 Mr. Mtimkulu and his staff concentrated on the matriculation pupils and managed to have a total of 102 candidates passing out of 150 while 6 did not write the examination. These were good results in terms of the prevailing position. The school had close to a 70% passrate while the pass rate for the whole Republic (in African Schools) was 50,8%.³⁸ In contrast, these results had been made possible at the expense of the Standard 8 results where only 52 passed out of 253.

And now we turn to the financial position of the school and the huge sums that the school owed. In a report that Mr. Mtimkulu gave to the Orlando High School Parents' Meeting on Saturday 28 August 1982 he said:

This is the school's worst aspect. I started with NO CENT in the bank this year. I spent hours and days on end trying to sort out the finances. I have spent about 60% of my time as a financial clerk. It was only on 28 July that I was positively relieved of this financial strain. . . Please note that I have had to appear in court for the first time in my life because of the school finances. From January to August the school has banked R23 000 from school fees; R22 500 has been spent on debts and purchasing school equipment. The balance as at 25/8/1982 is R297,55. Of the 1180 pupils, less than 120 owe fees. I am still trying to get the outstanding fees of R15 per child.³⁹

Mr. Mtimkulu says the parents gave him their co-operation and support. By May that year 90% of the pupils had paid their school fund in full. But then the school owed a staggering amount of R20 000 +. The creditors included a Mr, Mahlangu, who had installed an intercom system in the school before 1982 and had not been paid. Makro, Bookstores, Gestetner, Helios and others. Some of the irate creditors took the school to court.⁴⁰

For the first time in my life I had to appear in court in connection with the above. By October 1982, I had already appeared six times in court. This was too much. I spent 60% of my time on the school finances; my professional work suffered a lot. I missed teaching and visiting classes regularly - which is my pleasure.⁴¹

In the parents meeting referred to above, the parents decided to contribute a further R2,00 per pupil. Within a month almost all parents had paid this money and he was able to meet the accounts of the school. His decision to leave did not come easily. He was letting down the parents and also his Alma Mater that he loved so much. But his health was giving in.

I decided to resign in December 1982. I had no choice but to nurse my health. To make sure that I did not leave the school in the way I found it, I worked up to the 22 December to try and bring records up to date. When I left, the school had a bank balance of R2,60.⁴²

It is a matter for great regret that Mr. Mtimkulu did not see his way clear to continue at The Rock as principal. The parents had great confidence in him and had demonstrated willingness to give him support in the interest of their children. The successful parents' meeting held on Saturday 28 August, 1982 is a case in point. This parental involvement is necessary for the educative success of any school; it becomes a crucial factor where the

school is going through a crisis of whatever kind. Both pupils and their parents were sad when Mr. Mtimkulu announced that he was leaving the school after a 12 month principalship. It was clear that his efforts were appreciated by them.⁴³ To them he was the embodiment of the Spirit of Orlando High School. Mr. Mtimkulu accepted the Deputy Principalship of the Veritas High School in Meadowlands⁴⁴ where he served in this capacity for about a year and a half before he was appointed principal of the Herbert Mdingi Adult Education Centre in Orlando.

In January 1983, when the schools re-opened no principal had been found for Orlando High School, Mr. T. Kunene, one of the inspectors in the Johannesburg Region of the Department of Education and Training, was asked by the Regional Director to serve as acting or caretaker-principal while they tried to find a suitable candidate for the position.⁴⁵ He started the year with 1200 pupils and 40 teachers, 5 of whom were heads of departments.⁴⁶

Mr. Kunene is former principal of the Indoni Higher Primary School and the Diepkloof Junior Secondary School. Both schools had been problem schools when he took them over but he had managed to "tame" them. At Orlando High he immediately saw the need to resuscitate the prefect system and organised the election of 12 prefects as well as class monitors on a democratic basis. Two of the prefects served as Head Boy and Head Girl. He bought all prefects pins encribed with the name "Prefect". They were proudly worn by these pupils who had been carefully chosen by the entire school. This prefect system was effective and contributed largely towards the tone and discipline of the school.⁴⁷

The five Heads of Department were drawn more fully into the running of the school. This helped immeasurably towards improving the control and standard of work generally. It also rid the staff, to an appreciably extent, of division, uncertainty and

confusion. Mrs. Rampomane was the senior departmental head. A reasonable basis was created for getting the school to run smoothly and effectively. There were, however, constraints:

Debts incurred during the past years continued to hamper the progress of the school. Virtually all school funds collected were devoted to paying school creditors, some of whom had lawyers on us. Ash Brothers had years ago supplied the school with heaters; we owed then R3000. Mr. Mahlangu had installed an intercom system and he had to be paid R2000 while the balance of another R2000 still had to be settled with Mr. S.M. Khumalo for the office furniture supplied to the school. There is no need to mention them all.⁴⁸

Mr. Kunene never knew how long he was going to be at Orlando High School. At first it seemed as though he was going to help out for a term. When by June no suitable principal had been found for the school, Mrs. Rampomane was asked to assume the acting principalship with effect from July 1983. Mr. Kunene returned to his work in the inspectorate.⁴⁹ In addition to several phone calls received by the Regional Director from the parents requesting him to retain Mr. Kunene as acting principal of the school, he also got a long memorandum from the pupils making the same plea. After careful consideration, the Regional Director sent Mr. Kunene back to Orlando High School. According to the latter a large section of the staff was not pleased by this move⁵⁰ presumably because of their anxieties about the strict standards he demanded.

In August two secondary schools, Emdeni and Mokgome, which are in the same inspectorial circuit as Orlando High School were experiencing staff crises. At Emdeni a large number of teachers had resigned following an incident in which pupils had attacked their principal with knives and pangas because he took disciplinary action against some pupils to curb dishonesty in the June 1983 examinations.

Mokgome desperately needed teachers in some subjects. After the circuit inspector had assessed the staff position at Orlando High School very carefully, he decided to second four teachers from this school, two to each of the schools in distress. The teachers concerned were approached and had the matter thoroughly explained to them. They were not being permanently transferred to Emdeni and Mokgome schools in Soweto. Early in 1984 they were to return to Orlando High School. A log book entry to this effect was made and signed by the four teachers. This unexpectedly led to a row in which the pupils of Orlando High School boycotted classes for a week.⁵¹

Some teachers on the staff had evidently told pupils that the four teachers had been sacked. These teachers did not stop at that. They encouraged pupils to boycott classes until those teachers had been reinstated at Orlando High School. Pupils were also urged to hurl stones on the top of the roof so as to create panic and disorder.⁵²

The acting principal, Mr. Kunene, and the circuit inspector concerned, explained the true position to the pupils and when this did not end the boycott the Regional Director ruled that the four teachers should return to their school. They returned. The boycott ended. What is unmistakably tragic is that even when the pupils were shown that the step (which was temporary and certainly no dismissal) would not be disadvantageous to them to any marked degree but would, on the other hand, mean so much educationally to their fellow pupils who had been without some subjects for a long time, they still remained unmoved. It is obvious that moral autonomy and other virtues including benevolence, objectivity, courage and wisdom will have to be emphasized.

After the return of the teachers to Orlando High School, classes were resumed. The school programme was followed as before. At

THE MASOEK FAMILY

Mr L S Masoek joined the staff in 1942. His wife, Joan (neé Nevana) was the head girl and a keen athlete in the 1940's. Their son, George, a B.A. Hons. graduate received his secondary school education at Orlando High School. He is a P.R.O. at the University of the North.



Mr Japie Mkhwanazi,
well-known choirmaster.



Mr E A Mhlongo,
Principal from September
1983.



Mr R Mtimkulu, first in
the admission register
in 1939 and principal in
1982.



the end of August Mr. Kunene rejoined the staff at circuit office.⁵³ Mr. E. Mhlongo, one of the heads of department had been appointed principal with effect from 1 September 1983. Mr. Mhlongo is not new to the position. Before 1976 he was principal of Dr. B.W. Vilakazi Secondary School in Zola, Soweto. He subsequently headed the Jordan High School in the Vaal Triangle.

14. Postscripts

The departmental plans to erect new buildings for Orlando High School have been finalised. Imposing double-storey buildings will replace the present structures which were put up in 1941, except for the post 1976 extensions. First, a wing will be erected and completed along the western side of the site, nearest the main road to the city. It will then be occupied by part of the school while the present classrooms are demolished in stages to enable the school to continue running while the construction work is underway.⁵⁴

When completed around 1986, this school will comprise a complex of thirty classrooms, a spacious administration and office block, a laboratory, a library and practical centres.⁵⁵

The Rock will then become a comprehensive secondary school catering for general, commercial and social courses.

15. Pupil and Student attitudes

In this penultimate section attention is focused on pupil and student attitudes. These have changed markedly since the outbreak of riots in 1976. They are easily discernible and suggest a wide field for research. Here we confine ourselves to observable changes in the behaviour patterns and possible explanation.

Mr. Kambule says he never thought he could be defied by his own pupils. He was. It happened numerous times after July 1976 and finally in April 1977 when they refused to go into class to be taught. The reason they gave was they no longer wanted to be taught Bantu Education. They increasingly tend to display disinclination to exert themselves in their school work. Teachers and lecturers generally complain about their arrogance, selfishness and the tendency to drift.

Early in February 1980 when the African National Congress bank raiders who were killed in the Silverton bank siege were to be buried, all Orlando High School pupils left school after break without saying a word to anybody.⁵⁶ This could have happened in other Soweto secondary schools as well. A meeting had possibly been held somewhere where it had been decided that pupils should boycott classes to demonstrate their solidarity with the former ANC pupils who died in a shoot-out with the police in Silverton, Pretoria on 25 January 1980. It will be remembered that two of the three women held hostage during this siege died and 19 people were injured. The three ANC men shot dead in the siege all came from Diepkloof Township, Soweto.⁵⁷ They had been close friends, attended the same schools in Soweto and had fled the country together in 1977.⁵⁸

The class boycotts, sit-ins, walk-outs and demonstrations against every conceivable reason, imaginary or real, have become a regular feature and a serious problem in African schools and universities, especially since the 1976 unrest. Pupils boycotted classes because they said they did not want some of their teachers or principals. Students of a College of Education threatened to stage a demonstration and to disrupt the farewell function of a retiring top Education and Training Official if it was held in "their Hall". At another College of Education students boycotted lectures and chanted freedom songs because 5 pregnant female students had been suspended on the eve of their examinations in 1983. In various African townships throughout

South Africa boycotts have led to the closure of schools because pupils alleged that they were not allowed to form "Student Representative Councils" and that they were subject to corporal punishment. In some instances these pupils have accused some of their male teachers of making love to their girls. These are a few examples.

Closely related to the above activities and developments are various student organisations that have been formed during this period. By far the most widely known is the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC) whose formation, character and activities were discussed earlier on. Commenting on it John Kane-Berman states:

It appears to have grown out of the South African Student's Movement (SASM), which was the equivalent of SASO among schoolchildren and formed part of the black consciousness movement. The SSRC's first president, Tsietsi Mashinini, was a senior SASM office - bearer.⁵⁹

Although State proclamations issued on 19 October 1977 declared SASO, the BPC, SASM the Soweto SRC, and virtually all the other black consciousness organisations to be unlawful,⁶⁰ these organisations continue to exert considerable political influence on African pupils and students. Other similar organisations have been established since the banning.

In April 1978 a new black consciousness organisation - the Azania People's Organisation (AZAPO) - was formed at a conference in Roodepoort, on the West Rand,⁶¹

The Congress of South African Students (COSAS) also plays a key role in mobilising pupils and students throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. For instance at the universities of Zululand and Fort Hare students staged demonstrations followed by

lecture boycotts and violence. because Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and President Lennox Sebe respectively, were going to visit these institutions in their official capacities. In the stayaway campaigns launched by the organisations referred to and joined by labour unions, pupils and students become actively involved in the "azikhwelwa" (we don't ride buses and trains) calls. It would appear that an alliance between them and workers is becoming strong.

The list of these activities involving pupils and students to date is very long. They take up a lot of valuable time and energy that could be used for studies and education. In some cases they actually say school and educational programmes are "irrelevant" in terms of the liberation struggle. During the course of some of these activities violence erupts resulting in students and other people being injured, arrested or killed; some institutions end up being closed for varying lengths of time. Students miss important examinations while the failure rate in the Junior Certificate and Matriculation examination soars. This leads to immeasurable loss of human resources and potential. My impression is that the great majority of pupils and students are not in favour of these boycotts, sit-ins, walk-outs and demonstrations even when they think they have legitimate grievances. They are coerced, pressurised and threatened into them. The parents and guardians largely lost credibility and control over them in 1976 when the authorities turned a deaf ear to the pleas of committees and school boards in the 1975-1976 period. Now they do not effectively have a voice because their own children think they can fight their battles in their own way. They also think they can tackle, on behalf of their parents, issues like rent hikes and low wages.

There has been a dual State response to school boycotts and unrest generally speaking. Firstly, some of the demands made by pupils have been granted. The minister of Education and Training, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, lifted the age limit ruling and

granted pupils the "Student Representative Councils" towards the end of 1984. These two issues had apparently been the cause of protracted class boycotts that resulted in school closures. The Minister's concessions were justified; they, however, seemed belated. Too much harm had been done. Pupils therefore tend to interpret them as the direct outcome of their pressure. What the State needs to demonstrate unfailingly is that negotiations bring results rather than boycotts.

Secondly, the State has used the police and the Army to restore order when boycotts, demonstrations and stay-away campaigns have led to violence and lawlessness. While the move has protected the general public and their property, it has the contradictory spin-off of an attempt to crush resistance against "Bantu Education" and the State policy generally. What then is the solution?

The end to school boycotts and unrest will be in sight the day parental say, authority and control are restored and also, just as crucially, the day the great silent majority of pupils and students decide they have had enough and would like to be left to go on with their education. This action on their part will be greatly facilitated by a serious study of education for Africans followed by bold action to address the root causes of unrest in the schools and other institutions of learning. This proposed solution will neither be instant nor easy; but will ultimately guarantee a worthwhile future for South Africa.

16. Conclusion and Future Prospects

The history of Orlando High School sheds light on the phenomenal growth and significant developments that have taken place in the educational provision for Africans over the last 45 years. To appreciate this one has to compare the enrolment of 11 pupils at the Orlando Communal Hall under one teacher which represented the sole provision of State-provided Secondary Education for Africans in the Johannesburg area in 1939, with the present position in Soweto and Alexandra alone.

There are now 59 State Secondary Schools, with a total enrolment of 60 887 pupils, taught by 2 174 teachers.⁶² Modern laboratories, libraries and centres for practical subjects are now a basic feature of schools that are built at the rate of 12 classrooms per working day.⁶³ Equipment for the various facets of the schools is supplied at an ever-increasing rate, while free text books are supplied for all schools in all subjects. The teacher-pupil ratio in the secondary schools referred to is 1:28⁶⁴

This focus on Orlando High School has aimed to indicate the serious problems that need to be addressed urgently if the educative process of secondary and other institutions for Africans is to be assured. By far the most important single one is the acute shortage of adequately qualified staff, especially at secondary school level. This in turn largely determines the quality of education which is generally accepted to be inferior compared to that of other population groups in South Africa. The quality of this education must be improved immensely. This is the challenge. To meet it so far, facilities have been vastly improved and increased for the training of teachers entering the **profession** and for upgrading the academic and professional qualifications of under-qualified teachers in service.

Fundamental and central to the present crisis in education, however, is the creation of a single ministry and one department of education for all population groups as recommended by the de Lange Commission in 1981. This will remove suspicion and clear the way for a great future for South Africa not only in the field of education but in all spheres of life.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER I

- 1 Soweto: A study by the Transvaal Region of the Urban Foundation, 1980, p.9.
- 2 Koch E., "Without Visible Means of Subsistence : Slumyard Culture in Johannesburg 1918 - 1940" in Town and Countryside in the Transvaal, Bozzoli (Ed), p.15.
- 3 Cartwright A.P., Strenue, The Story of King Edward VII School, p.6.
- 4 Soweto, op. cit., p.8.
- 5 Ibid. p.8
- 6 Ibid. p.8
- 7 Ibid. p.8
- 8 Ibid. p.8
- 9 Ibid. p.8
- 10 Ibid. p.9
- 11 Ibid. p.9
- 12 Hellmann E, Soweto, Johannesburg's African City, p.1.
- 13 Soweto, op. cit., p.9.
- 14 Information supplied by Mr. I.K. Kutoane, inspector of schools, in Johannesburg, in personal interview on 10.5.1984.
- 15 Hellmann, op. cit., p.1.
- 16 Kingslake B, Swedenborg Explores the Spiritual Dimension, an introduction to the New Church, 1981, p. 152.
- 17 Ibid, p. 170.
- 18 Information supplied by the Rev. O.S.D. Mooki, superintendent of the New Church of Southern Africa, in personal interview on 4.6.1984.
- 19 Ibid
- 20 Ibid
- 21 Ibid
- 22 Ibid
- 23 Ibid
- 24 Letter by the Rev. E. Fieldhouse to the Transvaal Education Department, dated 8.2.1938.

- 25 The Bantu World, 25.12.1937.
- 26 Mooki, op. cit.
- 27 Fieldhouse, op. cit.
- 28 Letter from Transvaal Education Department to Mr. Fieldhouse dated 22.2.1938.
- 29 Transvaal Education Department Report, 1938, p. 147.
- 30 Ibid
- 31 Transvaal Education Department Report, 1939, p.210.
- 32 Mooki, op. cit.
- 33 Information supplied by Mr. Rudolph Mtimkulu, the first pupil to be registered at Orlando High School in 1939. Personal interview on 4.3.1984.
- 34 Mooki, op. cit.
- 35 Information supplied by Mr J. R. Monkoe, former principal of St Mary's Anglican Primary School, Orlando, in personal interview, 3.3. 1984.
- 36 Information supplied by Mr. M. L. Mathabathe, former pupil of Orlando High School and former principal of Morris Isaacson High School, in personal interview, 5.3. 1984.
- 37 Mtimkulu, op. cit.
- 38 Mooki, op. cit.
- 39 Ibid
- 40 Ibid
- 41 Information supplied by Ellen Gobile (Mrs Ellen Makhoba), among the first pupils to be registered at Orlando High School, in personal interview, 7.6.1984.
- 42 Transvaal Education Department Report, 1939, op. cit., p. 226.
- 43 Soweto, op. cit., p.10.
- 44 Transvaal Education Department Report, 1939. op. cit., p. 151.
- 45 Mtimkulu, op. cit.
- 46 Gobile, op. cit.
- 47 Ibid
- 48 Ibid
- 49 Ibid
- 50 Ibid
- 51 Ibid

- 52 Gobile and Mtimkulu, op. cit.
- 53 Mtimkulu, op. cit.
- 54 Ibid
- 55 Transvaal Education Department Report, 1940, p.75.
- 56 Pamphlet entitled "Mr Godfrey Nakene", prepared by "Godfrey Nakene Day" Organising Committee, September 1981.
- 57 Ibid
- 58 Ibid
- 59 Ibid
- 60 Mtimkulu, op. cit.
- 61 Ibid
- 62 Information supplied by Mr Abram Somo, Head Prefect at Orlando High School, 1940 to 1945, in personal interview, 1.3.1984.
- 63 Ibid
- 64 Ibid
- 65 Ibid
- 66 Mooki, op. cit.
- 67 Ibid
- 68 Ibid
- 69 Ibid
- 70 Information supplied by Mr R.L. Peteni, staff member at Orlando High School, 1942 to 1949, in personal interview, 3.5.1984.
- 71 Somo op. cit.
- 72 Information supplied by Mr Ambition Brown, pupil at Orlando High School, 1942 to 1947, in personal interview, 5.3.1984.
- 73 Ibid
- 74 Ibid
- 75 Ibid
- 76 Extract from an Address by Professor P.F. Mohanoe, former pupil of Orlando High School on "Godfrey Nakene Day", September 1981.
- 77 Mtimkulu, op. cit.
- 78 Ibid
- 79 Ibid
- 80 Ibid
- 81 Mohanoe, op. cit.

- 82 Mtimkulu, op. cit.
- 83 Information supplied by Mrs. Mary Makola, former pupil of Orlando High School, in personal interview on 16.3.1984.
- 84 Mtimkulu, op. cit.
- 85 Peteni, op. cit.
- 86 Information supplied by Mr. S.L. Masoek, staff member Orlando High School, 1942 to date, in personal interview, 5.3.1984.
- 87 Ibid
- 88 Ibid
- 89 Somo, op. cit.
- 90 Ibid
- 91 Information supplied by Dr. (then Mr.) R.N. Gugushe, vice-principal of Orlando High School, 1943 to 1950, in personal interview, 16.5.1984.
- 92 Ibid
- 93 Masoek, op. cit.
- 94 Mathabathe, op. cit.
- 95 Mohanoe, op. cit.
- 96 Peteni, op. cit.
- 97 Ibid
- 98 Ibid
- 99 Ibid
- 100 Gugushe, op. cit.
- 101 Ibid
- 102 Masoek, op. cit.
- 103 Ibid
- 104 Ibid
- 105 Ibid
- 106 Information supplied by Mr. J. Mphahlele, former pupil of Orlando High School, in personal interview, 19.5.1984.
- 107 Ibid
- 108 Ibid
- 109 Ibid
- 110 Ibid
- 111 Ibid

- 112 Information supplied by Mr. Jake Tuli, former pupils of Orlando High School, in personal interview, 20.8.1984.
- 113 Ibid
- 114 Mtimkulu, op. cit.
- 115 Quoted from J. Walvin, *The People's Game: T. Couzens* : "An introduction to the History of Football in South Africa" in B. Bozzoli (Ed), Town and Countryside in the Transvaal, p. 45. Ravan, 1983.
- 116 Information supplied by Mr. Isaac Mothei, former pupil of Orlando High School and former player of Orlando Pirates F.C., in personal interview, 10.8. 1984.
- 117 Ibid
- 118 Masoek, op. cit.
- 119 Mothei, op. cit.
- 120 Masoek, op. cit.
- 121 Information supplied by Mr Victor Sondlo, former pupil of Orlando High School and now organiser of African School Rugby, in personal interview, 9.8.1984.
- 122 Ibid
- 123 Ibid
- 124 Ibid
- 125 Ibid
- 126 Ibid
- 127 Ibid
- 128 Ibid
- 129 Ibid
- 130 Ibid
- 131 Ibid
- 132 Couzens, op. cit., p. 199.
- 133 Sondlo, op. cit.
- 134 Ibid
- 135 Couzens, op. cit., p. 204.
- 136 Ibid. p. 206
- 137 Sondlo, op. cit.
- 138 Ibid
- 139 Ibid

- 140 Ibid
- 141 Information supplied by Mr. C. L. Mahlaba, former pupil of Orlando High School, in personal interview, 21.9.1984.
- 142 Ibid
- 143 Soweto, op. cit., p. 10.
- 144 Soweto 1983, Magazine Published by Soweto Council, p.3.
- 145 Soweto, op. cit.,p.10
- 146 Ibid
- 147 Kutoane, op. cit.
- 148 Soweto, op. cit., p.11.
- 150 Ibid
- 151 Mtimkulu, op. cit.
- 152 Magubane, P. and Lee Marshall : Soweto, p.18.
- 153 Manganyi, N.C. Exiles and Homecoming : A biography of Es'kia Mphahlele, Ravan, 1983, p. 89.
- 154 Ibid. p. 89.
- 155 Soweto, op. cit., p. 11
- 156 Ibid. p. 11
- 157 Ibid. p. 11
- 158 Ibid. p. 11
- 159 Ibid. p. 11
- 160 Masoek, op. cit.
- 161 Ibid
- 162 Ibid
- 163 Horrell M, African Education : Some Origins and development until 1953, Joahnnesburg, SAIRR, 1963, p. 61.
- 164 Molteno, F. : "The Historical Foundation of Schooling of Black South Africans" in P. Kallaway (Ed) Apartheid and Education. Ravan 1984, p. 84.
- 165 Horrell, op. cit., p. 32
- 166 Ibid. p. 32
- 167 Rose B and Tunmer R (eds) Documents in South African Education p. 237.
- 168 Horrell, op. cit., p. 32.
- 169 Ibid. p. 32

- 170 Ibid. p. 33
- 171 Ibid. p. 33
- 172 Horrell M (ed) : Bantu Education to 1968, Johannesburg, SAIRR, 1968, p.1.
- 173 Horrell, M. (1963), p. 41.
- 174 Ibid. p. 41
- 175 Lodge T : "The Parents School Boycott: Eastern Cape and East Rand Townships 1955": in Apartheid and Education, p. 266.
- 176 Ibid. p. 267
177. Union of South Africa, Report on the Native Education Commission, U.G. No. 53/1951, p. 7.
- 178 Ibid. p. 43
- 179 Ibid. pp. 130-2
- 180 Rose and Tunmer, op. cit., p. 243.
- 181 Ibid. p. 243
- 182 Ibid. p. 243
- 183 Ibid. p. 243
- 184 Lodge, op. cit., p. 267.
- 185 Rose and Tunmer, op. cit., p. 251.
- 186 Ibid. p. 250
- 187 Rose and Tunmer, op. cit., p. 238.
- 188 Ibid. p. 238
- 189 Ibid. p. 253-4
- 190 Rose and Tunmer, op. cit., p. 256.
- 191 Ibid. p. 243
- 192 Transvaal Education Department, 1939. p. 151.
- 193 Manganyi, op. cit., p. 97
- 194 Ibid. p. 97
- 195 The Voice of Orlando, Vol. 2, No. 3, September 1950, p.3.
- 196 Manganyi, op. cit., p. 101.
- 197 Manganyi N.C. Looking through the Keyhole, Johannesburg, Ravan, 1981, p.21.
- 198 Manganyi (1983), p. 97,
- 199 Ibid. p. 97
- 200 The Voice of Orlando, Vol. 2, No. 3, Spetember 1950, p.3.
- 201 Ibid. p. 7
- 202 Manganyi (1983), p. 98.
- 203 Ibid. p. 98

- 204 Lodge, op. cit., p. 267
- 205 U.G. 1951 - 53, p. 190.
- 206 Information supplied by Mr. M.A.O. Mthembu, acting principal of Orlando High School, 1979 to 1981, in personal interview, 13.5.1984.
- 207 Manganyi (1983), p. 98.
- 208 Ibid. p. 98
- 209 Ibid. p. 98
- 210 Ibid. pp. 98-9
- 211 Ibid. p. 99
- 212 Ibid. p. 104
- 213 The Voice, 23.9.1952.
- 214 Ibid
- 215 Manganyi (1983), p. 101.
- 216 Ibid. p. 101
- 217 Manganyi (1981), p.22.
- 218 Ibid. pp. 22-3
- 219 Ibid. p. 21
- 220 Lodge, op. cit., p. 273.
- 221 Ibid. p. 273
- 222 Manganyi (1983), p.102.
- 223 Ibid. p. 102
- 224 Ibid. p. 98
- 225 Ibid. p. 98
- 226 Ibid. p. 98
- 117 Mooki, op. cit.
- 228 Ibid
- 229 Manganyi (1983), p. 104.
- 230 The Torch, 5.8.1952.
- 231 Ibid
- 232 Quoted in The Torch, 5.8. 1952.
- 233 Ibid
- 234 The Torch, 12.8. 1952.
- 235 Ibid

- 236 Manganyi (1983), p. 104.
- 237 The Torch, 26.8.1952
- 238 Ibid
- 239 The Torch, 9.9.1952
- 240 Ibid
- 241 Ibid
- 242 Manganyi (1983), p. 106.
- 243 Ibid. p. 106
- 244 Ibid. p. 106
- 245 The Rand Daily Mail, 1.11.1952
- 246 Ibid
- 247 The Torch, 4.11.1952
- 248 Ibid
- 249 Information supplied by Mr Peggy Senne, former pupil of Orlando High School, in personal interview, 29.5.1984.
- 250 Ibid
- 251 Ibid
- 252 Ibid
- 253 Ibid
- 254 Ibid
- 255 Ibid
- 256 Ibid
- 257 Ibid
- 258 Ibid
- 259 Lodge, op. cit., p. 272
- 260 Ibid. p. 273
- 261 Ibid. p. 273
- 262 Ibid. p. 273
- 263 Ibid. p. 292
- 264 Ibid. p. 273
- 265 Sihlali Leo: "Bantu Education and the African Teacher" in Africa South 1 (1), 1956, p. 44.
- 266 Ibid. pp. 44-5
- 267 Ibid. p. 45
- 268 Ibid. p. 45
- 269 Ibid. p. 47

- 270 Ibid. p. 47
271 Ibid. p. 47
272 Ibid. p. 48
273 Ibid. p. 48
274 Ibid. p. 49
275 Ibid. p. 49
276 Ibid. p. 49
277 Ibid. p. 50
278 Horrell, M. : A Decade of Bantu Education, SAIRR, 1964, p.6.
279 Ibid. p. 7
280 Ibid. p. 7
281 Ibid. p. 7
282 Ibid. p. 8
283 Ibid. p. 8

CHAPTER II

- 1 Information supplied by Mr. D.Kobe, acting principal of Orlando High School in 1955. Personal interview on 23.9. 1984.
- 2 Ibid
- 3 Ibid
- 4 Ibid
- 5 Ibid
- 6 Ibid
- 7 Mathabathe, op. cit.
- 8 Mahanoe, op. cit.
- 9 Kobe, op. cit.
- 10 Rose and Tunmer, p. 261
11. Mooki, op. cit.
- 12 Ibid
- 13 Ibid
- 14 Information supplied by Mr. R.H. Bekwa, Vice-Chairman, Orlando School Board 1956 to 1963; Chairman, Orlando School Board 1963 to 1972, in personal interview, 31.5.1984.
- 15 Horrell M (1964), p. 45.
- 16 Ibid, p. 44.
- 17 Information supplied by Mr. A.Tseleng, vice-principal, Orlando High School 1963 to 1977, in personal interview, 18.8.1984.
- 18 Information supplied by Mr. R.S. Moys, former circuit inspector for Orlando Area, in a letter dated 6.11.1984.
- 19 Bekwa, op. cit.
- 20 Ibid
- 21 Ibid
- 22 Ibid
- 23 Illuminated Address presented to Mr. Mageza by the Orlando High School Committee, June 1958.
- 24 Bekwa, op. cit.
- 25 Ibid
- 26 Ibid
- 27 Ibid
- 28 Ibid

- 29 Information supplied by Mr. T. W. Kambule, former principal of Orlando High School, 1959 to 1977 in personal interview, 11.7.1984.
- 30 Ibid
- 31 Ibid
- 32 Ibid
- 33 Ibid
- 34 Ibid
- 35 Ibid
- 36 Ibid
- 37 Ibid
- 38 Ibid
- 39 Ibid
- 40 Ibid
- 41 Ibid
- 42 A copy of Mr. K. B. Hartshorne's letter to the Director of Education Swaziland, 28.8. 1961.
- 43 Kambule, op. cit.
- 44 A copy of Mr. K. B. Hartshorne's letter to the Regional Director, Southern Transvaal Region, dated 10.4.1962.
- 45 Ibid
- 46 Mohanoe, op. cit.
- 47 Horrell, M. (1964), p.14.
- 48 Ibid. p. 15.
- 49 Ibid. pp. 60-61
- 50 Quarterly Returns for Bantu Schools (B.E. 40) for March 1964, March 1965, March 1966, March 1967, March 1968, March 1969 and March 1970.
- 51 Kambule, op. cit.
- 52 Report on Inspection of Financial Records: Orlando High School by Administrative. Organiser, dated 15.6.1971.
- 53 Kambule, op. cit.
- 54 Ibid
- 55 Ibid
- 56 Ibid
- 57 Ibid

- 58 Ibid
- 59 Ibid
- 60 Ibid
- 61 Ibid
- 62 Ibid
- 63 Ibid
- 64 Ibid
- 65 Rand Daily Mail, 9.6.1966.
- 66 Kambule op. cit.
- 67 Kambule T.W. in Robert Birley 1903-1982 University Press, Oxford,
p.34-
- 68 Ibid. p. 37
- 69 Ibid. p. 37
- 70 Ibid. p. 37
- 71 Ibid. p. 36
- 72 Ibid. p. 36
- 73 Bozzoli, G.R. in Robert Birley, op. cit., p. 34.
- 74 Ibid. p. 34
- 75 Ibid. p. 34
- 76 Kambule in Robert Birley, op. cit., pp. 36-7.
- 77 Masoek, op. cit.
- 78 Ibid
- 79 Ibid
- 80 Orlando High School Record of Summary of Results (J.C.) 1965 to 1975.
- 81 Orlando High School Record of Summary of Results (Matriculation) 1965 to 1975.
- 82 Orlando High School Inspection Report for 1-3 June 1976 dated 6.10.1976.
- 83 Orlando High School Inspection Report for 30.4.1963 to 3.5.1963, undated.
- 84 Ibid
- 85 Orlando High School Inspection Report for 23.8.1973 to 24.8.1973 dated 14.9.1973.
- 86 Orlando High School Inspection Report for 1-3 June 1976 dated 6.10.1976.

- 87 Orlando High School Inspection Report on 1972 results dated 9.4.1973.
- 88 Ibid
- 89 Kambule, op. cit.
- 90 Ibid
- 91 Shindler J, "African Matric Results : 1955 to 1983", Tropical Briefing PD 4/84, SAIRR, Johanneburg, 1984, p.3.
- 92 Ibid. p. 3
- 93 Ibid. p. 3
- 94 Ibid. p. 4
- 95 Orlando High School Inspection Report for 22.5.1967 to 24.5.1967 dated 24.5.1967
- 96 Kambule, op. cit.
- 97 Ibid
- 98 The Sowetan, 15.9.1982. |
- 99 Ibid
- 100 Horrell, M. ((164) p. 63.
- 101 Ibid. p. 63
- 102 Ibid. p. 63
- 103 Kane-Berman, J., Black Revolt, White Reaction, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1978.
- 104 Ibid. pp. 11-2
- 105 A letter from the Secretary of Bantu Education to the Regional Director of Southern Transvaal, dated 5.5.1960.
- 106 Kambule, op. cit.
- 107 A letter from the Regional Secretary, Southern Transvaal Region, to the Circuit Inspector, dated 9.9.1964.
- 108 Orlando High School Inspection Report for 27.5.1969 to 30.5.1969 dated 9.6.1969.
- 109 Orlando High School Inspection Report for 10.5.1971 to 14.5.1971 dated 2.7.1971.
- 110 Circular letter from Circuit Inspector to all principals of secondary schools and the Orlando School Board dated 2.7.1971.
- 111 Kane- Berman, p.13.
- 112 Ibid. p. 13
- 113 Department of Bantu Education, Southern Transvaal Region, Circular No. 2 of 1974 to all principals, dated 29.8.1974.
- 114 Department of Bantu Education, Circular No. 6 of 1974 to Regional Directors and Circuit Inspectors, dated 17.4.1974.

- 115 Ibid
- 116 Kambule, op. cit.
- 117 Kambule, op. cit.
- 118 Kane-Berman, pp. 13-4
- 119 Ibid. p. 14

CHAPTER III

- 1 Bantu Education Departmental Circular No. 13 of 1976 dated 12.7.1976.
- 2 Ibid
- 3 Ibid
- 4 Ibid
- 5 Kane-Berman, op. cit, p. 47
- 6 Ibid, p. 47
- 7 Ibid, p. 134
- 8 Ibid, p. 115
- 9 Ibid, p. 134
- 10 Ibid, p. 137
- 11 Ibid, p. 138
- 12 Kambule, op. cit.
- 13 Ibid
- 14 Ibid
- 15 Ibid
- 16 Ibid
- 17 Ibid
- 18 Rand Daily Mail, 29.9.1977
- 19 Ibid
- 20 The World, 24.1.1968
- 21 Rand Daily Mail, 29.9.1977
- 22 Ibid
- 23 Information supplied by Mr. M.A.O. Mthembu, acting principal of Orland High School, 1979 to 1981. Personal interview on 13.5.1984
- 24 Ibid
- 25 Ibid
- 26 Ibid
- 27 Ibid
- 28 Kallaway Peter, "An Introduction to the study of Education for Blacks in South Africa" in Apartheid and Education, op. cit, p.26.
- 29 Mthembu, op. cit.

- 30 Department of Education and Training, Jhb Region, document D6904 listing Governing Council Members for Orlando High School, dated 22.9.1983
- 31 Orlando High School Standard 9 Results for 1981, 1982 and 1983
- 32 Orlando High School Matriculation Results for 1980, 1981, 1982 and 1983
- 33 Letter of Resignation from Mr. R. Mtimkulu to the Circuit Inspector dated 29.10.1982
- 34 Ibid
- 35 Mtimkulu R: Written report given to Orlando High School Parents' Meeting on Saturday 28.8.1982
- 36 Mtimkulu, op. cit.
- 37 Ibid
- 38 Shindler J, op. cit; see appendix.
- 39 Mtimkulu, op. cit. 28.8.1982
- 40 Mtimkulu, op. cit.
- 41 Ibid
- 42 Ibid
- 43 Ibid
- 44 Ibid
- 45 Information supplied by Mr. T. Kunene, Inspector of Schools and former acting principal, Orlando High School in personal interview on 22.11.1984
- 46 Ibid
- 47 Ibid
- 48 Ibid
- 49 Ibid
- 50 Ibid
- 51 Ibid
- 52 Ibid
- 53 Ibid
- 54 Information supplied by Mr. J. Chambers, Regional Inspector, Jhb Region, in personal interview on 23.11.1984
- 55 Ibid
- 56 Mthembu, op. cit.
- 57 Rand Daily Mail, 31.1.1980
- 58 Rand Daily Mail, 1.2.1980

- 59 Kane-Berman, op. cit, p. 109
- 60 Ibid, p. 108
- 61 Ibid, p. 108
- 62 Chambers, op. cit.
- 63 Information supplied by Mr. Job Schoeman, Public Relations Officer, Department of Education and Training, Pretoria, in personal interview on 24.11.1984
- 64 Chambers, op. cit.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

DOCUMENTS

- 1.1 Orlando High School Records (Consulted in the Johannesburg Regional Office of the Department of Education and Training, 1984).
 - 1.1.1 Quarterly Returns for Bantu Schools (B.E 40) for March 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969 and 1970.
 - 1.1.2 Orlando High School Record of Summary of Junior and Matriculation Results 1965 to 1975.
 - 1.1.3 Orlando High School Inspection Reports:
 - for 30.04.1963 to 03.05.1963, undated
 - for 22.05.1967 to 24.05.1967, dated 24.05.1967
 - for 27.05.1969 to 30.05.1969, dated 09.06.1969
 - On the Financial Records, dated 15.06.1971
 - for 10.05.1971 to 14.05.1971, dated 02.07.1971
 - On the 1972 Results dated 09.04.1973
 - for 23.08.1973 to 24.08.1973, dated 14.09.1973
 - for 01.06.1976 to 03.06.1976, dated 06.10.1976
- 1.2 Records of Department - Department of Education and Training, formerly Department of Bantu Education in order of mention in the text (Also consulted in the Johannesburg Office of the Department of Education and Training, 1984).
 - 1.2.1 Letter by Mr K.B. Hartshorne, Circuit Inspector in charge of Orlando High School, to the Director of Education Swaziland, dated 28.08.1961.
 - 1.2.2 Letter by Mr K.B. Hartshorne to the Regional Director, Southern Transvaal, Department of Bantu Education, dated 10.04.1962.
 - 1.2.3 Letter from the Secretary of Bantu Education to the Regional Director, Southern Transvaal, dated 09.09.1964.
 - 1.2.4 Circular letter from Circuit Inspector to all Principals of Secondary Schools and the Orlando School/...

School Board, dated 02.07.1971.

- 1.2.5 Circular No. 2 of 1974 from the Department of Bantu Education, Southern Transvaal, to all principals, dated 29.08.1974.
- 1.2.6 Department of Bantu Education, Circular No. 6 of 1974 to Regional Directors and Circuit Inspectors, dated 17.04.1974.
- 1.2.7 Bantu Education Departmental Circular No. 13 of 1976, dated 12.07.1976.
- 1.3 Government Commission Reports, Education Reports and Acts relating to African Education.
 - 1.3.1 Inter-departmental Committee Report on Native Education, 1935 - 1936 (Welsh Report) U.G. 29/1936, Pretoria, 1936.
 - 1.3.2 Transvaal Education Department Annual Reports, 1938, 1939 and 1940.
 - 1.3.3 Union of South Africa, Report of the Native Education Commission (Eiselen Report) U.G. 53/1951.
 - 1.3.4 The Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953.
 - 1.3.5 Report of a Commission of Inquiry into the teaching of the official languages and the use of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction in Transkeian Primary Schools (R.P. 22/1963).
 - 1.3.6 Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the riots at Soweto and elsewhere from 16 June 1976 to 28 February 1977. Vol I and II.
 - 1.3.7 The Education and Training Act, No. 90 of 1979.
 - 1.3.8 Human Sciences Research Council, Provision of Education in the Republic of South Africa (De Lange Report), Reports of the Main Committee of the HSRC, Pretoria, 1981.
- 1.4 Other Records
 - 1.4.1 Letter by the Rev. E. Fieldhouse to the Transvaal Education Department, dated 08.02.1938.
 - 1.4.2 Letter from the Transvaal Education Department to the Rev. E. Fieldhouse, dated 22.02.1938.
 - 1.4.3 Pamphlet entitled "Mr Godfrey Nakene", prepared by the "Godfrey Nakene Day" Organizing Committee, September 1981.

1.4.4/...

- 1.4.4 Address by Prof. P.F. Mohanoe, former pupil of Orlando High School on "Godfrey Nakene Day", September 1981 (Mimeographed).
- 1.4.5 Personal letter from Mr R.S. Moys, former Circuit Inspector in charge of Orlando High School, dated 06.11.1984.
- 1.4.6 Illuminated address presented to Mr C.K. Mageza by the Orlando High School Committee, June 1958.

ORAL SOURCES

Interviews with the following persons:

- 2.1 Mr Bekwa R.H. - Vice-chairman, Orlando School Board 1956 to 1963. Chairman Orlando School Board 1963 to 1972 (personal interview 31.05.1984).
- 2.2 Mr Brown A. - Pupil at Orlando High School, 1942 to 1947. He is a prominent civic leader (05.03.1984).
- 2.3 Mr Chambers J. - Department of Education and Training Regional Inspector, Johannesburg (23.11.1984).
- 2.4 Mr Guqushe R.N. - Campus Director of Soweto Branch, Vista University and former vice-principal of Orlando High School, 1943 to 1950 (16.05.1984).
- 2.5 Mr Kambule T.W. - Senior lecturer in Mathematics Department, University of the Witwatersrand and former principal of Orlando High School, 1959 to 1977 (11.07.1984).
- 2.6 Mr Kobe D. - Secretary for Education, Lebowa Government and former acting principal of Orlando High School in 1955 (23.09.1984).
- 2.7 Mr Kunene T. - Inspector of Schools, Johannesburg Region. He served as acting Principal of Orlando High School from January to August 1983 (22.11.1984).
- 2.8 Mr Kutoane K.I. - Inspector of Schools in the Johannesburg Region and former resident of Prospect Township (10.05.1984).
- 2.9 Mr Mahlaba C.L. - Inspector of Schools, Psychological Services, Johannesburg and former pupil of Orlando High School (21.09.1984).
- 2.10 Mrs Makhoba E. (Nee Gobile) - Retired nursing sister and among the first pupils to be registered at Orlando High School (07.06.1984).

2.11/...

- 2.11 Mrs Makola M. - Headmistress of a Primary School, Soweto and former pupil of Orlando High School (16.03.1984).
- 2.12 Mr Masoek L.S. - Staff member, Orlando High School 1942 to date (05.03.1984).
- 2.13 Mr Mathabathe M.L. - Former pupil of Orlando High School and former principal of Morris Isaacson High School, Soweto (05.03.1984).
- 2.14 Rev. Mooki O.S.D. - Superintendent, New Church of Southern Africa. He served on the Board of Control that administered Orlando High School soon after its establishment. Former chairman, Orlando School Board, 1955 to 1963 (04.06.1984).
- 2.15 Mr Monkoe J.R. - Retired teacher and former principal of St. Mary's Anglican Primary School, Orlando (03.03.1984).
- 2.16 Mr Mothei I. - Former pupil of Orlando High School and former player of early Orlando Pirates Football Club (10.08.1984).
- 2.17 Mr Mphahlele J. - Well-known sports administrator and former pupil of Orlando High School from 1949 to 1954 (19.05.1984).
- 2.18 Mr Mthembu M.A.O. - Former pupil, teacher and acting principal of Orlando High School, 1979 to 1981 (13.05.1984).
- 2.19 Mr Mtimkulu R. - Principal of the Herbert Mdingi Adult Education Centre. He was the first pupil to be registered at the Orlando High School in 1939. In 1982 he headed this school (04.03.1984).
- 2.20 Mr Peteni R.L. - Former teacher at Orlando High School, 1942 to 1949. President of the African Teachers Association of South Africa (03.05.1984).
- 2.21 Mr Schoeman J. - Public Relations Officer, Department of Education and Training (24.11.1984).
- 2.22 Mr Senne P. - Former pupil of Orlando High School, 1949 to 1954 (29.05.1984).
- 2.23 Mr Somo A.R. - Former pupil and first chief prefect at Orlando High School, 1940 to 1945 (01.03.1984).
- 2.24 Mr Sondlo V. - Organiser of African School Rugby. Former pupil of Orlando High School, 1943 to 1947 (09.08.1984).

- 2.25 Mr Tseleng A. - Former vice-principal, Orlando High School, 1963 to 1977 (18.08.1984).
- 2.26 Mr Tuli J. - Former British and Flyweight Boxing Champion and former pupil of Orlando High School (20.08.1984).

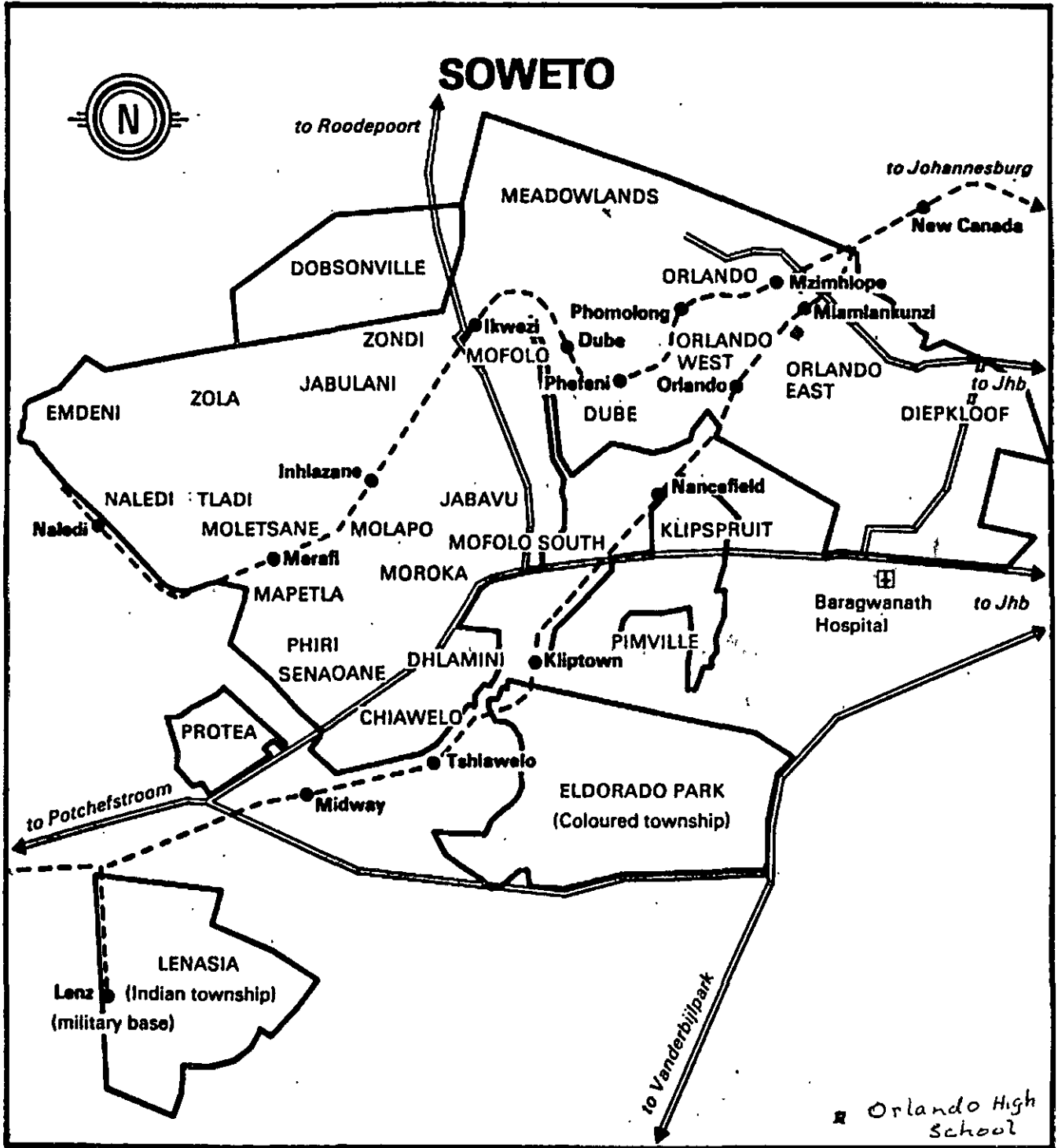
NEWSPAPERS

- 3.1 The Bantu Word, 25.12.1937, 24.01.1968.
- 3.2 The Voice of Orlando, September 1950, September 1952.
- 3.3 The Torch, 05.08.1952, 12.08.1952, 26.08.1952, 09.09.1952 and 04.11.1952.
- 3.4 The Rand Daily Mail, 01.11.1952, 09.06.1966, 29.09.1977, 31.01.1980 and 01.02.1980.
- 3.5 The Sowetan, 15.09.1982.

SECONDARY SOURCES

1. Briggs, A.S.A., "The Study of the History of Education" in History of Education Vol I Jan. 1972.
2. Cartwright, A.P., Streue, The Story of King Edward VII School, Purnell, Cape Town, 1974.
3. Couzens, T., "An introduction to the History of Football in South Africa" in Bozzoli, B. (Ed), Town and Countryside in the Transvaal, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1983.
4. Hellmann, E., Soweto, Johannesburg's African City, SAIRR, Johannesburg, 1968.
5. Horrell, M., African Education : Some Origins and Development until 1953, SAIRR, Johannesburg, 1963.
6. Horrell, M., A Decade of Bantu Education, SAIRR, Johannesburg, 1964.
7. Horrell, M. (Ed) Bantu Education to 1968, SAIRR, Johannesburg, 1968.
8. Kallaway, P., "An introduction to the study of Education for Blacks in South Africa" in Kallaway, P., (Ed), Apartheid and Education, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1984.
9. Kambule, T.W., in Robert Birley 1903 - 1982, University Press, Oxford.

10. Kane-Berman, J., Black Revolt, White Reaction, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1978.
11. Kingslake, B., Swedenborg explores the Spiritual Dimension, and introduction to the New Church, Seminar Books, London, 1981.
12. Koch, E., "Without Visible of Subsistence: Slumyard Culture in Johannesburg 1918 - 1940" in Bozzoli, B. (Ed), op. cit.
13. Lodge, T., "Parents School Boycott: Eastern Cape and East Rand Townships" in Kallaway (Ed), op. cit.
14. Magubane, P. and Lee Marshall, Soweto, Pringtak, Cape Town, 1979.
15. Manganyi, N.C., Looking through the Keyhole, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1981.
16. Manganyi, N.C., Exiles and Homecomings: A Biography of Es'kia Mphahlele, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1983.
17. Molteno, F., "The Historical Foundation of the Schooling of Black South Africans", in Kallaway, P. (Ed), op. cit.
18. Rose, B., and Tunmer, R. (Eds) Documents in South African Education, AD. Donker/Publisher, Johannesburg, 1975.
19. Shindler, J., "African Matric Results: 1955 to 1983", Tropical Briefing PD 4/84, SAIRR, Johannesburg, 1984.
20. Sihlali, L., "Bantu Education and the African Teacher" in South Africa 1 (1), 1956.
21. Simon, B., "The History of Education" in Tibbele, J.W. (Ed), The Study of Education, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1966.
22. Soweto: A study by the Transvaal Region of the Urban Foundation, Perskor, Johannesburg, 1980.
23. Soweto 1983, Magazine Published by Soweto Council.



Map in : Soweto Black Revolt,
 White Reaction by
 J. Kane-Berman

95 Rail Street,

8th February 1938

The Secretary,
The Transvaal Education Department,
P.O. Box 432,
Pretoria.

Dear Sir,

At Orlando, with the approval of the Johannesburg Native Affairs Department, we are erecting buildings which will be used for the development of a private college. While the primary purpose of the college is to train men for the ministry of the New Church, we desire also to serve native education by preparing students for the Junior Certificate Examination and for the Transvaal First and Second Year Teacher's Certificate.

The Johannesburg Native Affairs Department has given us permission to use one of the houses as a hostel, and has further given us authority to erect a hostel on the site. To enable us to do this and extend our buildings ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the Municipality have doubled the size of the site originally granted us.

We have started this term with a number of students for Junior Certificate and First Year Teacher's Certificate. Some of the students, in order to attend the college, which will be called the Mooki Memorial College, have had to travel considerable distances. On approaching the Railway Administration for students' concessions I am told that it is necessary for the College to be registered by the Department as a private college, before railway concession certificates can be issued. Acting on this advice I wish formally to ask for the registration by the Department of this institution as a private college. If this registration involves being subject to the visitation of the Inspector for Native Schools, I shall warmly welcome this.

For your information, I beg to inform you that I am acting as Principal of the College, and my daughter, Miss D. E. Fieldhouse, B.A. (Lond), who holds the London University Diploma of Pedagogy, is giving full time service. Until recently, when we lost his services by death, we also had the services of a native (Cape III) teacher. I hope soon to appoint another to take his place.

I shall be grateful for an early reply as I have three or four applicants who are waiting for me to send them the necessary railway concession forms.

Yours faithfully,

(11)

T.O.D. 5./T.E.D. 5.

All mededellings moet goedres-
All communications must be
seer word aan die Sekretaris,
addressed to the Secretary,
Transvaalse Onderwysde-
The Transvaal Educatidh
partement.
Department.



Geliewe by enige verdere korre-
In any future correspondence
spondensie hierdie nommer aan
please quote this number:
te haal:

E.32671.

No.....

TRANSVAALSE ONDERWYSDEPARTEMENT,
THE TRANSVAAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT,

POSBUS 432.
P.O. BOX 432.

PRETORIA.

The Reverend E. Fieldhouse,
95 Rail Street,
FLORIDA.

Sir,

With reference to your letter dated the 8th. instant,
on the subject of a Higher Primary course and Teachers' Course
at the Mooki Memorial College, I am directed to inform
you with regret that the Department is unable to assist
towards obtaining from the Railway Administration concession
certificates for the students attending this College, as
the Department is unable to recognise this Institution.

I am to state that the Department would not be
prepared to admit candidates from this College to the
Departmental examinations as this cannot be done under the
existing regulations.

I am to add that it is considered desirable that
any action to be taken with secondary education in
Orlando should be taken in cooperation with all
the parties interested in this matter.

I am,

Your obedient servant,

M. B. ...

(iv)

COPY

NATIVE AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT
(BANTU EDUCATION SECTION)

OFFICE:

SUB-INSPECTOR OF BANTU EDUCATION,
PRIVATE BAG 24,
KRUGERSDORP.

29th May, 1956.

Sir/Madam

RE: SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION - PARENT ELECTED
MEMBERS, MEADOWLANDS SCHOOL BOARD

In terms of the Regulations of the Community Schools, you as parent elected member on your school committee are requested to attend a meeting to be held at Meadowlands Emzimbubu Community School on Saturday 9th June, 1956 at 3 p.m. sharp, for the purpose of electing four members to represent parents on the School Board for Meadowlands Schools.

The meeting will be presided over by a Departmental Official.

Your attendance will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

C N Phatudi
SUB-INSPECTOR: BANTU EDUCATION.

(V)
RS/0/13

Mr. Hartshorne

835-3597
33-4288/9

INSPECTOR OF BANTU EDUCATION:
Rand Central Circuit,
Private Bag 4,
JOHANNESBURG.
28th August, 1961.

The Director of Education,
SWAZILAND.

Dear Sir,

re : T.W. KAMBULE
Principal, Nakene High School, Orlando,
Johannesburg.

It has been brought to my notice that Mr. Kambule has been offered a post under your Department, and has been informed by telegram that he is to report for duty on September 1st.

Mr. Kambule is Principal of a larger and difficult High School in which there are over a hundred final Junior Certificate candidates and thirty Matriculation candidates. To remove Mr. Kambule at this juncture just before the examinations can only cause a considerable disservice to the school.

Neither the School Board nor myself wish to stand in Mr. Kambule's way, nor could we like to affect his future career. On the other hand we must protect the interests of the Nakene High School.

In view of this I trust that you will agree to allow Mr. Kambule's appointment to date from 1.1.1962.

I am,

Yours sincerely,



INSPECTOR OF BANTU EDUCATION:
RAND CENTRAL CIRCUIT.

KEH/HAN.

COPY

R5/0/13/5

835.3597

Regional Director,
Bantu Education, S. Tv1.,
P/Bag 100, PRETORIA

DEPARTMENT VAN BANTOE-ONDERWYS
PRIVAATSAK/PRIVATE BAG X4

10 APRIL 1962
JOHANNESBURG
DEPARTMENT OF BANTU EDUCATION

MR PROZESKY

NAKENE HIGH SCHOOL, ORLANDO
CHANGE OF NAME

You will remember that at a meeting of the Orlando School Board in December 1961 at which you were present the question of the names of schools was discussed.

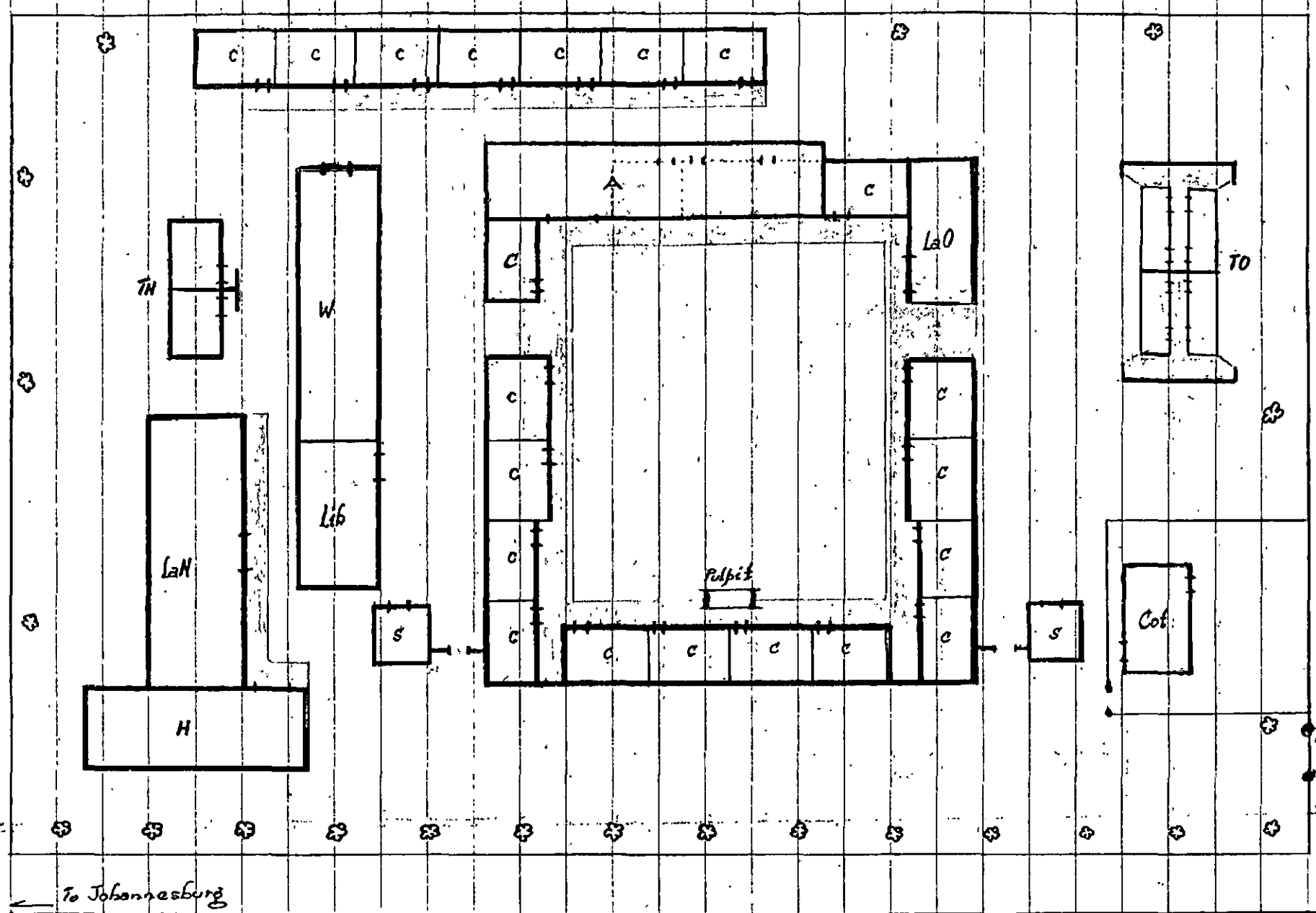
From the attached letter from the School Board you will see that it is their wish (and that of the School Committee) to revert to ORLANDO HIGH SCHOOL. There are good arguments for this, as the general public have continued to use this name for it, and Nakene H.S. has never been fully accepted. The change would avoid the use of the name of a departmental official still living and also local difficulties over the replacement of this by the name of any other person.

It is recommended that this proposal be accepted.

(Signed): K.B. Hartshorne

Rand Central Circuit

THE GROUND PLAN OF ORLANDO HIGH SCHOOL: 1984



- Key
- A- Admin. Block
 - c- Classrooms
 - Cot- Cottage
 - LaO- Old Laboratory
 - LaN- New Laboratory
 - Lib- Birley Library
 - H- Homecraft Centre
 - S- Storerooms
 - TN- New Toilets
 - TO- Old Toilets
 - W- Woodwork Centre
 - ☼- Trees

Main gate

Main road

To Johannesburg

(viii)

Telegrafiese Adres:
Telegraphic Address:
"IMFUNDO"
Privateak/Private Bag 212
Navres/Enquiries:
Tel. No. 3-9931



Verw./Ref. No.....

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA—REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

DEPARTEMENT VAN BANTOE-ONDERWYS,
DEPARTMENT OF BANTU EDUCATION,

PRETORIA.

.....17.4.1974.....

TO: REGIONAL DIRECTORS TRANSVAAL
 CIRCUIT INSPECTORS ORANGE FREE STATE
 NATAL
 CAPE

DEPARTMENTAL CIRCULAR NO. ..6... OF 1974. [File: 6/8/37]

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION AT THE SECONDARY LEVEL

1. Concerning the medium of instruction in secondary classes (Std 5, Forms I-V) in relation to the implementation of the new 12-year structure in 1975, the Honourable the Minister has decided as follows for all secondary classes in White regions:-
 - (a) That the status quo in the use of both official languages, on a 50-50 basis, for the purpose of instruction at the secondary level will be maintained.
 - (b) Should practical difficulties arise in giving instruction in half of the subjects through the medium of one or other of the official languages, departmental approval must be obtained for any deviation from the above decision. Departmental approval in such cases will be dependent largely upon the availability, or non-availability, of teachers competent to teach the particular subject through the official language concerned.
2. Schools which in the past have already received approval to deviate from the laid-down policy need not apply again.
3. Should practical difficulties be experienced in future at new schools or where new courses/subjects are introduced the necessary application requesting permission to deviate from the established policy must be submitted.
4. Applications from schools must be submitted to Head Office through the normal channels, and must bear the recommendations of the Circuit Inspector and Regional Director.

J. J. Roussan

ACTING SECRETARY FOR BANTU EDUCATION

(ix)

Ref. 28/1/9/2

Office of the
REGIONAL DIRECTOR OF BANTU EDUCATION
SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL REGION
PRIVATE BAG X100
PRETORIA
0001

29th August, 1974

REGIONAL CIRCULAR NO. 2 of 1974

TO ALL PRINCIPALS: SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL REGION
UNIFORM APPROACH IN SCHOOLS

In the guide to principals of schools the duties of principals are clearly set out.

The Southern Transvaal Region is a compact unit and the Inspectorate desire a more uniform approach in our schools. It is thus necessary to bring the following matters specially to your notice:

1. Language medium from Std. V to Form V.
In the Southern Transvaal Region English and Afrikaans are used on a 50 - 50 basis.

(a) Std. V, Forms I and II

English medium: (i) General Science

(ii) Practical Subjects (Homecraft/Needlework/
Woodwork & Metalwork/Art & Craft/
Agricultural Science

Afrikaans medium: (i) Wiskunde (Rekenkunde)

(ii) Sosiale Studie

Vernacular: Religious Education, Music and Song, Physical Education

These subjects will be taught from 1975 in the above-mentioned media in Std. V (and preferably in Std. VI also) In 1976 the Secondary Schools will continue with these media.

(b) Forms III, IV and V

The 50-50 basis should already be in operation in Form III. Subjects which replace the subjects mentioned under (a) will be taught through the same medium. Schools which are not teaching on a 50-50 basis must do so from 1975.

2. Class visits and compilation of reports

Every principal is expected to visit the classes of each teacher once a quarter. A report of the visits in the first three quarters must be drawn up and a copy of these reports must reach the Circuit Inspector before the end of the quarter.

From Sub A to Std. IV Form B.E.340 is used. From Std. V to Form V Form 370 is used. The forms will be supplied by the circuit office.

3. SCHOOL TOURS: We learned with sorrow of the accident in which pupils and teachers of the Soweto Secondary School were involved.

The lesson to be learned from the accident and similar accidents in the past is that no school tours should be undertaken without comprehensive insurance having been taken out. Circuit Inspectors will give guidance on these matters.

4. Your whole-hearted co-operation in carrying out these instructions is desired. Let us work together to raise the standard of education.

M. B. O. O. O.
REGIONAL DIRECTOR OF BANTU EDUCATION
SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL REGION

28/1/9/2

STREEKDIREKTEUR VAN BANTOE-ONDERWYS
SUID-TRANSVAALSTREEK
PRIV.ATSAK X100
PRETORIA
0001

29 Augustus 1974

STREEKOMSENBRIEF NR. 2 VAN 1974

AAN ALLE PRINSIPALE - SUID TRANSVAALSTREEK

EENVORMIGHEID VAN OPTREDE IN SKOLE

In die Handleiding vir Prinsipale van skole, word die pligte van 'n prinsipaal baie duidelik uiteengesit.

Die Suid-Transvaalstreek is 'n kompakte eenheid en die inspektoraat wil groter eenvormigheid van optrede in ons skole sien. Daarom is dit nodig om die volgende sake pertinent onder u aandag te bring.

1. Medium van Onderrig vanaf St. V tot vorm V. In die Suid-Transvaalstreek word Afrikaans en Engels op 'n 50 - 50 grondslag gebruik.

a. St. V Vorm I & II

Engelsmedium: (i) Algemene Wetenskap
(ii) Praktiese vak (Huisvlyt/Naaldwerk/Hout en Metaalwerk/Kuns/Landboukunde.

Afrikaansmedium: Wiskunde (Rekenkunde)
Sosiale Studie.

Moedertaal: Godsdiensonderwys, Musiek en sang
Liggaamsopvoeding.

Hierdie vakke sal vanaf 1975 in St. V (en verkieslik ook in St. VI) deur die aangetoonde medium aangebied word. Vanaf 1976 sal die Sekondêre skole daarmee voortgaan.

b. Vorm III, IV en V

Die 50 - 50 grondslag moet reeds in Vorm III ingevoer wees. Vakke wat voortspruit uit die vakke onder (a) genoem of hulle keusevakke sal deur Medium van dieselfde taal aangebied word. Skole waar die 50 - 50 grondslag nog nie ingevoer is nie, sal dit wel vanaf 1975 moet doen.

2. Klasbesoek en die opstel van verslae

Van elke prinsipaal word verwag om by elke onderwyser een keer per kwartaal klasbesoek te doen. Van die besoeke in die eerste drie kwartale moet 'n verslag opgestel word waarvan een afskrif die Kringinspekteur voor die einde van die kwartaal moet bereik. In Sub A tot St. IV word vorm B.O. 340 en in St. V tot Vorm V word vorm 37 D gebruik. Die vorms sal deur die kringkantoor verskaf word.

3. Skoolreise


Ons het almal met leedwese verneem van die ongeluk waarin leerlinge en onderwysers van die Soweto Sekondêre skool betrokke was.

Die les wat uit die ongeluk en soortgelyke ongelukke in die verlede geleer moet word, is dat geen skooltoer onderneem mag word sonder dat omvattende versekering uitgeneem is nie. Kringinspekteurs sal leiding in die verband kan gee.

4. Ons maak staat op u heelhartige samewerking om uitvoering aan die opdragte te gee. Laat ons almal saamwerk om die standaard van onderwys te verhoog.

M. L. Osk...

STREEKDIREKTEUR VAN BANTOE-ONDERWYS
SUID-TRANSVAALSTREEK

 REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA	DEPARTEMENT VAN BANTOE-ONDERWYS DEPARTMENT OF BANTU EDUCATION		Alle korrespondensie moet gerig word aan: All correspondence to be addressed to: SEKRETARIS VAN BANTOE-ONDERWYS SECRETARY FOR BANTU EDUCATION	
	Scheidingsstraat 196 Scheiding Street PRETORIA		Privaatsak. X212 Private Bag PRETORIA 0001	
Navrae/Enquiries M.A.H. ENGELBROUWER	Telefoon/Telephone Bylyn 332	Verw. No./Ref. No 6/8/1	U Verw. No./Your Ref. No.	Tel. Adr. "IMFUNDU" Teleks/Telex: 3-683

TO: REGIONAL DIRECTORS
 CIRCUIT INSPECTORS
 SECRETARIES OF SCHOOL BOARDS
 PRINCIPALS OF POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLS
 PRINCIPALS OF H.P. SCHOOLS WITH STD. 5 CLASSES
 MANAGERS OF H.P. SCHOOLS WITH STD. 5 CLASSES

DEPARTMENTAL CIRCULAR NO. 13 OF 1976
 (FILE NO: 6/8/1)

12.7.76

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN BANTU SCHOOLS FALLING UNDER THE DEPARTMENT OF BANTU EDUCATION

1. The principles and procedures enunciated below in regard to the medium of instruction in Bantu schools are hereby made known to all concerned, and come into force immediately. This circular, thus, supersedes all previous circulars on the same matter.
2. General Principles:
 - 2.1. For universally accepted educational reasons the greatest possible value is still attached to the mother tongue as a medium of instruction.
 - 2.2. Owing to problems encountered in regard to the general availability and applicability of the mother tongue as the medium, where desirable, both official languages may be employed as media of instruction.
 - 2.3. On account of prevailing circumstances, however, it is still necessary to deviate from the use of the mother tongue or of both official languages.
3. Procedure to be followed:
 - 3.1. In all primary schools the mother tongue shall be the medium of instruction in all classes from substandard A up to and including std. 4.
 - 3.2. For std. 5 and in all post-primary schools the following options are open with regard to the medium of instruction:
 - 3.2.1. English as the medium (with additional attention to Afrikaans as a subject) and with the mother tongue as the medium in subjects where practicable.
 - 3.2.2. Afrikaans as the medium (with additional attention

to English as a subject) and with the mother tongue as the medium in subjects where practicable.

- 3.2.3. English and Afrikaans, respectively as media in certain subjects with the mother tongue as medium in subjects where practicable
- 3.3. The principal of each school must apply on the attached form - BE. 386 - to the Secretary for Bantu Education for confirmation of his option of medium, after having received the recommendation of the school committee and school board concerned.
- 3.4. Principals of State Bantu schools, Private schools, Farm schools, Mine schools and Factory schools apply similarly for confirmation of the medium chosen, after having obtained the recommendation of the Manager, Owner or Board of Control as the case may be.
- 3.5. This form - BE 386 - must, after completion be submitted to the Secretary for Bantu Education, Private Bag K212, PRETORIA, 0001. After confirmation photostatic copies will be transmitted to the principal concerned and to both the circuit inspector and the regional director for their information.

M. H. Engelbrecht
SECRETARY FOR BANTU EDUCATION