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The role of the history of education in teacher Education in South Africa, with particular reference to developments in Britain and the USA

Randall, Peter Ralph

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Many missionaries no doubt had high spiritual motives and often protested against the evils of colonialism and racial discrimination. This does not necessarily imply that they rejected the social structures within which racism operated, nor that they were not prone very often to think in colonialist and racist terms themselves. The ideas of Social Darwinism (the theory that societies evolve as do animal species, from lower to higher) permeated much of missionary thinking. A clear statement of this theory is given by Hugh Bryan in a little textbook prepared for white schoolchildren in Natal [illegible] the turn of the century (and given to the class of which t[illegible]sent writer was a member at the Natal Training College in the 1950s). Bryan describes the Bushmen (San) as:

> the most curious of the three aboriginal races. They were the lowest both in customs and appearance... their language was very queer; it had few sounds, and those were very simple.... Every other race hated them, for they were cruel, false and thievish.(54)

Such attitudes, of course, provided a convenient explanation and justification for the brutal extermination practised against the San by 'every other race'.

Early missionaries made little attempt to understand African culture - they simply assumed European civilisation to be superior and believed unthinkingly that it should be imposed. 'Civilisation' became synonymous with 'Christianity' and thus only 'civilised' people, according to the ethnocentric views of the missionaries, could be Christian. Shillington gives an example:

> The 'Low Church' missionaries of the LMS brought with them a Christianity which was inextricably bound up with their own cultural background. They preached an ethic of individualism that was a basic ingredient of the new materialistic and growing capitalist culture which had been born of the British agricultural and industrial revolutions. From the start nearly everything about the Southern Tswanas' primarily pastoral, social and economic organisation was anathema.(55)

Regarding the Southern Tswanas as lazy and inefficient, the LMS missionaries stressed the need for industrious habits, based mainly on agricultural cultivation by means of the plough and irrigation. We see thus another manifestation of the contradictory way in which missionary education - since training in the use of the plough was a central feature of much of that education - operated: while the missionaries preached the spiritual message of Jesus, they often inculcated attitudes of materialism and competitiveness that ran counter to that message.

Strategies to convey the Christian message changed over time but always involved some form of schooling to enable Africans to become literate enough to read the scriptures. The early schools taught basic literacy and numeracy and church doctrine. Later came agricultural and domestic training and what were known as industrial skills - the latter were largely confined to unskilled manual work although some institutions, like Lovedale, did teach skilled crafts and trades. These considertions shaped the curriculum in both school and teacher training courses. Racial prejudice, like class prejudice in Britain, also influenced the curriculum:

> Since the prevailing image of the African was of a lazy scoundrel wallowing in heathen superstition, it is not surprising that the early CMS (Church Missionary Society - Anglican) and WMMS (Wesleyan) workers in Sierra Leone took up the educational forms and content currently in vogue in England for the working class, a group considered to be afflicted by similar weaknesses. This education emphasised the spiritual value of hard work and the tenets of evangelical Christianity.(56)

The views of the missionaries often fitted in very well with those of the white colonists. The head of the American Zulu Mission was brutally explicit. Speaking to the first General Missionary Conference in South Africa on the subject of 'the savage', Dr Wilder said:

> He must be denationalised, which means that he must see that there is dignity in labour, that there is no magic in the printed page, that instead of deceit, lust and violence, he must

> now get possession of material things by working for them.(57)

The work ethos, the dignity of labour, the inculcation of material needs - thereby benefitting the colonial economy - these are regular themes in the utterances of missionaries in settler societies, as are the need to inculcate attitudes of docility, discipline and obedience in African workers. All this inevitably had repercussions on the content of missionary education. This question should be seen in the context of the often complex and contradictory relationships that existed between missions, colonial administrators and what might be called the private agents of colonialism (traders, farmers, company representatives). The colonial authorities frequently looked on the missionaries as participating in a joint imperial venture, particularly when they were of the same nationality. The spread of literacy in the European languages held obvious advantages in providing literate Africans as clerks, teachers and interpreters. The teaching of industrial and domestic skills was of benefit in serving the need for unskilled and semi-skilled labour, with the correct mental attitudes, to serve the burgeoning colonial economies. The missions in turn were afforded protection against hostile peoples and could follow the expansion of the colonial power. On occasion there was conflict between missionaries, colonial administrators and settlers. In the Eastern Cape, John Philip was generally reviled by the other whites for his espousal of the rights of blacks, while the CMS in Kenya earned the scorn of the settler population for protesting against policies that kept Africans in menial labour.

The curriculum of the mission schools was inevitably a focus of conflicting interests. As the colonial period progressed colonial administrators intervened more directly in African education, sometimes to restrict the expansion of secondary schooling, which was seen as inappropriate to African needs, particularly when it involved subjects like Greek and Latin, and which produced 'discontented natives' with few job opportunities. In general, the colonial administrators favoured vocational, technical and agricultural training and sometimes used the system of grants to

encourage this. Sir George Grey, governor of the Cape, 1854-61, is an example.

Attempts to promote non-academic education inevitably led to suspicion and resistance on the part of many missionaries and Africans themselves. The successful models in colonial society had after all themselves received an academic education. This issue is explored in the literature of the history of education in African societies.(58) But in general the view prevailed that Africans should be offered an adapted curriculum.

Racial segregation in terms of living areas, employment and education was the normal practice in colonial Africa, even in those with low concentrations of European settlers. The first president of independent Nigeria has described how:

> The civil services of British West Africa were controlled then (the 1930s) by a European elite which rigidly closed the doors of opportunity for the employment of indigenous West African university graduates, some of whom were engaged only under the most humiliating conditions of service and at parsimonious salaries, on the basis of racial discrimination and segregation.(59)

As Blakemore and Cooksey sum up, 'arbitrarily imposed educational and occupational restrictions were a serious source of frustration to the most highly educated Africans (particularly those who had gone abroad for university education) and an important factor in the growth of nationalist movements in the 20th century'.(60)

In general, the educational work of the Christian missionaries was embedded within these segregated and discriminatory structures. Most mission schools, including those with teacher training departments, were small, inadequately financed and equipped, and often set in poverty stricken rural areas. There were exceptions, particularly in the urban areas, where the economies of scale could operate and where the emerging black elite were concentrated. Here were to be found prestigious secondary schools offering a good academic education. To the examples already given of Lovedale,

Healdtown, Adams College and St Francis College, may be added St Peter's in Johannesburg (later closed as a result of the Group Areas Act). There are examples of missionary education at times modifying the prevailing practices of segregation. Lovedale has already been mentioned in this regard. It is a matter of some surprise now, after decades of legally enforced residential segregation under the Group Areas Act (No 41 of 1950), to learn from Tabane that substantial numbers of African children were attending church boarding schools - Methodist, Anglican, Catholic and American Board - in central Johannesburg as late as the Second World War.(61)

Looking at the evolution of missionary education in the broadest terms, African reactions gradually changed from initial indifference and hostility to acceptance and adoption. The reasons for this lay in the breakdown of traditional authority structures and incorporation into the colonial system. Education offered a means of upward mobility within that system, and in time led to the creation of an elite. In settler colonies like South Africa education gave entry to those few professional occupations open to Africans - the church, law, medicine, teaching - and in non-settler colonies employment opportunites in the administration, the church and its missions, and the trading companies steadily increased.

As the old traditional authority structures began to break down in the African societies, increasingly the best-educated came to replace the chiefs. The old criteria for status were replaced by the achievement criterion of western education, with a consequent demand for schooling, especially academic schooling, and further resistance to the colonial governments' attempts to introduce industrial, domestic and agricultural training in the place of academic courses. All these factors - the creation of a small educated elite, the popular demand for academic education, suspicion of non-academic schooling, the inculcation of a competitive achievement ethos - had profound implications for post-colonial education in Africa. To some extent they apply to black education in contemporary South Africa, and have to be borne in mind in any

attempts to restructure that education.

One other element should be mentioned in this overview. Several writers have criticised the missionaries for, in effect, making Africans too meek and mild for their own political good. Gail Gerhart is amongst those who largely attribute the moderate and gradualist policies of the early African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa to mission education:

> ...this African elite was in many ways alienated from traditional customs and norms. A belief in the superiority of European culture was basic to its world view, and its goals were unabashedly assimilationist. Having come through the experience of missionary boarding schools, it was well steeped in the liberal and Christian presumptions which prevailed in these institutions, including the optimistic liberal faith in the inevitability of progress (and) a fundamental belief in a Protestant ethic of hard work and patience, and a faith in the white man's basic instinct for fair play.(62)

A message sent to Chamberlain in 1903 by the Transvaal Executive of the South African Native Congress (a forerunner of the ANC) neatly illustrates the attitudes described by Gerhart:

> The black races are too conscious of their dependence upon the white missionaries, and of their obligations towards the British race, and the benefits to be derived by their presence in the general control and guidance of the civil affairs of the country to harbour foolish notions of political ascendancy. The idea is too palpably absurd to carry weight with well-informed minds, and tends to obscure the real issues and to injure the people as a class.(63)

It should be borne in mind that a good proportion of the new elite, including the leadership of the SA Native Congress and the ANC, were themselves teachers who had undergone training in missionary institutions. This is one of the historical factors that has to be considered in reviewing the state of teacher education in present-day South Africa, and is illustrated in the sections that follow. 'The head of the native' clearly did not entertain 'foolish notions' about political equality, let alone ascendancy. The

training of 'native' teachers did its best to dispel any such palpable absurdities.

The African Teacher Training Curriculum

The historical tradition of African teacher education may be illustrated by means of some examples. In 1915 a candidate for admission to a 'native training college' had to have completed Standard 3 - and had to 'produce a certificate of character and good conduct from his missionary or any other white person' - and his curriculum included industrial training, the primary school subjects and physical training. Bible lessons and moral teaching based thereon were required at all stages of the course, while 'professional' training was limited to blackboard work and practical teaching.(64) By 1930 the entry requirement had been raised to Standard 6 and there had been some modification of the curriculum. While scripture was still compulsory, hygiene and simple physiology had been added, as had the vernacular, and the 'professional' component had been widened to include the 'Principles of Education' - an elementary outline of the nervous system and a study of different types of lessons.(65) No further changes of significance had taken place by the outbreak of the Second World War, despite a recognition by the Natal Education Department that revision was needed when 'dealing with a more or less primitive people, whose economic and social environment is continually changing'. Scripture still held pride of place, the Natal Education Department assuming that 'the African, even in his raw state, is essentially a religious person'. The professional component - in Natal at least - was widened slightly to include the organisation and management of schools (using the Mariannhill handbook already mentioned) and the required text for the 'Principles of Education' was Jowett's little book , referred to above. The main emphasis, however, was on blackboard work and the preparation of charts, equipment and 'illustrative work'.(66)

Lemana: a case study

Against the broad background sketched above, it is instructive to look at a specific example of missionary education in operation, particularly as regards teacher training. The example is that of the Swiss Mission at Lemana in the north-eastern Transvaal, which has been the subject of recent research by Nwandula, from whom the following information is drawn.(67) In the first place, it is important to recognise that the mission sought to co-operate with the state and to offer its school education and teacher training programmes within the framework laid down by the state. This is clear from correspondence between the Rev H A Junod, superintendent of the Swiss Mission in the early years of the twentieth century, and the Transvaal education authorities.(68) In the second place, Junod's views on 'native' education encapsulate several of the attitudes already discussed:

> ... the head of the native is not able to sustain the strain of mental study so well as the heads of the whites. He has not been accustomed for generations to school attendance and to mental work, and would be apt very quickly to get headaches and nervous exhaustion arising from overstudy if he has not as a diversion the bodily exercise of outdoor work.(69)

The alleged mental feebleness of the African provided a rationalisation for both lower academic standards and demands, and for a differentiated curriculum. The underlying motivation becomes clear later in Junod's letter, and Nwadula presents a convincing argument that the educational practices of the Lemana missionaries were geared to the labour needs of the local white farming community: 'We feel moreover that to accustom the native teachers to work with their hands is to give them... a sense of the dignity of labour', a sense no doubt that they would be expected to pass on to their pupils.

Given such views on the part of those in control, the inevitable outcome was the introduction of an adapted curriculum to suit the

head of the native, in both the normal school course and the teacher training programme. Similar views were, of course, held by many whites involved in African education, including the influential C T Loram, who became the first chief inspector of Native Education in Natal at the end of the First World War, served on the Union Native Affairs Commission, and was a member of the first Phelps-Stokes Commission. Although regarded as a liberal in race relations, Loram was a leading protagonist of a segregated and adapted education for black South Africans, tailored to the needs of the politically dominant white group. While his altruism and benevolence cannot be doubted, he was nevertheless an important mover in the evolution of what was eventually to be formalised as Bantu Education (a system whose basic premises he would probably not have shared in many respects and many of whose practices would probably have offended his liberal instincts). But there seems to be a clear and direct line of thought between Loram's rejection of academic education for Africans as 'a bookish affair, and almost entirely tinged with the white man's outlook'(70) and the Verwoerdian view that 'by blindly producing pupils trained on a European model, the vain hope was created among natives that they could occupy posts within the European community.... There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour'.(71) And, looking backwards in time, there seems to be a direct line of descent in such thinking from colonial administrators like Langham Dale, Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape, who reported that 'to the educated Kaffir there is no opening... to give a high education to Kaffir boys, and then to leave them isolated from their own people... is only to increase the existing temptations of the so-called school Kaffir to fall into the vices of the low European'.(72)

In writing of 'native' teachers, Dale felt that 'we require native teachers without that over-refinement which elevates the individual too much above his fellows'.(73) It is interesting that this sentence was reproduced approvingly by Loram in a letter to the principal of Lemana in 1925.(74) In its training of teachers,

Lemana certainly managed to avoid any 'over-refinement'. Besides the usual elementary school subjects, the course included some manual training, some semi-skilled work, hygiene, scripture study and the vernacular. Not only was the course differentiated from the kind of course that was offered to white trainee teachers, but Junod even went so far as to suggest that blacks should write different and inferior examinations. The underlying premise was given in a response by the Swiss Mission to a Transvaal Education Department questionnaire in 1945: 'bear in mind that the background of the native child is very different from that of the European child'.(75) While this may, of course, be true, there are powerful arguments against differentiated education that the Swiss Mission did not appear to consider. Chief among these is the likely effect of a differentiated, and thus segregated, education in perpetuating patterns of deprivation and inequality. A second is the attempt to impose a particular form of education on a subject people, apparently without adequate consultation and without the consent of the community. It is noteworthy that few black educationists themselves have advocated a differentiated education, despite the influence, inter alia, of the ideas of Booker T Wasnington and the Phelps-Stokes reports.

The teacher training course at Lemana accorded well with the dominant view in the state sector. This may be illustrated, for example, by means of a letter from an official in the Transvaal Education Department to the principal of Lemana in 1953, around the time of the passing of the Bantu Education Act: 'My Department wishes to stress the fact that we do not train artists, carpenters, builders or plumbers etc in our training colleges, but practically handy teachers.' The letter went on to say that male student teachers should know how to repair leaking taps and broken desks, fit window panes, and carry out other such tasks.(76) (These abilities on the part of the teachers would, of course, also be financially beneficial for the department).

All this was in line with the official curriculum laid down in 1928

for courses in the training of African teachers. Under the heading 'Religious, moral, social and physical training' come:

> Bible lessons
> Moral habits (cleanliness, obedience, punctuality, tidiness etc)
> Health and temperance
> Personal and domestic hygiene
> Duties of Natives towards the State - laws affecting Natives
> Physical exercise
> Vocal music
> Drawing

Also included in the course were English, Afrikaans, the vernacular, arithmetic, geography and history; industrial and agricultural training for the boys and domestic training for the girls; and 'Professional training', which stressed blackboard work and class management and provided for practice teaching.(77) It may be noted here that by the same date training courses for white primary school teachers not only required a higher entry qualification, but had begun to move towards some professional study of education.(78)

There are strong echoes in the African teacher training course in the late 1920s of the curriculum followed in British day training colleges in the previous century, as described in Chapter 2, although there is a markedly greater emphasis on practical and moral training. In general, it would seem that the skills and abilities that the British ruling classes thought appropriate for teachers of the working classes were not dissimilar from those regarded as appropriate by the white ruling class in South Africa for the teachers of black children. Certainly, there was no attempt, if one considers the curriculum and the official pronouncements, to cultivate inquiring and critical minds, but rather the reverse, to inculcate attitudes of unquestioning obedience and docility. Nor does there appear to have been any attempt to broaden the students' perspectives through a study of what might be regarded as the theory of education, including an examination of the historical foundations of the education system itself.

One contradiction that emerges concerns the teaching of history in the African training colleges. For example, the history syllabus for training institutions under the Transvaal Education Department, including those run by the missions, stipulated a study of the following:

first year:	1652 - 1828
second year:	1829 - 1918
third year:	South African history and the history of the British Empire.(79)

'History' was thus seen as starting with the arrival of the first permanent white settlers at the Cape, and the approach was completely Eurocentric. The text books eulogised the role of the whites - settlers, administrators, trekkers, farmers and soldiers - and treated the indigenous people as savage and barbaric.(80) The apparent contradiction between the espousal of a differentiated 'Native' or 'Bantu' form of education and the teaching of 'white' history is probably explained in terms of the over-riding policy of preparing blacks for a subordinate role in South African society. The presentation of history through the eyes of the dominant white group was a logical part of that policy. Black teachers were obviously important agents in the inculcation of the 'proper' mindset among the black youth. An internalised image of inferiority and submissiveness among many teachers and pupils was probably an inevitable outcome, and Nwandula's research shows this to have been so at Lemana. One pupil, for example, felt that 'the natives are not capable of managing their own affairs, even in part', while another wrote of the Voortrekkers who had had to overcome 'savages' while 'opening up' the interior.(81)

The type of training described here had wide implications, not only for education itself but also for the political life of the country. Reference has already been made to the likely effects of missionary education on the early leadership of the ANC. A consequence directly related to education is the continuing distrust of vocational training and a preference, especially amongst black parents ambitious for their children's futures, for academic

courses. Even now the proportion of black children taking scientific or technical subjects is very small (although it is recognised that other factors also play a part in this). The problem is not unique to South Africa. Attempts in Tanzania to channel the small number enjoying post-primary education into courses relevant to the country's manpower needs have caused serious conflict. In Botswana, efforts to localise the curricula and make them more relevant to the needs of a developing country, like the very interesting work done at Swaneng Hill and in association with the Serowe Brigades, have had an uphill struggle.

The problems of curriculum reform are always - and not just in Africa - compounded by vested interests (text book publishers, suppliers of school equipment etc) and by general inertia. The usual pattern in independent, post-colonial Africa has been for some changes in content but little change in structure. For example, Nigeria's school leaving examination system is still based on the British O and A level model. The major priority since independence has been quantitative change and expansion of the provision of schooling, rather than curriculum reform.

A third factor is the often-made point that African teachers in general tend to be very conservative, not least when it comes to methods of teaching. The following appears to be a typical description:

> There has been little innovation in the teaching methodology. The chalkboard and textbook continue to be the main educational resources, and the classroom organisation has remained authoritarian and for the most part non-participatory.(82)

All the factors outlined here have relevance for the later discussion on the place of the study of the history of education in present-day teacher training in South Africa. It is necessary to understand the historical factors that have shaped African education in general and teacher training in particular. It is also necessary to understand the constraints that exist now and are likely to exist into the future. Against this background the question arises, in

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terms of the present study, whether a study of the history of education can have any real meaning and relevance in the preparation of teachers. This question will be discussed in the final chapter. Here it is sufficient merely to make the point that all student teachers can only benefit from a study of the historical roots of the education system that they have inherited.

Part of that inheritance is a neglect of the history of education itself. It played no meaningful role in the training of African teachers in this country until the very recent past. Where the subject was dealt with at all in the various forms of teacher training, it merely echoed the Eurocentric curriculum - the Great Educators, the chronological survey from classical Greece - followed in the training colleges for whites.(83) The failure to 'Africanise' the curriculum was, of course, in line with the teaching of general history - 1652, the British Empire, the Great Trek etc - that took place in African schools and colleges.

It seems appropriate to conclude this section by referring to Franz Fanon's view that in a colonial situation the indigenous people internalise the values of the coloniser - the 'white mask' - and that an essential part of the process of decolonisation is psychological. Part of the healing of the psyche will involve a re-examination of the historical past and the routes that have led us to the present, in education as in other areas of life.

University involvement in African teacher training

In 1980 the overwhelming majority of black student teachers were following primary teachers' courses (11 113, as against 1 983 in junior secondary courses and only 654 in senior secondary courses).(84) The training colleges were thus by far the main suppliers of trained African teachers. Also noteworthy is the relative under-qualification of the African teaching force. As recently as 1983 more than half of African teachers in the Republic of South Africa were not matriculated, while only 2,1%, or 1 651,

held a degree.(85)

In that same year, however, 5 352 student teachers were actually enrolled in the education faculties of the black universities (Bophuthatswana, Fort Hare, The North, Transkei, Vista, Zululand).(86) There were also small numbers studying at the University of Cape Town and the University of the Witwatersrand. The role of the universities in African teacher training has thus increased dramatically in the recent past. There have also been significant moves to improve the general level of qualifications. From 1982 all pre-Std 10 two year courses (offered until then at most African training colleges) have been replaced with three year post-Std 10 courses (with or without university courses).(87)

University involvement in African teacher training began with the establishment of the South African Native College of Fort Hare, an outgrowth from Lovedale, in 1916. The original aim of the College was to prepare candidates for the matriculation examination, but a limited range of university training was also provided. Fort Hare was raised to university college status in 1923 in association with the then federal University of South Africa, whose degrees it offered, and it became an increasingly important source of trained teachers equipped with higher qualifications. Until 1935 it offered a BA degree concurrently with the teaching certificate; after that date its matriculation classes were phased out. In 1951 Fort Hare was affiliated to Rhodes University and renamed the University College of Fort Hare.

African teachers wishing to improve their academic qualifications have faced struggles unknown to their white colleagues. Tabane draws attention to the emergence in the 1930s of a new generation of better qualified African teachers in the Transvaal.(88) While Fort Hare played an important role, its intake was limited and African teachers living in the other provinces could not always attend it. For serving teachers, in particular, the only opportunity for further study was through self-help and self-improvement. The usual

starting point was still the three year post-primary training course offered at church-affiliated institutions like St Francis, Adams and St Chad's in Natal, Lovedale and Healdtown in the Cape, and Kilnerton (Wesleyan), Grace Dieu (Anglican), Lemana (Swiss Mission) and Botshabelo (Lutheran) in the Transvaal. Some serving teachers managed to go on to complete their matriculation by rivate study, and even to undertake part-time university courses. The careers of two men will illustrate this.

Godfrey Nakene (1908 - 1982) became the first headmaster of the Orlando High School in what was to become known as Soweto, outside Johannesburg, in the late 1930s, when the concept of an urban day secondary school for Africans was still strange, as was the very idea of appointing an African as principal - or even as an assistant teacher in a secondary school. The TED was cautious:

> It would be rash to express a definite opinion concerning the efficiency of Natives as secondary school teachers at this stage... 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.(89)

Nakene completed his primary schooling in a northern Transvaal village and then went to Viljoensdrif in the OFS where he completed the Lower Primary Teachers Certificate at the Dutch Reformed Church's Stofberg-Gedenkskool.(90) As no higher primary course was t available in the Transvaal, he went to St Francis in Natal to do the Higher Primary Teachers Certificate (the only other insitution in that province which offered this course was Adams). From 1932 he taught at the Dutch Reformed School in Ferreirastown, Johannesburg. When this school was removed in 1934 to Sophiatown, on the western outskirts of the city, he went with it as principal. By attending afternoon classes at the Albert Street Methodist School in the centre of Johannesburg he was able to matriculate, and then enrolled at the University of the Witwatersrand as a part-time BA student. With H P Madibane, Nakene was in fact the first African to graduate with the BA degree from this university.

Madibane's career (1902 - 1981) is another example of the process of self-improvement against great odds being described here.(91) Born on a Lutheran mission station in the rural Transvaal and receiving his primary education there, Madibane then proceeded to do the LPTC at Grace Dieu near Pietersburg. While engaged as a teacher, he was able to complete both the Junior Certificate (Standard 8) and the matriculation by correspondence before going on to complete his BA by part-time study.

The need for African teachers to undertake private and part-time studies was partly a result of financial need, and partly a result of a lack of opportunity for full-time university study. Until the establishment of the new black university colleges in the 1960s (Zululand and The North for Africans, Western Cape for Coloured people, and Durban-Westville for Indians), the only opportunities were at Fort Hare, through the correspondence courses of the University of South Africa, or the limited number of places available at the 'open' universities, particularly the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand. Murray has pointed out that it was really only in the mid-1930s that the latter first began to accept black students, with the Second World War and pressure by the then (United Party) government serving to hasten the process of opening up the admission policies.(92) The role of the English language or 'open' universities (Cape Town, Witwatersrand, Natal and Rhodes) will be discussed in terms of the 'English tradition' in the history of education in the next chapter.

At the time of the introduction of the Extension of University Education Act, No 45 of 1959, which effectively curtailed the admission of students other than those officially classified as 'white' to the 'open' universities, their enrolment of black students was minimal.

Table 1 : Enrolment of African students at Universities 1959

University of Cape Town	39
University of Witwatersrand	74
University of Natal	187
UNISA	1252
Fort Hare	319
Total:	1871

(Source : Annual Report of the Department of Education, Arts and Science, UG 79/1960, Pretoria, pp 39 - 40)

The bulk of the black students at Natal were registered in the Medical School. At Fort Hare a number of students were non-matriculants; of the matriculants a high proportion were studying for a teacher's diploma.(93) As against the total of 1871 African students taking university courses in 1959, there were more than 35 000 whites, with Indians and Coloureds respectively totalling 1 516 and 822.(94)

A decade after the passing of the Extension of University Education Act and the creation of the 'ethnic' university colleges, the enrolment of black students in the formerly 'open' universities, never large, had inevitably shown a sharp decline, the new university colleges themselves still had fewer than 1 000 students each, and UNISA remained the main avenue for black students, including large numbers of teachers:

Table 2 : Enrolment of Africans at Universities 1970

University of Cape Town	2
University of the Witwatersrand	5
University of Natal	163
UNISA	2397
Fort Hare	610
The North	810
Zululand	591
Total	4578

(Source: Survey of Race Relations 1970, p 243)

In that year the total number of white university students was 73 204, with 3 472 and 1 883 Indian and Coloured students respectively.

It is striking that over the decade the relative proportions of 'white' and 'non-white' students at South African universities appear to have remained constant at 87% 'white' and 13% 'non-white'. This is because the marked growth in black enrolment was offset by an even greater growth in white enrolment.

From the figures given above it is apparent that until the relatively recent past the universities played an insignificant role, in quantitative terms, in African teacher education. Those African teachers who received a university training often did so at considerable personal sacrifice through private study, particularly through the University of South Africa. A very small number managed to go abroad, especially to Britain and the USA, for university education. A second factor here is that the bulk of the university-trained black teachers were exposed to the tradition of the politically dominant Afrikaner group, a tradition that differed markedly from that followed in the 'open', English language universities. This Afrikaner tradition, which strongly influenced the study of education at UNISA, also permeated the study of education at the new 'ethnic' universities whose education departments and faculties were largely staffed by Afrikaner academics. The 'ethnic' universities began as University Colleges in close association with the University of South Africa, as had Fort Hare. These and related issues will be explored in the following chapters.

By the mid-1980s the picture has begun to change very significantly as regards university education for Africans. The right of the 'open' universities to admit students irrespective of their race has to a large extent been restored. While this has by no means been an unproblematic situation, the numbers of black students at the 'open' universities has increased markedly in comparison with earlier periods, as the following figures indicate:

Table 3 : Enrolment of African Students at Universities 1984

University of Cape Town	317
University of the Witwatersrand	872
University of Natal	724
UNISA	14238
Fort Hare	2986
Zululand	4000
Total	27309

(Source: Survey of Race Relations 1984, p 694)

For purposes of comparison, only the universities listed earlier for 1970 are shown here, indicating a six-fold increase in their enrolment of African students. But it should be borne in mind that the total enrolment, of all races, had also increased substantially, from 83 137 in 1970 to 198 675 in 1984.(95) 'Non-whites' had, however, increased as a proportion of the total university student population. It should also be borne in mind that by 1984 a number of new universities had been established, including Medunsa (medical), Vista, Venda, Transkei and Bophuthatswana, and that Africans had been admitted in small numbers to the Afrikaans language universities (310 'non-whites',or 0,6% of the total enrolment in these universities (96) and to the other 'ethnic' universities, Durban-Westville and the Western Cape (68 and 95 Africans respectively).(97)

By 1984, thus, it is clear that in quantitative terms at least, university education for Africans had increased greatly in significance. This represents not only a wider spread of academic and professional training, but also a more important role for the universities in terms of black teacher education, although the position differed significantly between the race groups. In 1984, for example, only 1 081 or 3,7% of Coloured teachers were professionally qualified with a degree; the comparable figures for Africans were 1 923, or 2,1%, and for Indians 2 585, or 25,4%.(98)

While by the mid-1980s the black teacher training colleges were still producing the bulk of the trained teaching force (in 1983

enrolment at these colleges totalled very nearly 15 000, with courses ranging from pre-primary through specialist to secondary)(99), with a strictly limited amount of study of the theoretical educational disciplines, the number of teaching degrees and diplomas being awarded by the black universities had increased substantially, as the following figures demonstrate:

Table 4 : Teaching degrees and diplomas awarded by black universities 1982

University	Degrees	Diplomas	Total
Bophuthatswana	–	97	97
Fort Hare	42	52	94
The North	38	82	120
Zululand	65	117	182
Totals	145	348	493

(Source: Survey of Race Relations 1984, pp 667 - 8)

Altogether 5 352 students were enrolled in the education faculties of the African universities in 1983. A considerable number of African students were also enrolled for education degrees and diplomas at UNISA and at some of the 'white' universities.

The quantitative position has been sketched in this section. Against this general background of a dramatic growth of university involvement in African teacher education in the very recent past, the crucial question that remains to be addressed concerns the nature of the content of education courses at these universities, particularly in relation to the prime focus of this study, i.e. the place and role of the study of the history of education in the intellectual and theoretical preparation of teachers. This will be the subject of the next chapter.

NOTES:

(1) 'Retrospective analysis of the work done in the field is not only enlightening but of strategic importance for further progress. The history of educational history is, consequently, a significant topic in itself' - Bernard Bailyn, 'Education as a Discipline: some historical notes', in John Watson and James L Kuethe (eds), The Discipline of Education, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1963, p 54.

(2) 'The development of the schools crisis, between 1976 and 1980, appears to have had the effect of committing many social scientists to a more serious approach to the study of education in South Africa' - Michael Cross, 'A Historical Review of Education in South Africa: towards an assessment', Comparative Education, vol 22 no 3, 1986, p 185. The studies by Kellermann, Niven and Nel and Duminy dealt exclusively with teacher education for whites, as did the work on university teacher education by Rousseau and van Coller's comparative study of teacher training in Britain and the Transvaal. All these writers also fail to take adequate cognisance of the socio-political context within which South African teacher education operates, tending in general to treat it in isolation. Myeza has to some extent helped to redress the balance by focusing on African teacher training, and attempting to locate it within the apartheid policy.

(3) Michael Cross, 'A Historical Review...', p 197.

(4) The Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape reported in 1885 that 'whilst very few coloured children attend the public schools, no fewer than 9 235 white children are... in the mission schools, particularly of the larger towns, where the low fee... enables the European artizan to get cheap schooling for his children'. Cited in the Oxford History of South Africa, vol 2, p 221.

(5) See Peter Randal Little England on the Veld: the English private school system in South Africa, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1982, p 186.

(6) Guy Butler, Karoo Morning,an autobiography 1918 - 1935, David Philip, Cape Town, 1977.

(7) J E Kellermann, Die Geskiedenis van die Opleiding van Blanke Onderwysers in Suid-Afrika, DEd, Univ. of Stellenbosch, 1936; J M Niven, Teacher Education in South Africa : a critical survey of Selected Aspects of its Historical, Curricular and Administrative Development, 2 vols, PhD, Univ. of Natal, 1971; B F Nel and P A Duminy, Survey of the Development of European Teacher Training in South Africa pub. by the authors, Pretoria, 1961.

(8) E G Malherbe, Education in South Africa, vol 1, Juta, Cape Town, 1925, p 11.

(9) Ibid, p 96, fn 37.

(10) T B Frost, A Brief History of Government House and Natal Training College, Pietermaritzburg, 1987, p 19.

(11) Ibid, p 150.

(12) G J Tabane, The Origins and Development of African Education in Sophiatown, Martindale, Newclare and Western Native Township 1905 - 1963, MEd Research Report, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1986, p 74.

(13) Malherbe, Education in South Africa, vol 1, p 195, and fn 2. When the present writer trained at the Natal Training College in the 1950s it was still the only white training college in the province with an enrolment of about 200.

(14) Frost, A Brief History..., p 20.

(15) Transvaal Education Department, Centenary Publication 1876 - 1976, TED, Pretoria, 1976, p 38.

(16) Malherbe, Education in South Africa, vol 1, p 281, fn 41.

(17) Transvaal Education Department, Centenary Publication, p 38.

(18) Malherbe, Education in South Africa, vol 1, p 273.

(19) Ordinance No 7 of 1903: Public Education, Transvaal.

(20) Transvaal Education Department, Centenary Publication, p 56.

(21) Malherbe, Education in South AFrica, vol 1, p 373. Kellermann makes the point that 'virtually the only

training in the South African Republic and the OFS was represented by the system of pupil teachers, taught by slavish imitation and blissfully ignorant of principles of education or even method' - J E Kellermann, Die Geskiendenis van die Opleiding van Blanke Onderwysers in Suid-Afrika, DEd thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1936, p 139.

(22) Quoted in Malherbe, Education in South Africa, vol 1, p 272.

(23) Ibid, p 161, fn 216.

(24) E H Brookes and C de B Webb, A History of Natal, Universityof Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1965, p 164

(25) B G Denzel, Grondbeginselen van Werkdadig Schoolonderwijs, Johannes van der Hey en Zoon, Amsterdam, 1836. A copy of this book was given to the writer by the librarian of the Wellington Training College in 1980, when old stocks were being cleared out.

(26) Malherbe, Education in South Africa, vol 1, p 153.

(27) Report of the Secretary of Education, Union Government, 1917. Quoted in Malherbe, vol 1, p 155. In his annual report for 1895, the Superintendent-General of Education for the Cape Colony had given the purpose of the TC1 as being 'to encourage the better educated teachers, and especially graduates, to devote part of their leisure time to the study of professional literature - works, that is to say, on the Art, Philosophy and History of Education - and to seek daily to improve their professional skill'. In his report for the following year, the Superintendent-General expanded on this: 'Four aims ought to be kept steadily in view by candidates, viz:

1. to acquire a sound knowledge of Mental and Moral Science which bear on Education;
2. to make themselves familiar with the History of Education, and the historical development of Educational Theories:
3. to know the best methods of teaching school subjects, of managing classes, and of managing a school;
4. to be able to put these methods into effective operation'.

We have here clear echoes of the curriculum adopted by the new Departments of Education in British universities at about this time (see the relevant section in Chapter 2).

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(22) Quoted in Malherbe, Education in South Africa, vol 1, p 272.

(23) Ibid, p 161, fn 216.

(24) E H Brookes and C de B Webb, A History of Natal, Universityof Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1965, p 164.

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(28) Malherbe, Education in South Africa, vol 1, p 155. The issue is discussed in detail in B Rose and R Tunmer (eds), Documents in South African Education, Ad Donker, Johannesburg, 1975, p 281 ff.

(29) J M Niven, Teacher Education in South Africa, PhD thesis, University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg), 1971, p 25.

(30) See Chapter 2. See also Brian Simon, 'The Study of Education as a University Subject in Britain', Studies in Higher Education, vol 8, no 1, 1983, pp 1 - 13.

(31) University of Cape Town, Faculty of Education Handbook, 1983, p 106.

(32) Mark Bray, Peter B Clarke and David Stephens, Education and Society in Africa, Edward Arnold, London, 1986, p 7.

(33) The details concerning Lovedale are taken from R H W Shepherd, Lovedale, South Africa, 1841 - 1941, Lovedale Press, 1941, with some additional information from R K Myeza, The Development of African Teacher Training in South Africa (1841 - 1979), MEd thesis, University of Hull, 1979, and M Horrell, African Education: Some Origins and Development until 1953, SA Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1963.

(34) Shepherd, Lovedale, p 119.

(35) EG Pells, 300 Years of Education in South Africa, Juta, Cape Town, 1956, p 136.

(36) Shepherd, Lovedale, p 218.

(37) Pells, 300 Years, p 136. The problem of low standards was a common one throughout southern Africa: see, for example, Edwin K Townsend Coles, The Story of Education in Botswana, Macmillan Botswana, Gaberone, 1985, for a description of the position in Bechuanaland, where the London Missionary Society had established a training institution at Shoshong in 1871. By 1904, this had about 500 pupils, whose teachers were mostly home trained (although a few had studied at Lovedale in the Cape) and who could do little more 'than read and write in Setswana... arithmetic was a weak subject in all classes, and geography a mere repetition of the continents and oceans'(p 8).

(38) Donaldson makes the same point - Andrew Donaldson, 'The Provision of Educators in Transkei', in D Freer and P Randall (eds), Educating the Educators, Department of

Education, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1982, p 24.

(39) Myeza, The Development of African Teacher Training, p 24.

(40) James Stewart, 'What is Education?', June 1884. Reproduced in Francis Wilson and Dominique Perrot (eds), Outlook on a Century, Lovedale Press/Spro-cas,1973,p 69.

(41) Ibid, p 75.

(42) The details come from Myeza, The Development of African Teacher Training, p 51 ff.

(43) Myeza, p 68.

(44) T Jesse Jones, 'Education in Africa: a study of West, South and Equatorial Africa by the Education Commission under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe', New York, 1922 (the 'Phelps-Stokes Report'), p 202.

(45) See, for example, Bray et al, Education and Society in Africa, p 9, and A R Thompson, Education and Development in Africa, Macmillan, London, 1981, p 36 ff.

(46) This debate can be traced in the letter columns and the editorials of the colonial press. See, for example Wilson and Perrot (eds), Outlook on a Century, quoting critics of 'native education', p 196, p 197, p 215, and Stewart's passionate apologia p 62 ff.

(47) Again, these questions had relevance throughout Africa wherever European missionaries undertook educational work among the indigenous people. See the discussion on this matter in, for example, Thompson, Education and Development in Africa, K Blakemore and B E Cooksey, A Sociology of Education for Africa, Geo Allen and Unwin, London and Boston, 1981; E Berman (ed), African Reactions to Missionary Education, Teachers College Press, New York, 1975; and A B Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria, Geo Allen and Unwin, London, 1974.

(48) Horrell, African Education..., p 1. Other seemingly uncritical admirers include M F MacKerron, A History of Education in South Africa 1652 - 1932, Van Schaik, Pretoria, 1934, ('They consistently set before the non-European a higher standard of life, and bore with patience and fortitude acute physical and spiritual deprivation' - p 159); J du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, London, 1911; R M Ruperti, The Education System in South Africa, Van

Schaik, Pretoria, 1976; and C T Loram.

(49) Michael Cross, 'Capital, State, Missionaries and the Foundations of a Segregated Schooling System on the Witwatersrand 1900 - 1924', unpublished paper, Department of Education, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985, p 5.

(50) Nosipho Majeke (pen-name of Dora Taylor), The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest, first published in 1952, republished 1986 by APDUSA, Cumberwood, Natal, as part of the Unity Movement History Series.

(51) Frank Molteno, 'The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans', in Peter Kallaway (ed), Apartheid and Education, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1984, pp 45 - 107.

(52) Norman Etherington, 'Social Theory and the Study of Christian Missions in Africa: a South African case study', in Africa, vol 47, no 1, 1977.

(53) J Cock, Maids and Madams, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1980, p 281.

(54) Hugh Bryan, Our Country - an elementary history of Natal, Thos Nelson, London, c 1909, p 11. Bryan (1871 - 1955) was Superintendent of Education for Natal from 1923 to 1930.

(55) Kevin Shillington, The Colonisation of the Southern Tswana 1870 - 1900, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1985, p 15.

(56) E Berman (ed), African Reactions..., p 8.

(57) James Cochrane, Servants of Power: the role of the English-speaking churches 1903 - 1930, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1987, p 68.

(58) See, for example, the works already mentioned by A R Thompson (n 45) and Blakemore and Cooksey (n 47), and O W Furley and T Watson, A History of Education in East Africa, NOK, London, New York and Lagos, 1978.

(59) N Azikiwe, My Odyssey, Hurt, London, 1970, p 172.

(60) Blakemore and Cooksey, A Sociology of Education for Africa, p 38.

(61) Fabane, The Origins and Development..., p 11.

(62) Gail Gerhart, Black Power in South Africa: the evolution

(63) Cochrane, Servants of Power, p 117.

(64) Transvaal Education Department, Native Education: particulars of the Course of Training in Training Institutions, Government Printing and Stationery Office, TED 5369, Pretoria, 1915 pp 1 - 2.

(65) See for example, Orange Free State Department of Education, Syllabus for Native Teachers' Examinations, Bloemfontein 1930.

(66) Natal Education Department, Teachers' Fourth Class Certificate: Regulations and Syllabuses for Native Training Colleges,1939, Pietermaritzburg,NW 1208,pp 3-5.

(67) Charlie Nwandula, The Swiss Mission in South Africa: a critical review of its educational practices among the Tsonga people of the N-E Transvaal 1899 -1954, MEd Research Report, University of the Witwatersrand, 1987. Part of this report was also published as 'The Head of the Native': Swiss Mission Education at Lemana, 1899-1955, in Perspectives in Education, 10/1, June 1988, pp 43 - 52.

(68) Cf a letter from Clarke, Inspector of Native Education, to Junod, 14 Nov 1904: 'I am glad that you accept such aid as the government is in a position to give in the same spirit in which it is offered, and that you express a wish to co-operate in our policy for the development of native education and the training of teachers' - quoted in Nwandula, The Swiss Mission..., p 22.

(69) Junod to Superintendent of Education, Pretoria, 2 Feb 1902 - quoted in Nwandula, pp 50 - 51.

(70) Loram, quoted in R Hunt Davis, 'Charles T Loram and the American Model for African Education in South Africa', in Peter Kallaway (ed), Apartheid and Education, p 113.

(71) H F Verwoerd, speech to the Senate, 7 June 1954 - quoted in Rose and Tunmer, Documents in South African Education, p 260 ff.

(72) Cape of Good Hope, Appendix 1 to Votes and Proceedings of Parliament for 1869, Report of an Inspection of Schools by the Superintendent-General of Education, pp 3 - 6 - quoted in Rose and Tunmer, Documents..., p 208.

(73) Ibid.

(74) Letter from C T Loram to the principal of Lemana, 22 Nov 1925 - quoted in Nwandula, p 58.

(75) Quoted in Nwandula, The Swiss Mission..., p 27.

(76) Letter from W H van Wyk, Organiser of Arts and Crafts, Transvaal Education Department, to principal, Lemana, 25 May 1953 - quoted in Nwandula, The Swiss Mission..., p 54.

(77) S J Mona, The Role Played by the Missionaries in the Education of the People of the N-E Transvaal with special reference to the Swiss Missionary Society, BEd long essay, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984, p 12. See also the Third Report of the Council of Education, Transvaal, 1915, p 9 - quoted in Nwandula, The Swiss Mission..., pp 38 - 41.

(78) See J M Niven, Teacher Education in South Africa: a critical study of selected aspects of its historical, curricular and administrative development, 2 vols, PhD thesis, University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg), 1971, Chapter 4, for a detailed account of the development of white teacher training courses in the four provinces.

(79) Transvaal Education Department Circular of 1918, quoted in Nwandula, The Swiss Mission..., p 82.

(80) See the example already given, from Hugh Bryan (n 54).

(81) Nwandula, The Swiss Mission..., p 99. Cf: 'Thus once more were the Zulus taught to obey the white man...', Hugh Bryan, Our Country, p 80.

(82) Mary Nyandovi-Kerr, 'Tradition, Innovation and Resource-based Education in Malawi', in CIES Newsletter, Jan 1985, p 15.

(83) Information from serving and retired teachers who attended African training colleges between 1911 and 1954.

(84) Mochacha M Kgoale, Apartheid: the dilemma of South African Universities, University of London, PhD thesis, 1986, p 79.

(85) Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1984, SA Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, p 665.

(86) Ibid, p 668.

(87) Kgoale. Apartheid: the dilemma..., p 77.

(88) Tabane. The Origins and Development..., p 79.

(89) Transvaal Education Department, Annual Report 1940, p 75.

(90) For details of Nakene's career, see Tabane, The Origins and Development of African Education in Sophiatown..., pp 86 - 88, and M M Morapeli, The Rock: the History of Orlando High School 1939 - 1984, MEd Research Report, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984, pp 19 - 20.

(91) For details of Madibane's career see Tabane, pp 80 - 86.

(92) B K Murray, Wits: the Early Years, Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1982.

(93) Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1961, p 257.

(94) UG 79/1960, Report of the Minister of Education, Arts and Science, pp 39 - 40.

(95) Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1970, p 243; Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1984, p 695.

(96) Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1984, p 695.

(97) Ibid, passim.

(98) Ibid, p 667.

(99) Ibid, p 668.

CHAPTER 5

The History of Education in South African teacher education: a Retrospective Analysis

Niven has made the point that between 1910 and 1945 there were enormous strides in the development of teacher education in the Union of South Africa.(1) From a situation in which four separate educational systems, under independent government control, provided largely primary, non-compulsory education under teachers who were either untrained or had been exposed only to the pupil-teacher system:

> there grew up, still with very loose links between them, four provincial systems of education in which secondary education was provided for a growing proportion by teachers academically and professionally prepared at post-secondary level in a nation-wide system of universities and colleges.(2)

This relatively satisfactory state of affairs applied, of course, only to whites. As was indicated in the previous chapter, post-secondary teacher education for blacks was still a long way away, and university education was enjoyed by very few black teachers, mostly through their own sacrificial efforts.

With this discrepancy between black and white in mind, this chapter will focus on the history of education as a field of study in teacher preparation courses at South African universities since the Act of Union in 1910. The purpose is to chart the changing fortunes of the subject from the beginnings of formal teacher education in the universities, as sketched in the previous chapter, to the position as it obtained in the mid-1980s, which will be dealt with in the next chapter. In the process it will become apparent that

the study of the history of education, at least in the English language universities, has tended to follow closely on the major trends in the rest of the English-speaking world, particularly Britain and the USA, as described in Chapters 2 and 3. Particularly since 1976, however, local influences have begun to bear ever more strongly.

The early part of the period may be passed over fairly rapidly. The history of education appeared to have a secure place in the curriculum of post-graduate courses for teachers. The following components were laid down in 1918:

> Blackboard work, including drawing
> School hygiene and physical training
> Vocal or instrumental music or bookkeeping and typing
> Manual training (woodwork for men and needlework for women)
> Theory and practice of education
> History of education
> Scientific and philo·phical bases of education
> Language: English and Dutch (or Afrikaans) or other modern languages
> Methods of teaching of two secondary school subjects.(3)

The early course was thus a hybrid of practical work and 'theory', with history of education enjoying a distinct place. In these respects the course was similar to those offered at the time in Britain.

The history of education was merely an echo of that taught in Britain. Writing in 1925, Malherbe made the point that at that date the history of education in South Africa had not yet been written.(4) Malherbe was himself to attempt to fill this gap by painstakingly researching the original documents in South Africa, Holland and Britain in order to compile the first major account of the history of educational control in this country. Heavily influenced by Monroe and other traditional American historians of education (see Chapter 3), Malherbe was the first really significant historian of South African education, and his work remains an invaluable source of data on the beginnings and early development of

formal education in this country.

In the main, student teachers at the South African universities had to have recourse to the standard texts in English from Britain and America, or in Dutch or German. The curriculum broadly followed the familiar pattern of the lives of the Great Educators, and a chronological survey of the development of Western education from Sparta and Athens. It is not surprising that MacKerron, writing in 1934, complained that 'until a few years ago the study of the history of education in this country was almost completely neglected'.(5) Both she and Malherbe pleaded for a study of South Africa's own educational history. When it did occur, however, it tended to ignore analysis and interpretation being largely factual and chronological.(6)

For the sake of convenience and because they were to develop along very contrasting lines, the Afrikaans and English universities will be considered separately.

The Afrikaans Universities

Until the late thirties, the position in the Afrikaans universities was not dissimilar to that in the English-language universities, although they drew their inspiration from different sources. In his study of the development of educational history, Theron turns to Germany, Belgium and Holland for comparisons with South Africa.(7) In his account of the development of the history of education in this country, he almost entirely ignores the English-language universities and the writings of English-speaking South Africans, dealing almost exclusively with Afrikaner historians of education. This is an illustration of the almost total lack of contact that exists and that will be discussed more fully in the next chapter. With regard to the Afrikaans universities during the early period after Union, the picture that Theron presents is also characterised by:

> produkte uit die penne van pseudo-historici wat die feitlikhede nagevors het en dit chronologies beskikbaar gestel het.(8)
>
> (products from the pens of pseudo-historians who researched the facts and made them available chronologically - my translation)

One of the first important Afrikaans writers to move beyond this was P S du Toit, whose conception of educational history as 'an exposition of pedagogical thought and activity as part of a greater organic whole: the general cultural history of mankind'(9) would presumably have found favour some two decades later with Bernard Bailyn and the other early American revisionists who were rebelling against a too-narrow conception of the history of education.

Subsequent developments, however, were to follow a very different course. No doubt influenced, whether directly or indirectly, by the growth of an aggressive Afrikaner nationalism and the desire to establish and maintain a separate Afrikaner cultural identity (fostered, inter alia, by the 'poor white' problem of the Depression years which bore especially heavily on the Afrikaner, the commemoration of the Great Trek of 1836, the dangers to Afrikaner identity posed by secularisation and urbanisation, and the rise of National Socialism in Germany which was seen as a possible counter to British imperialism and liberalism in its broadest sense) the study of education in Afrikaans universities began to move decisively away from that which prevailed in the English-language universities. The decisive event was the publication in 1948 of the Manifesto for Christian-National Education.(10)

Theron dates the first major landmark in this process as the publication in 1944 of the work Beknopte Theoretische Pedagogiek by the Dutchman, Langeveld. This marks the beginning of the establishment of education (or Pedagogics) as a 'science' in South Africa.(11) The various branches of educational study were subsequently to be seen as scientific 'pedagogic perspectives': these include fundamental pedagogics (philosophy), empirical education (psychology) and historico-pedagogics. Theron traces the

efforts to establish the latter as 'n selfstandige deelperspektief van die onderwys'(12) (an independent part-perspective of education), starting with the 'scientific' study of the history of education in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century. Historico-pedagogics did not, however, become an 'actuality' in South Africa until the 1960s, according to Theron, in the sense that it became accepted as an independent field of scientific study. The 'Pedagogics' school has been subjected to sustained and penetrating critique (13), largely without any response from its protagonists (a further illustration of the lack of contact and communication between English and Afrikaans university education departments), and it will not be necessary here to repeat the exercise. Instead, the position of historico-pedagogics itself will be considered.

The first major step in the establishment of historico-pedagogics was the publication of J Chris Coetzee's Inleiding tot die Historiese Opvoedkunde in 1958, a revised edition of his earlier (1943) Opvoedkundige Teorie en Praktyk deur die Eeue. This was a broad exposition of educational history as a science, one of the four major components - 'deelperspektiewe' - of the science of education

> met sy eie veld en metodes, sy eie taak, plek en betekenis, sy eie geskiedenis van groei en wording, sy eie beoefenaars en sy eie uitgebreide wetenskaplike literatuur.(14)
>
> (with its own terrain and methods, its own task, place and meaning, its own history of growth and fulfilment, its own practitioners and its own extensive scientific literature - my translation)

Coetzee gives no attention at all to South Africa. His work is a tedious compilation in which his favoured method is to identify the leading figures of various historical periods, attach a label to each and then supply a potted biography: Dewey the Social-Pragmatist; Percy Nunn the Realist-Naturalist; Giovanni Gentile the Idealist-Nationalist etc. It all seems to serve very little real purpose, and it is all drawn from secondary sources. In fact, it is strongly reminiscent of the work of one of the earliest

British historians of education, Oscar Browning, who was also fond of labels: Ratke and Comenius the Realists; Rabelais and Montaigne the Naturalists; Roger Ascham and Milton the Humanist-Realists etc (Oscar Browing, An Introduction to the History of Educational Theories, London, 1882).

According to Coetzee - for many years a professor of education at the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education - particular attention needed to be given to the personalities

> in wie die volksgedagte beliggam is, want die groot geeste is en bly nie alleen die vertolkers van die volksgees nie, maar ook die inspireerders vir die toekoms.(15)
>
> (in whom the national idea is embodied, because the great spirits are and remain not only the interpreters of the national spirit but also the inspiration for the future - my translation).

This sounds rather like the justifications for a study of the Great Educators, but decked out in national dress. Tightening the link with Christian-National Education, Coetzee made it clear that there could be no 'neutral' history of education; he rejected a 'humanist' interpretation in favour of a 'religious' one, i.e. one in line with the doctrines of the Dutch Reformed Churches.(16) Finally, symbolising the break with an English, 'humanist' approach, Coetzee got rid of the 'anglicism', history of education (geskiedenis van die onderwys), replacing it with historical education (historiese opvoedkunde). This was a decade before, in Theron's words, there was a further deliberate attempt to build on Coetzee's vision.(17) This was the work of Pistorius, head of the Department of Pedagogics at Potchefstroom, who saw man as an historical being on the road to the future. Historical education is thus

> die perspektief wat die wordingsgeskiedenis van die opvoedingsverskynsel ontsluier en sodoende die moontlikheid skep dat toekomstige ontwikkelinge voorspel en selfs veroorsaak kan word.(18)

> (the perspective that unveils the history-of-becoming of the education phenomenon and in so doing creates the possibility that future developments can be forecast and even caused - my translation)

There is a clear early foreshadowing here of one of the main themes of what was to become known as metagogics (see later in this section). It is obvious that the study of the history of education in the Afrikaans universities was moving in a very different direction from that in the Anglo-American world, as described in Chapters 2 and 3. As S S Barnard was to say, there were in fact two contrasting approaches (denkrigtings), which he characterised as

> die Afrikaner met sy tradisioneel Christelike-nasionale lewensfilosofie wat die godsdienstige vorming van die kind as die hoogste doel in die onderwys gestel het... en die Engelse en liberaalgesindes wat volkseenheid wou bewerkstellig deur die verengelsing van die Afrikaanse bevolkingsgroep.(19)
>
> (The Afrikaner with his traditional Christian-national life's philosophy which has set the religious forming of the child as the highest aim in education... and the English and liberal-minded who wish to achieve national unity through the anglicisation of the Afrikaans population group - my translation)

Another element in the difference was emphasised by F J Potgieter, head of the department of historical and comparative education at the University of Pretoria; the educational historian must be first and primarily a pedagogician and only secondly an historian; educational history is essentially pedagogy interested in the history of the pedagogical situation, and not history interested in education.(20) The trend in the English-speaking world was, of course, exactly in the latter direction, with the history of education being seen as part of a wider social history.(21)

J J Pienaar reaffirmed the view that historical education is a part-perspective of pedagogy and not part of history. He strongly echoed Coetzee in maintaining that it had

> sy eie vertrekpunt, sy eie toepassing van die historiese metode, en sy eie studieveld.(22)
>
> (its own point of departure, its own application of the historical method, and its own field of study - my translation)

According to Pienaar, the focus should be on the child in his 'op-weg-wees-na-volwassewording'(23) (progress towards adulthood). Much of what Potgieter and Pienaar had to say was repeated by the influential I S J Venter, of the University of South Africa, where the Pedagogics school reigned unchallenged.(24) And from UNISA its influence spread into the recently established black university colleges, as has been noted in the previous chapter.

Theron was thus able to sum up developments in the 1960s by saying that there was much agreement on the nature of educational history: in the form of 'historiese opvoeding' it was seen as a necessary part of the practice of pedagogy; it was generally accepted (i. e. among Afrikaner academics) that it was a constituent part of education and not of history; and that it was not merely descriptive, but was in fact a science that took the 'educational phenomenon' as its point of departure in order to understand and evaluate contemporary educational problems in the light of their origins and development.(25) By the late 1960s, thus, historico-pedagogics had indeed become, in Theron's term, an 'actuality'. It is also clear that at least part of the reason for its emergence was a desire to move away from English, liberal influences, as part of the notion of preserving a distinctive Afrikaner educational ethos, as the quotation from Barnard given earlier indicates.

Despite the consensus reached in the 1960s, it was apparent in the early 1970s that the 'part-perspective' was running into trouble. There was widespread questioning of its relevance and utility, and

Pienaar refers to 'general unhappiness' and uncertainty about its status.(26) One problem was the eclectic nature of the subject; another was the continued focus on history rather than pedagogy. His simple solution was to remove the word 'history', and to propose a new label, temporaliteitspedagogiek, as an independent field of study.(27) This seems to have set in train a period of name-changing and relabelling, which appears largely to be dealing with the symptoms of the problem rather than examining its underlying causes. One of these probably related to the structural faults which had bedevilled the 'old' history of education in the English-speaking world: tedious and outdated emphases on factual knowledge, 'potted' surveys on a chronological basis of the surface phenomena of education in different historical periods, an absence of recent local research to enrich teaching, and boring teaching methods, all of which left students dissatisfied and unconvinced of the value of the discipline for themselves as prospective teachers.

The next move in the renaming process was provided by Venter, whose 'monumental contribution' to the establishment of historical education as an independent pedagogical perspective' is praised by Theron.(28) Venter's Die Historiese Opvoedkunde (1976) is an attempt, in Venter's own words (29), to fill the gap because no comprehensive treatment of the subject had yet appeared. Venter arrives at several conclusions, many of which are by now familiar:

> 'historiese opvoedkunde' is above all concened with the pedagogical
> it operates on the terrain of the historical
> it is constantly concerned with time
> it is intensely concerned with change
> it is concerned with the relation between education and society and between education and culture
> it is concerned with values and norms
> it is concerned with great personalities
> it proceeds by means of problems and themes
> it has reference to the present and the future

Summing up, Venter says that when an historical educational investigation is attempted, the point of departure is a contemporary problem which can be illuminated and explained by means of data from the past.(30) Such an investigation will reflect the writer's world

view: thus an educational historian who is Christian will evince his faith in Christ and his conviction that the word of God must be seen as the fount of all knowledge and that God has placed education under his law.(31) Venter's suggested new name for the part discipline was metapedagogics.

Despite all the endeavour, it is clear that historiese opvoedkunde, under whatever name, was in a poor state in the 1970s. A J Basson gives five reasons for its stagnation and even retrogression: (32)

> the humanist and hedonistic spirit of the times, with its focus on the immediate and the pragmatic, meant that there was little interest in the educational past;
> it was seen merely as an appendix of history - 'en dit is juis wat die Historiese Opvoedkunde nie is nie en nie mag wees nie' (and this is exactly what Historical Education is not and may not be - my translation);
> it had still not established its autonomy beyond all doubt amongst all 'scientists';
> it was too narrowly concerned with the past;
> South Africa was backward in research and theoretical understanding.

Basson concluded that the discipline was engaged in a struggle for survival, but he proposed no solution to its problems.

In 1978 Barnard made a plea for a clear cut role for historical education as a just and objective description of the theory and practice of education through the centuries.(33) Its importance lay, he felt, in the background knowledge it provided for teaching, its value in assisting in planning for the future on the basis of past tendencies, the way in which it illuminated present issues, and its potential for improving the status of the teacher by helping him to better understand his vocation.(34)

Also in 1978, P P Kirstein, newly appointed as a professor of historical education at the University of the Western Cape, stressed the value of the discipline in the moral preparation of the teacher. Its value lay in identifying:

> daardie beginsels wat, volgens ons waardestelsel, deur die eeue as waar en eg beproef is.(35)
>
> (those principles which, according to our value system, have been proved to be true and authentic through the centuries - my translation)

The great goal, according to Kirstein, was to give the teacher of the future a life view which would equip him to fulfil his task with the right attitude and enthusiasm.(36) There appear to be two assumptions underlying this, both of which would be strongly questioned by what Barnard had referred to as 'die Engelse en liberaalgesindes': that there is a static body of eternal principles embodied in past educational practice which can be applied to the present, and that the aim of education is to inculcate 'right' attitudes according to a particular world view (in Kirstein's terms, an Afrikaner Christian Nationalist one).

In the early 1980s the low status of historical education was giving rise to serious concern and to a search for new directions. J H Coetzee of UNISA - who was one of the pioneers of the 'new' discipline, metagogics - referred to the negative attitudes of students who felt that 'traditional approach burdens the student with a mass of irrelevant facts'.(37) F J Potgieter's response to the problem was to look for renewal and widening, in the process becoming more and more esoteric. He identifies six epochs, from the 'archaic' to the 'functional-technological', which form two 'triades', a 'creation triade' and an 'evaluation triade'. The second of these is actually a repetition of the first, but on a higher level. The six epochs also correspond to the stages of human development, from suckling to adulthood.(38) This imaginative re-arrangement of human history does not, however, appear to have made any major and lasting impact on the study of historical education.

The main preoccupation appeared to be the continued quest for a new label. In 1982, Tom Bischoff (then at UNISA, later at VISTA) sent a

circular to certain South African universities on the matter. He felt that 'history' was inappropriate, since it indicated a method and also suggested an exclusive concern with the past. The emphasis, he felt, should be on change, and he thus supported metapedagogics. Reactions to this came in the 1982 meeting of the Historical Education Interest Group of the South African Association for the Advancement of Education, which primarily represents academics at the Afrikaans universities.(39) One objection to his label was that the subject was not concerned only with change but also with 'the unchangeable within the changeable', an echo of Kirstein's belief that there was an immutable core of truth that could be derived from a study of the past, or, as Pienaar had put it, a paedagogia perennis that formed the point of departure. Pienaar punted his own creation, temporaliteitsopvoedkunde or temporaliteitspedagogiek. Potgieter of the University of Pretoria favoured historiese wordingskunde (a study of becoming?) while Potchefstroom had already adopted the name temporele opvoedkunde (temporal education). The solitary representative from an English language univerasity, Raymond Tunmer of Rhodes, pleaded for the retention of history in the name:

> The vast number of examples suggested for a change of name have... not been accompanied by a similar change of function. Where there have been changes of function suggested, these seem to be invalid.(40)

Tunmer, of course, was correct: the tinkering with the name dealt only with the outward symptoms and did nothing to alter the fundamental problems which have already been indicated. It was in an attempt to address these problems that a small group of academics at UNISA, led by de Jager, J H Coetzee and T C Bischoff, launched metagogics, which will be discussed in some detail below.

Before embarking on that discussion, however, it may be useful to attempt to assess the contribution of Theron himself, whose study is - in intention at least - comparable to the state of the art reviews (by, for example, Simon and Cohen) which were considered in the chapters on Britain and the USA. After his painstaking survey,

Theron reaches the rather bland conclusion that by the 1980s there were definite agreements but also undoubted differences about the nature and function of historiese opvoedkunde:

> Die grootste ooreenkoms is... dat daar absolute eenstemmigheid bestaan dat die Historiese Opvoedkunde 'n deelperspektief van die Opvoedkunde is en as sodanig beoefen moet word: dat dit nie as onderwysgeskiedenis beoefen moet word nie en dat dit nie uitsluitlik verledegerig moet wees nie, maar dat die hoofklem op 'n pedagogiese (of agogiese) bevraging van die opvoedingsverlede met relevansie vir die hede en toekoms sal val.(41)
>
> (The greatest agreement... is that there is complete unanimity that Historical Education is a part-perspective of Education and must be practised as such: that it must not be practised as educational history and that it must not be directed solely to the past, but that the main stress will fall on a pedagogical (or agogical) questioning of the educational past with relevance for the present and the future - my translation)

While operating within his own watertight compartment, concentrating almost entirely on the arguments within the ranks of the educational historians in the Afrikaans universities and almost totally ignoring developments in the English language universities, Theron still calls for communication to resolve differences - presumably among Afrikaner academics themselves:

> In watter mate daar in die toekoms konsensus... bereik sal word, sal in 'n groot mate afhang van sowel die onderlinge kommunikasie wat tussen die beoefenaars van die Historiese Opvoedkunde bestaan as die bereidwilligheid van die betrokke wetenskaplikes om met mekaar in gesprek te tree.(42)
>
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Theron shows a constant concern for 'agreement', as if this were a necessary precondition. One of his major 'conclusions' with regard to the history of education in the USA is that 'daar steeds geen volkome eenstemmigheid oor die aard en wese van die vak bestaan nie'(43) (there still exists no complete agreement about the nature and substance of the subject - my translation) The truth of the matter, of course, is that there must always be room for difference if the subject is to remain alive. One is reminded of Pulliam's remark that history of education 'is a developing rather than a finished area of study'.(44) A rigid orthodoxy is probably a sure means of ensuring that it becomes sterile and lifeless. Another striking feature of Theron's study is his attention to surface phenomena, in particular terminology, while he gives no attention to the content and methodology, at the same time ignoring contextual questions of fundamental importance in the contemporary study of the history of South African education, such as, for example, the question of black education and the current education crisis.

There are strong echoes in the study of historical education at Afrikaans universities of the "Whiggish" approach referred to in Chapter 2 in connection with the older British historians of education. This approach is characterised by an attempt to justify and explain the current educational system, in the process treating educational change in something of a vacuum.

Metagogics

The emergence of metagogics must be seen against the background of tensions within the History of Education Department at UNISA. As will be explained in the next chapter, a small group of the department's staff had become impatient with what they regarded as the 'traditional' approach of the historico-pedagogicians, who defined the history of education 'as an attempt to present a complete, detailed, meaningful description of what man has thought, said and done through the ages in regard to education'(45), and who pursued this aim through the familiar chronological survey from

Sparta to the Reformation, largely by means of a study of the lives of the Great Educators, all within the framework of the by now conventional Pedagogics paradigm.

Presumably with the intention of gaining the interest and possible support of colleagues at the English language universities, J H Coetzee of UNISA published two articles in 1983 in the journal of the Faculty of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand. Under the heading 'Metagogics: a new discipline', Coetzee listed the familiar complaints about the study and the teaching of the history of education before going on to introduce the basis for a metagogical approach.(46) The reaction from English speaking academics was, understandably, critical, if not hostile. Coetzee's characterisation of the history of education was seen as outdated, with little recognition of the developments that had taken place in the English speaking world (47), while the new approach itself suggested 'an extraordinarily narrow conception of the real needs of South Africa based on a technicist view', combined with Christian National Education overtones.(48) In another response, Peter Kallaway of the University of Cape Town pointed to a fundamental difference in the initial premises of adherents of the Pedagogics school, including Professor Coetzee himself, and those who taught education at the English language universities:

> It seems as if Professor Coetzee conceives of history of education as something different from 'history'.... If he sees history of education as something apart from mainstream history I am not surprised that he is disappointed with it as a subject - for a catalogue of educational acts and policies and administrative details by definition yields little of explanatory value.
>
> 'History of education' (or whatever you want to call it) only makes sense when it is seen as one aspect of the overall historical process of change, conflict and contestation in society.(49)

After that brief flurry, both sides retired behind their respective ramparts and no further exchanges are to be discerned, other than an appearance by the present writer to present a position paper at the

1986 meeting of the History of Education Interest Group of the SA Association for the Advancement of Education where it became clear that virtually different discourses were being employed and that the differences were apparently unbridgable.

A fuller exposition of the 'new discipline' was provided by de Jager, Coetzee and Bisschoff in 1983.(50) It is clear that this does not represent a complete break with the 'traditional' approach: in fact the starting point is virtually identical to that spelt out in the standard UNISA text:

> The History of Education has its starting point in the problems that come to light in the contemporary education event with the purpose of selecting and ordering the essence of a particular problem in its total historical relief.(51)

There is thus not a complete discontinuity with existing practice. But there are important differences, which F J Potgieter sums up in his foreword by describing metagogics as a systems approach by means of which the authors try to give 'a multiperspectival view on educational history'. In adopting a 'multiperspectival' approach, the metagogicians draw heavily on trends that were popular in the 1960s and 1970s, particularly cybernetics, general systems theory, business management theory, futurology and model construction, employing a quasi-scientific language with terms like 'encoding' and 'decoding'. In fact, metagogics develops an impenetrable language of its own, derived from a variety of disciplines - isomorphism from chemistry and mathematics, homomorphic from botany and biology, nomothete from medieval law, ideographic from calligraphy, entrophy from physics etc. Drawing on general systems theory, the metagogicians aim 'to bring order to a seemingly chaotic world by the identification of patterns and regularities'(52) This involves a study of past events in order to determine 'regularities' which help one to identify laws or 'invariants' which will assist one in predicting the future. One is reminded here of Edmund King's criticism of the search for Marxist-style "determinants" (a comparison that would no doubt horrify the metagogicians!) and his

view that 'a search for "laws", pivotal interventions, and any other suggested cause-and-effect relationship has become outdated because of the scale, penetration and accelerating speed of technology'.(53) The aim of metagogics is thus heavily functional: 'It is the task of metagogics to eliminate educational shock... through timely planning and in providing insights into and guidelines for the future'.(54) In Chapter 1 attention is drawn to the similarity between this and the search for 'general principles' in the works of early Anglo-American historians of education.

One major problem of metagogics is that it tends to take the past as read, regarding the historical record as established and unchanging (cf. 'the well known related events from the past')(55), thus assuming that there is no further need for a revision and a rewriting of the past but that one can simply draw uncritically from a corpus of seemingly proven historical 'facts' in one's search for 'invariants'. The result is that the attempt to construct an historical model in order to predict the future is often hopelessly flawed. Coetzee, for example, in discussing the 'political grounding of non-white education in South Africa' (56) offers no more than a hotch-potch of assertion and selective quotation, cobbling together 'a few historical events' from sources as varied as Loram and Rhoodie. The scholarship is often inadequate and slapdash: there is, for example, complete confusion regarding the Welsh Commission of 1936 (erroneously given as 1945 by Coetzee), arising from a misreading of Rose and Tunmer.(57) There is also the astonishing claim that the Christian Council of South Africa, the SA Institute of Race Relations and the African Teachers' Association of South Africa - all known for their vehement opposition to Bantu Education -actually 'supported government policy in respect of state-controlled black education'.(58)

It is hardly surprising that the conclusions drawn from such 'scholarship' are both contentious and suspect. This is Coetzee on 'Coloured' education:

> From an objective point of view it must also be mentioned that language and religion are not the only pillars of culture. Coloureds can thus not claim to be totally part of Afrikaner or English culture per se, and therefore they cannot demand educational integration with whites. Seen from this angle, the boycotts in which Coloured pupils had taken part could and can never be justified.'(59)

Coetzee's most recent work does nothing to lessen one's apprehensions.(60) It is an excellent example of the very approach that he criticises, being based on a random compilation of 'facts' in the form of opinions culled from various writers without regard to context.

There is probably no need to belabour the point. Metagogics has nothing to offer the serious student of the history of education. Its profoundly ahistorical approach does a disservice to the many students, many of whom are black, who have to read its texts.(61) A development out of Pedagogics, with its links back to Christian National Education, (62) metagogics may be seen as yet another attempt to shore up notions of racial superiority, segregation and Afrikaner cultural uniqueness based on an underlying desire for the continuance of Afrikaner political domination. The American journalist, Joseph Lelyveld, has written of a 'corps of Afrikaner pedagogues' whose scientific method 'has reduced itself to the technique of selective quotation' and who evince 'a giddy enthusiasm, even innocence' as they strive 'to translate old racial doctrines into current academic jargon'.(63) He might well have had the metagogicians in mind.

The English language Universities

The position of the history of education in South Africa's English language universities - the 'old' universities of Cape Town, the Witwatersrand, Natal and Rhodes - will be examined by means of a case study of the University of Cape Town (much as was done with the University of Leicester for Britain and Teachers College for the USA in chapters 2 and 3). Cape Town has 'the longest tradition of

teacher education of any university in South Africa (64), starting in 1910 with a department headed by a professor, Frec Clarke, later the Director of the London Institute of Education and a seminal thinker on education in the 1940s (see chapter 2). In 1919 this became a full Faculty, and during the 1920s two degrees (the BEd and the PhD) and three certificates were offered (the Secondary Teacher's, the Higher Primary Teacher's and the Primary Teacher's).(65) A unique feature of the Faculty was that for many years it ran parallel English and Afrikaans courses, with a professor for each stream.

The history of education was listed as a requirement for the various teacher education courses from the beginning, along with 'theory of education' and psychology of education. At this stage there was no mention of sociology. 'Theory of education' was a general mish-mash which included such matters as the role of the family in education, the role of the teacher in imparting values and the difference between inductive and deductive reasoning. The 'theory' was inevitably shallow, lacked a coherent framework and was diffuse: candidates for the 1933 Secondary Teacher's Certificate, for example, were asked in the Theory of Education examination paper to deal with one of the following mixed bag: nursery schools, the Dalton Plan, mental tests, the New Education Fellowship, psycho-analysis. The theory course was thus similar in essence to the Principles of Education that R S Peters was to dismiss as undifferentiated mush in the 1960s.(66) The 1934 Theory paper had questions that ranged through vocational training, denominational schools, psychological development at puberty and Rosseau's Emile. A favourite question in the thirties - understandable in the light of the Depression - was on the education of 'Poor Whites'. Another favoured topic over several decades was the British public school: the 1937 Theory paper for the Secondary Teacher's Certificate contained no less than four questions related to this while only one had any relation to South Africa. Sanderson of Oundle, Badley of Bedales, Thomas Arnold of Rugby and Edward Thring

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