CHAPTER VI.

STATE EDUCATION FOR COLOURED PEOPLE IN THE CAPE DURING THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES.

1. STATE EDUCATION FOR SLAVERY, 1795 - 1806.

In 1795 the British Government occupied the Cape as a matter of political expediency. The occupation was only of a temporary nature, and it is, therefore, not at all surprising that no important changes were effected by the interim government in the educational system of the country.

At the time of the first British occupation there were 474 government slaves in the Slave Lodge. Of these 31 were boys and 27 were girls. 1) It is difficult to say whether the school established by the Dutch East India Company in the Lodge was continued during the period of the first British occupation, for in the return of the Requirements for Slaves to the British Government, although allowance was made for the salary to be paid to the surgeon and writer, no mention was made of a salary for a teacher. 2)

Major-General Craig, convenient of the settlement at the Cape during the first two years of this British occupation found the slaves so "indispensably necessary" that "it would not be possible to do without them". 3) He contended that the need for slaves had become very great since none had been brought into the Colony since 1793. 4) Shortly afterwards, the Acting Governor

1) R.E.C. I, p. 316.
2) Ibid.
at the Cape, Major-General Francis Dundas had no hesitation in importing slaves to meet the urgent needs of the Colony. 1) In March 1789 he allowed the sale of 400 slaves who had been imported from Mozambique, but he felt that he could not allow the importation of any further slaves from any quarter until he had had “the opinion of His Majesty’s Ministers upon a subject of such national importance.” 2)

Such slaves as were owned by the Dutch East India Company were taken over by the British authorities at 3) 150 guilders each, and they were employed as drivers and in the construction of fortifications as well as in various other "services of His Majesty’s Government". 4)

General Jassensens and Commissioner De Mist, who took over the Cape for the Batavian Republic in 1803, displayed great interest in the state of the general education of the inhabitants at the Cape. 5) De Mist believed that no community could exist without religion and urged the introduction of ministers and schoolmasters for the civilisation of the Europeans. 6) He asserted that if money was necessary for the education of the colonists the government should provide such money from the treasury. 7)

The general policy of the Batavian authorities at

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3) R.C.C.I, p.472. When the Cape was handed back to the Batavian Government in 1803, this was again the price paid to the British Government for the slaves. V.C.C.V p.171.
4) R.C.C.I, p.473.
5) See De Mist; Memoranda on the Cape, V.R.S.S.
6) V.R.S.S. No.3, p.170.
the Cape was certainly not to neglect the non-white inhabitants. Janssens expressed himself in favour of religious education for slaves\(^1\) as well as for Hottentots, though he would not permit the latter to be taught to write.\(^2\) In his instructions to the "Raad der Gemeente" which replaced the Burgher Senate in 1803, de Mist gave as one of its duties "het vermeeden en onderhouden van alle middelen die strekken moeten tot verbetering van de zo nodige oveoeding der jeugd; van de beschaving en verrijking naar natuurlijke of welke kleur zij zijn mogen."\(^3\)

During the Batavian rule at the Cape a definite policy was followed with regard to the slaves. De Mist wanted the slave-trade abolished and the state of slavery gradually superseded by a system of free labour; he preferred the employment of Hottentots to slaves.\(^5\) An attempt was made to restrict the importation of slaves in 1803, and it was ruled that no slave could be permitted from outside into the country, unless special and written consent had been given thereto by the Governor or the chairman of the political council. Failing to comply, could lead to the immediate confiscation of such slaves.\(^6\) Yet, slaves continued to enter the country and in March 1804 permission was given by the authorities to a certain Izak Stroombou to dispose

\(1\) N.Z.T. Tydschrift, VI 1829, p. 461.
\(2\) Breuer, Boustowse p. 63; Proc. 23 Feb. 1805, para. 11.
\(3\) BR 109, Notulen de Mist 1802: VI-V (Hist. St. 33) p. 310.
\(4\) V.J.S. 3, p. 351.
\(5\) (a) BR 109, Not. de Mist 1803, D.I-VI, p. 58.
    (b) BR 24. Bijlagen 1803, p. 187.
\(6\) BR 114, Instruction, 1802 – 1805, p. 172.
of 340 slaves he had brought to the Cape on an American
ship, by auction. 1)

As long as slavery existed, it was necessary
to instil upon slave owners a high moral code, con-
tended de Mist. 2) Thus among the enactments of the
Batavian government in favour of the slave population
was one requiring Christian masters to bring up their
slaves in the Christian religion, to catechise them
and to baptise them, provided that no coercion was
found necessary. The submission of slaves to the
Mohammedan faith was also prohibited by severe penalties.

During the regime of the Batavian government, we
read of a school for aged persons and slaves that existed
at the Cape 4), and also of freed slaves, who earned
their livelihood by giving instruction in music. 5)

The turn of the century saw little provision
being made by the state in regard to the education
the slaves.

2. STATE EDUCATION FOR SLAVES, 1806 - 1814.

In 1806 the British occupied the Cape for the
second time. According to the population returns
for that year there were then at the Cape 26,369
Christians, of whom 14,207 were children as well as
29,861 slaves of whom 7,230 were children. 6) The term

2) VRS 3, p.251.
3) R.C.C. XXXV p. 284.

In 1808 the Earl of Galeson wrote to Viscount
Castleragh: "It has been the policy of the Batavian
Government rather to discourage than to promote
a knowledge of Christianity in the slaves"; R.C.C.V p.
271.
4) Rec. Rerkr. Kansatad 1809-1812 (5.7.1802): Ibid ,
R.1.1806.
6) R.C.C. VI p.75.
Christian was apparently applied to include a number of non-whites, who were neither Hottentot nor slave, but officially accepted as part of the free people of the land.

There were also some government slaves, who were regarded as a legitimate prize of war. In 1807 the slaves employed in government service totalled 201 males and 385 females. These slaves had only 17 children of whom 9 were boys and 8 girls and in addition there were 5 mothers who had sucklings at their breasts.

The Earl of Caldecott, who took over the administration at the Cape as the first civil British Governor, was much alarmed at the high expenditure of running the new colony, and proposed to the British Secretary of State for Colonies, Viscount Castlereagh, in 1807, that in order to reduce expenses, the slave lodge be abolished. He recommended the sale of the slaves and that the lodge be repaired and converted into public offices or barracks for the military.

The government slave lodge had been "a sink of filth and vice", and when slaves were sold to private individuals it was believed to better their condition, since such slaves were mainly of the class of domestics "and were better fed and better clothed in private families than in the government lodge."

1) R.C.C. XX p.255. The British Govt. paid the Batavian Govt. for them.
2) P.C.C. VI p.175.
3) R.C.C. VI p. 176 - 179.
4) R.C.C. XX p. 352.
Government was, however, more concerned with its own troubles on the European continent and apparently paid little attention to the suggestions of its colonial Governor.

The new British administration at the Cape soon made the educational problems of the Colony its concern. Already Lt.-General Grey, who took over the government at the Cape for a short period in 1807, paid some attention to the schools in Cape Town. He interested himself in the School Commission and was prepared to countenance "any measure calculated to benefit so important a point as the education of the youth in this settlement", and asked the School Committee to appoint English teachers at both the Latin School and School for Young Ladies. 1)

In 1808 the Earl of Caledon expressed concern at the ignorance of the imported slaves for religion and stated that if they were left in that state of ignorance by the authorities, they soon fell a prey to the zeal of the Mohammedan priests who had at that time gained much influence. He had, therefore, empowered the clergymen of the Reformed and Lutheran churches each to appoint an instructor for the purpose of teaching the gospel to the slaves belonging to the members of their respective congregations. 2) The Home Government was in agreement and "would be happy to promote any plan with regard to the education of the slaves and Hottentots in

2) R.C.C. VI, p.371 : Caledon to Castlereagh: 4 Febr.1806
the principles and duties of Christianity which might succeed. 1)

Caledon also intended re-opening the slave school in Cape Town, which had apparently been closed, for at its meeting on 4th January 1808, the Kerkraad (Church Council) of Cape Town was informed by Rev. C. Fleck that it was the intention of His Excellency, Lord Caledon, "om ter uytbreiding van het Christendom een school voor slave kinderen van 's Gouvernements weegen oo te rigten tot welker eyndezyne Ferwaerde (as C.Fleck) was gequalificeerd daartoe een onderwyser te verzorgen." 2) This school apparently only came into being some few years later with A. van Hogenberg as the teacher. 3)

But in spite of his interest and efforts 5), Caledon's term of office as governor was not productive of any great changes or advances with regard to the general education of the colony or the education and upliftment of the slaves. 6)

It was, indeed, Sir John Credock, who was the first English governor to devote any serious attention to education in the Cape Colony. 7)

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1) R.C.C VI p.361: Castlereagh to Caledon, 10 June 1802.
2) CO 25, No.4: 1 Febr.1808.
3) KR 10, p.256, 4 Jan 1808 (Kamptadse Kerkarief); also in Freyer, A: "Bouwtowe......" p.164.
4) R.C.C XIX p.55.
5) R.C.C VII, p.166: Caledon wanted to establish a public school at each drostdy.
7) (a) CO.1470: 1812-1813, p.32 Col.Secr. re Church Clerk Schools: 24 Oct.1812.
   (b) R.C.C. IX p. 218 - 219.
In 1809 the schools in Cape Town were found to be "subject to a number of defects", according to the report of the School Commission that investigated conditions in that year. The commission had reason to complain that there was need for a well-managed free school in which the children of the poor could be instructed gratis. It also pleaded for government aid for the purpose of establishing further schools that were so necessary in the colony. In the country districts, too, education was neglected. In 1811 the first Circuit Commission reported: "We have passed through districts mostly inhabited by rich inhabitants, owners of places and proprietors, the one more and the other less, of considerable numbers of cattle, in the houses of whom we have met with 10 or more children, the eldest of whom was not able to read or write his name."

In Graaff-Reinet only 100 children were receiving instruction in reading and writing.

Since the education of the children of the European colonists left much to be desired, it is to be expected that the education of the slaves was also neglected.

Although the British Government, largely as a result of the efforts of the Humanitarians inside parliament and outside of it, had abolished slave trade in 1807, it had not yet turned its thoughts to the abolition of slavery as such. In the 43rd Article of the Governor's Instruction for the Landdrosts of the Cape Districts issued on 31st March 1809, it was

2) R.C.C. VIII p. 295.
stated that, "As long as the use of slaves in this colony shall not be done away, the Landdrost must esteem it one of his most sacred duties to watch over the treatment of these unfortunate persons"; he must never allow cruelty towards them and everything possible should be done to civilise these people and make them more useful members of society.¹)

The Circuit Commission of 1811 found that more zeal in the instruction of the slaves was required, and that they should be given the opportunity of attending Divine Worship, which would assist in making some of them more useful to their owners.²) But in terms of an existing law, slaves, who had been confirmed in the Christian religion could not be sold or transferred, and since the possession of slaves had become a most valuable asset of the colonists, it was to be expected that the slave-owners would, under the circumstances, resist the conversion to Christianity of slaves, as this conflicted with their interests and affected their property.³)

In 1813 a Circuit Court expressed its conviction that since the instruction of the white inhabitants and their children was so deficient and had to contend with many difficulties, it could naturally not be expected that the slaves would have such opportunity of such instruction. The Mohammedan religion had not yet penetrated the country districts, and the Circuit

¹) R.C.C. VII p.475.
²) R.C.C.VIII p.301; also Ibid 480,490,491,498, 500.
³) R.C.C. X p. 4, 45-60; R.C.C. VIII p.500.
Commissioners therefore considered that the country slaves were more capable of Christian instruction than those around Cape Town, where the prejudice of the slaves against Christianity was very great. 1) Governor J. Cradock, soon after his assumption of office in 1811, interested himself in the welfare of the slaves and in the general education of the colony. He issued a proclamation on 9th October 1812 repealing the law of 10th April 1770 and made it possible for slave-owners to discharge of slaves, who had been converted to Christianity. 2) He hoped thereby to eliminate such obstacles that prevented the spread of the Christian religion amongst the slaves and their conversion to Christianity. 3) In the same year (1812), when he was approached by English-speaking slave-owners for the erection of an English medium school for slaves, he readily agreed and instructed the School Commission accordingly. 4) Cradock favoured the establishment of free schools for the poor and brought into being in 1813 the Bible and School Commission. 5) This Commission would introduce into the Colony a system of education similar to that introduced in England by Bell and Lancaster and intended chiefly for the poor and neglected children of the community, to produce in them

1) R.C.C.XX p.71.
2) R.C.C., VIII p.500; see also Breyer, Bouskouwe...p.168
3) R.C.C. VIII p.500; R.C.C.XX p.184
4) 00 91 No.30,32. This school, under Miss H. Vosker as teacher had a short independent existence and was later merged with the Lodge School.
5) Cape Town Gazette No.390, 1 July 1813.
"the most salutary effects of moral and religious improvement". 1)

In a letter to Lord Broughton dated 16th August 1817, he pointed out that he had taken "the most active measure", to provide for the education of the lower classes of the community. He pointed out that the urgent need for "every species of education among all the inhabitants of this Colony, except the very few of the higher order." 2)

In addition to the Bible and School Commission a voluntary "common and extensive fund" for education was created to establish free schools for the poor. 3) Slave children were admitted to the Free Schools. 4)

Just prior to his departure, Cradock wrote to Lord Broughton in March 1814 that "the state of slavery in this settlement is of a mild nature and this unhappy class of people are better treated than in any other part of the world where I have been." 5)

3. THE EDUCATION OF GOVERNMENT SLAVES DURING THE PERIOD 1814 TO 1824.

On 5th April 1814 Lord Charles Somerset succeeded Sir John Cradock as governor at the Cape. Somerset arrived at a time when the Cape had formally become a permanent British possession and he was in a position therefore to carry out such reforms which would ensure that the Cape became an integral part of the Colonial

1) Cape Town Gazette No.291, 8 July 1813.
3) Ibid.
Dominion of Great Britain. 1) His period of service at the Cape coincided with the great parliamentary movement for the amelioration of the conditions of the slaves in the British colonies, and his interest in the slaves was a direct reflection of the pressure exerted upon the Colonial Administration by the Home Government. Those who succeeded him had to face the same situation until 1837, when slavery came to an end. 2) Somerset gave constant attention to the education of the government slaves. The old Lodge School, which had been established from the early days of the regime of the Dutch East India Company, and which had continued to serve the slave community almost without interruption for all these years, received his attention. In October 1817 he appointed W. Vassar as English schoolmaster to assist the teacher A. van Hogenberg, who had apparently been re-appointed schoolmaster in 1813. 3)

In 1822 Harma H. Vassar was appointed additional English school-mistress for the slave children. 4) This was a very generous allocation of teachers for in 1823 there were but 17 children at the government slave school, while in 1824 there were but 9 slave boys, between the ages of 4 and 12 at this school and 6 slave girls between the ages of 2 and 14. 5)

The salaries paid to the teachers at the slave school compared favourably with those paid to other public schoolmasters, though the salaries fluctuated from year to year. The slave children at the lodge school were also provided with stationery and other articles of haberdashery at government expense.

During Somerset's absence from 1820 to 1821, Sir Rufane Donkin, who acted as governor in his stead, had an old government building, situated near the government gardens, repaired for the use of all the government slaves. By this means he tried to ensure that the slaves would be housed in a more salubrious building. By the new arrangement, Donkin, hoped firstly to save money hitherto spent on rent, and secondly to ensure the health and morals of the slaves, "by drawing them more immediately under the eye and protection of the Governor." In the same building, the school room and the room for the schoolmaster were housed.

But by 1826 the slave lodge appears to have been neglected. Early in 1826 Somerset was obliged to return to England as it had "become expedient that he should repair home immediately to furnish the necessary explanations to certain charges." Major-General Bourke took over the administration during his absence and

1) R.C.S. XII p. 376 - 379.
2) Ibid: Salaries for the 2 teachers at the slave school were 500 to 700 Rixdollars per annum.
3) R.C.C. XIX p. 379. In 1823 an amount of 41 Rixdollars was spent and in 1824, a sum of 79 Rixdollars.
4) Evidently the Old Slave Lodge was rented at 1,500 Rixdollars per annum.
6) Ibid.
found that the slave lodge required immediate attention. It was Bourke's opinion that the government slaves were universally regarded as the most profligate and discreditable in the community. The Commissioners of Inquiry, who were at the time investigating conditions at the Cape, urged the Acting Governor to adopt some measures for the regulation of the slave lodge.

At the time of the investigation there were 8 male children in the lodge of whom probably 6 were old enough to attend school. There were 7 female children, of whom probably 4 were old enough to attend school. In addition there were 11 children of Prize Negro apprentices who lived in the lodge, and who could attend school. All told there could not have been more than 31 children of school going age. Bourke found that the English school master and the school mistress had little or nothing to do. He, therefore, suggested the manumission of all able-bodied slaves and that the lodge should then be used as a charitable hospital for those unable to support themselves because of ill-health or old-age. All children of proper age could be apprenticed and the school teachers could be transferred to other employment, thus saving the unnecessary expense of their salaries.

Somerset, who was in England at the time to answer the allegations against himself, was naturally

1) R.C.C. XXVI p. 494; also R.C.C. XXX p. 323 - 324.
2) R.C.C. XXVI p. 494.
5) R.C.C. XXVII p. 73.
7) Ibid.
8) R.C.C. XXVII p. 73.
anxious to vindicate his administration. He asked for copies of correspondence relating to the Slave Lodge and sent by Bourke. No doubt, he regarded the assertions upon the character of his late charges as a depreciation of his own efforts on their behalf.

He denied that their conduct was "profligate and discreditable", and contended that there were few who were happier or generally better conducted than the government slaves. In vindication of himself, he asserted that when he arrived at the Cape none of the government slaves was baptised and that there was no opportunity for instruction. He reminded the British government that as a result of his own efforts there was a commodious school, in which the male and female children were separated, and all children were compelled to attend school as soon as they were of sufficient age. They were all taught to read and write, while the females also learnt needlework. The children attended church regularly and the school was under the immediate supervision of the Rev. Mr. Bough, the Colonial Chaplain.

The Secretary of State for Colonies, Lord Bathurst was, however, in agreement with Bourke and authorised that the slaves be gradually remitted, but those who were sickly and old should be cared for. He also had no objection to the slave children being apprenticed on the attainment of the proper age. 3)

Soon after this the Slave Lodge was disbanded and the government slaves emancipated. 4)

1) In contrast to previous practice of allowing slaves to learn to read but not to write: J.C.S. No.4, 1.2.1806; also G.775, p.139-194; Instructions to Erasmus Smit.
4) (a) J.C.S. XXVI p.494-506; (b) J.C.S.XXIV p.141.
It is difficult to say what arrangements were made for the education of the children who had not yet attained the age suitable for apprenticeship, but it was not long before the emancipation of all slaves settled the matter.

4. GENERAL RELIGIOUS EDUCATION FOR SLAVERS, 1814 - 1834.

With Somerset's assumption of office, the government at the Cape interested itself also in the welfare of the general slave population, i.e. the slaves belonging to the colonists.

On 26th April 1816 Somerset issued a proclamation for the registration of all Cape Slaves, so as to ensure that free persons were not included among the slaves and treated as such. ¹)

On 1st July of the same year Mr. J. Decters was appointed as a public teacher for instructing the slaves in the Christian doctrine at a salary of 240 rixdollars per annum,²) and the Cape clergy began to interest itself afresh in the welfare and moral and religious education of the slaves.³)

In September 1817 Lt. Bird, the secretary of the Cape Government, in a reply to a request from the Rev. Mr. Gough, informed the latter that as the laws of the Colony stood, it was obligatory on the proprietors of slaves to give them instruction in the Christian religion and that there was a heavy penalty to such as permitted their slaves to embrace the Mohammedan faith. He regretted that these injunctions had been rarely neglected.⁴) Bird suggested reforms for the education

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¹) R.C.C. XI p.108.
²) R.C.C. XIX p.61.
⁴) R.C.C. XI p. 376.
of the slaves; he wanted to enforce the religious education of slave children from 6 years of age. For this purpose he proposed to erect upon a large scale, two schools in Cape Town, one for the males and one for the females. To these schools it would be imperative for masters and mistresses, inhabitants of Cape Town, to send all their slave children from the age of 6 years to that of 12 years, furnishing them with provisions for the day, as he thought it necessary that the children should not leave the schools from the time these opened in the morning till they closed for the night, nor should any child be excused from attendance for any reason except ill-health. 1) Each school should have an extensive playground for recreation and for the building up of health and constitutional strength. 2) Bird would have liked to see schools such as those opened "in miniature" in every town and settlement. 3)

The plan of the Colonial Secretary, Lt. Bird, attracted much attention. Critics were not wanting. Many of the slave proprietors did not see the advantage to them of the scheme. There was a meeting of some of the principal inhabitants, consisting chiefly of members of the Dutch Reformed Church, to discuss the plan, and it was found not to be agreeable to them. 4)

The inculcation of Christian principles in the slaves was constantly in the mind of the governor. Thus

3) Ibid.
4) R.C.C. XVIII p. 150 -161.
In 1818, upon the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Thom as minister at Caledon, the instruction of the non-European part of the community was especially recommended to him, "it being His Excellency's sincere wish that the members of your church may be led, by all the persuasion of which you may be master, to encourage their dependants and slaves to embrace the principles of the Christian faith and to control their instruction therein." 1) On the appointment of Mr. Taylor in the same year as minister in the Beaufort district, he was informed that, "His Excellency (the Governor of the Cape) entitling a most sincere desire that the black or slave part of the community may receive that religious instruction which will be highly consoling to them." 2)

In 1818 Somerset also provided for two instructors to teach the slaves in Cane Town the elements of the Christian religion. 3)

A plan to Anglicise the Dutch colonists at the Cape was introduced in 1822 by a proclamation issued on 5th July of that year, 4) which decreed that English would henceforth be the official language in the colony. The church would be Anglicised and "competent and respectable Instructors employed at public expense", would be introduced, "at every principal place throughout the Colony, for the purpose of facilitating the acquirements of the English language to all classes of Society." 5) Six British teachers were imported from

2) R.C.C. XII, p.83.  
3) R.C.C. XII, p.96 - 99.  
4) Cape Town Gazette No.360: 5 July 1822.  
5) Ibid, Cape Town Gazette No. 360.
overseas, and the children to be taught by them were to be "those of the Dutch colonists chiefly or young persons and heathens, if required". They were to teach the English language grammatically, writing, arithmetic, the first principles of sacred music and the principles of the Christian religion. The teachers that came out for this purpose were J. Ross-Innes, A. Brown, W. Robertson, W. Dawson, J. Rattray and R. Blair.

But in a circular addressed by the Colonial Secretary to the Landdrosts at Grand-Heinet, Stellenbosch and Uitenhage it became clear that the duties of these British teachers would be confined to the burghers of the Colony and that the English Free Schools to which the teachers were attached, were accessible only to the European part of the community. In this way a system of segregation was again introduced at the Cape by which European and non-European children would attend separate schools. In Stellenbosch, in particular, there was much opposition to Coloureds attending the schools for Europeans.

In 1833 Somerset was convinced that his endeavours to improve the educational facilities for the Colonists had been successful, and that the colonists were grateful for what he had done. He therefore wrote to Earl Bathurst on 31st March of that year that "the moment was favourable for doing something to improve the con-

1) R.C.C. XIV, p. 265.
2) (a) R.C.C. XIV, p. 97; (b) CS 1305 (1800-1832): Henry Goulburn to Somerset, 10 April 1821.
3) R.C.C. XIV p. 97 - 98.
4) R.C.C. XIV p. 263.
5) Ross-Innes, J: "Memorandum addressed to the Honourable the Secretary to Government on the subject of Elementary Education at the Cape of Good Hope: 22 June 1840 p. 7."
6) (a) Letter Stellenbosch Skoolkommissie to Colonial Secr:3 July 1838 (in "Schools and Patriotic Fund")
ditions of the slave population here and to pave the way for an event which I trust will ultimately take place, the abolition of slavery entirely in this settlement."  

In that year Somerset issued his famous proclamation for the amelioration of the conditions of the slaves. The proclamation prohibited work on Sundays, encouraged proprietors to baptise their slave children by exempting them from the slave tax, legalised and regulated marriages and permitted slaves to own property. The fourth article of the proclamation stated that "Christian slave proprietors, residing in Cape Town and other towns and villages and their immediate vicinity, where there were free schools or where free schools might be established, were after the first day of June next, to send their slave children above three years and under ten years of age, at least three days in each week to the established free school nearest to their dwelling and those whose residence would not permit them to afford this consoling advantage to their slave children, were anxiously invited to avail themselves of any means which might offer for giving them instruction." 

Soon after the promulgation of these regulations J. Jussot De Lisa was appointed on 1st April 1823 as schoolmaster to instruct the slaves in the Christian doctrine at a salary of 240 rixdollars.

3) R.C.C. XIX p.337.  
4) R.C.C. XV p.337.  
5) R.C.C. XIX p.61.
The British settlers of Albany, who, incidentally were prohibited from employing slave labour, addressed a memorandum to the Secretary of State for Colonies, in which they gratefully acknowledged the new efforts to secure the "mental and moral advantage" of the slaves and other Coloureds "by the establishment of schools upon the celebrated system invented by the Reverend Doctor Bell". 1)

On the part of the slave-owners, however, there was general opposition to the new government measure. The masters regarded the slaves as property to which they had complete and unfettered title. Child labour was of great value at the Cape, so that this government measure was only partially observed and few slaves were sent to school. 2)

Somerset was, however, very pleased with his endeavours. Six months after the promulgation, he wrote to the Secretary of State for Colonies, Earl Bathurst, that in Cape Town alone there were 1,551 slave children receiving instruction and that the schools in the country districts had been filled in proportion. 3) According to a report from Bigge to the Imperial Government, the number that attended school in Cape Town in 1825 was slightly lower than that given by Somerset. According to Bigge 1,115 slaves and slave children were receiving instruction in the free and other schools of Cape Town.

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2) (c) Wright, W.: "Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope" (1871) p.56 (b) R.C.C. XXI p.56 : A Government proclamation had to be issued on 29th April 1825 explaining again that slave children had to attend the Free Schools.
3) Somerset to Bathurst, 29.10.1825 in R.C.C.XVI p.417
The education of those slave children was under the direction of the Bible and School Commission. There were also 30 slaves and slave children at a school of the Wesleyan Methodists. At the time, the total slave population of Cape Town was 7,076 of which 2,461 were children.1)

Somerset was heartened in his endeavours on behalf of the slaves, by the reactions of the Home Government. Earl Bathurst felt that Somerset's proclamation had not gone far enough, and he could not perceive of any conclusive reason why compulsory education should have been limited to the slave children of Christian slave proprietors. He would have liked to have seen the regulation made obligatory to all slave children, i.e. Mohammedan children as well.2) He also informed Somerset that the British parliament might be induced to contribute additional funds for the education of the slaves.3)

Since 1812 the Cape Government had been assuming an increasing share of the expenses in regard to education in the Colony. Besides financing the education of the slaves in the Slave Lodge, it paid the salaries of two teachers who instructed the slaves in the Christian doctrine. However, in 1824 only 1422 rixdollars was expended on the education of the slaves as compared with a total expenditure of 13,912 rixdollars on education as a whole.4)

1) R.C.C. XXV p. 368.
3) R.C.C. XVII p. 77, 9 July 1822; also R.C.C. XVIII p. 33.
4) R.C.C. XXI p. 378. Some slave children did, of course, attend other government schools.
Moved by the interest displayed in the education of the slaves by the British government, Somerset worked out a scheme early in 1824, by which every slave child between the age of 3 and 10 years could receive at least 3 days teaching per week. In order to carry out this plan it would have been necessary to establish 15 school houses. Each could then be divided into two apartments, one for the boys and the other for the girls and the school rooms could also be used for divine worship. The scheme necessitated the appointment of 15 schoolmasters and 15 school-mistresses. The capital outlay was estimated at 105,000 rixdollars and the annual expenditure at 18,000 rixdollars. As the expenditure would have been too heavy for the colony to bear on its own, Somerset suggested that the British Government make a substantial grant towards the implementing of the scheme.\(^1\)

The British Government, however, was not prepared to adopt Somerset's suggestions\(^2\) and as a result the opportunity of effectively organising the education of the slaves was lost.

Somerset interested himself in the education of other classes of non-whites besides the slaves. On 1st August 1823 he issued a proclamation by which Mohammedans and Prize Negroes and their children were included in the terms of the fourth and sixth classes of the proclamation of 19th March 1823 and such of these non-whites as were Christians were required to go to the Free schools in their districts for three days per week.\(^3\)

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\(^1\) R.O.C. XVII p.41 (31.1.1824)
\(^2\) R.O.C. XXVII p.344-345.
\(^3\) R.O.C. XVII p.174-175.
A good picture of the education of all classes of the community at the Cape as a result of Somerset's endeavours, is obtained from the reports of P.J. Truter, a member of the Circuit Court of 1824, and from the Governor's own dispatches to the British Government in London.

According to Truter's report, there was a rapid decline in the number of pupils attending the Dutch schools in the country districts and an increase in the enrolment at the English Schools established by Somerset. 1)

While the English Schools were attended by European children only, 2) there were non-Europeans attending some of the Dutch schools. Thus at Caledon, for instance, after most of the white children had gone over to the English school under Mr. Blair, there were at the Dutch school only nine very young children, most of whom were slaves. The pupils of this school were taught by C.J. van Gruen and the school did not make a favourable impression. 3) At Uitenhage where the English school of Rose-Innes had been established, there was also a free school for slaves and Potjiesrots and at this latter school instruction was given on every alternate day; 4) at Graaff-Reinet there was an English school and two Dutch schools, while one of the Dutch teachers gave instruction to the slaves. 5) There was also a school for slaves at Tulbagh. 6)

(b) CO 1495 - (1826-1827): Col. Secr. to Bible and School Commission, Cape Town, 25 April 1827.
3) Ibid; Also Rose-Innes, Memorandum..............
4) Ibid.
5) R.C.C. XXXV p.365.
6) R.C.C. XXXV p.365.
At Stellenbosch where the slave population was
the largest in the Cape, being no fewer than 8,564
in 1824 and of which 2,869 were children, a special
slave school was opened in 1824. The expenditure
for this school was met entirely by the inhabitants
of the village, however, when a teacher was appointed
in the following year at a salary of 1000 rixdollars
annum, the Colonial Treasury subsidised one-third
of this salary. The enrolment at the school con-
sisted of 73 slave children only. At this school
apparently the only accomplishments taught were
reading and the memorising of Biblical texts, hymns
and portions of the Heidelberg Catechism.

In October 1824 Somerset informed the British
Government that there were 3 Free Schools, 9 Sunday
Schools and 100 other schools in the Colony attended
by 3,946 children, white and non-white. He estimated
that there were 32,214 uneducated children of every
description in the Colony at the time and that 35
clergyman and 163 teachers and catechists were required
for the religious instruction of the whole population.
A sum of 169,000 rixdollars would be required for the
annual maintenance of the clergyman and teachers, and
of this amount the Colony itself could only bear 9000
rixdollars.

In 1825 it was estimated that in the villages
of the country districts the number of slaves receiving

3) R.S.C. XXII p. 281.
5) CO 628; Van Wanger to Bell, 9 Sept. 1820
6) R.S.C. XVIII p. 312-322.
public instruction did not exceed 390 and that the attendance was neither numerous nor regular. 1)

In 1825, Somerset, acting upon his own, but obviously inspired by the continued interest displayed by the Home Government in the conditions of the slaves, had a new school building erected for slave children in Cape Town at a cost of 5,150 rixdollars, exclusive of the stores amounting to 2,275 rixdollars. 2) The amount had been advanced from the Colonial Treasury, and he hoped upon receiving official sanction to charge it against the expected parliamentary grant. 3) This expenditure was subsequently approved of by His Majesty's Treasury, 4) but not without opposition. 5)

Previously, on 13th May 1823, only two months after the issue of his famous slave proclamation, Somerset had sanctioned the expenditure of 7,650 rixdollars on extending the Free School in Keerom Street after representations had been made to him by the Bible and School Committee and by the Rev. Mr. Wright, who supervised the system of education in the Free Schools. Mr. Wright contended that the school room was much too small and inconvenient and that the children often fainted. 6)

At that time, too, a priest of the Mohammedan congregation was conducting a school in Cape Town attended by 272 slaves. The children were taught

1) R.C.C. XXX p.385.
2) R.C.C. XXXIII p.50-59.
3) Ibid.
4) R.C.C. XXIV p.37; XXV p.297.
6) R.C.C. XXVI p.75-6
the precepts of the Koran and also to read and write Arabic. 1) Many of the Mohammedan children were sent to the free schools, where they were taught to read and write the Dutch language, although the instruction had little effect upon their faith. 2) 

Worcester was at this time the only Protestant unprovided with a slave school. On 24th December 1825 the School Commission for Worcester informed Sir Richard Flaxkett, the Secretary to government, that it desired to meet the wishes of the government in the establishment of a school for the instruction of the slaves and the Christian youth. The funds of the community was inadequate for the erection of a school, but the church would provide an apartment and the Parish-clerk could perform the duties of teaching. 3) As this scheme entailed assistance from the colonial treasury, and as Somerset hesitated to burden the treasury of the Cape Colony 4) any further be submitted this request to Bathurst for consideration by the Home Government. 5)

Somerset's interest in the welfare of the slaves culminated in his Proclamation No.19 of 18th June 1836, in which he attempted to legislate in the interests of the slaves, though this proclamation contained no

1) R.C.C. XXXV p.367.
2) R.C.C. XXXV p.367.
4) Somerset constantly complained of financial difficulties and the increasing expenditure and decreasing revenue of the Colony. See R.C.C.XXII p.441; R.C.C.XXIV p.56-7.
clauses for the education of the slaves, other than those already provided in his previous proclamation of 1823.

The proclamation of 1826 caused a great stir among the slave-owners. The Burgher Senate at first refused to publish the ordinance. Later petitions were presented against it by the inhabitants of Cape Town and the slave-owners of Stellenbosch, who one after another asked for its repeal or suspension. This ordinance was the beginning of the gradual emancipation of the slaves. Though the colonists were not against such emancipation, they felt, nevertheless, that it had to be carried out "without violation of private property.....that inaccessible palladium of every Civil Society." 1)

But vital this proclamation had no marked effects upon the education of the slaves. Thus in a report submitted by Pieter on 5th April 1851, it was thought expedient to give consideration to enforcing slave-owners to send their slave children to school. 2)

In the same year of the Proclamation No.19, i.e. 1826, the education of the slaves received a severe set-back by a decision of His Majesty's Government that it could not be expected to apportion any of the revenue of England "in aid of any measure which the Colonial Government may upon general principles think desirable for imparting the benefit of

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2) H.C.C. XXV p.369 - 376.
a school education to the slave and other children of the Colony." 1) All hope of financial aid from the Home Government was thus finally ended. The burden had thenceforth to fall upon the Colonial Treasury, which was hard put to balance its ordinary budget. 2)

Nevertheless, the Free School system, which came into being in 1813 under Geddock, was gradually extended after 1824 to the country districts, where many teachers were appointed to open free schools on the monitoarial system. In 1857 there were 36 of these free schools and of these, two were wholly "Coloured Schools," in which the medium of instruction was exclusively Dutch. 3) Many of the Church Clerk Schools, established in 1817, had disappeared or had reduced enrolments. In 1857 there were only twenty of these schools and all were in the Western Province. The total enrolment in these schools was 675. 4) Very few of the pupils at these schools were slaves or non-whites. 5)

Despite the educational facilities provided by the Administration, the slaves and other non-Europeans were by circumstances prevented from use of the facilities, since their attendance at school was com-

1) Bethuret to Bourke, 4 July 1826 in J.C.C. AXVI p.25.
2) R.C.C.XII p.441; R.C.C.XIV p.56-7.
4) Ibid.
5) (a) In the school of D.de Vos at Stellenbosh there were 4 slave children in 1813 (8.782); in van Covenhagen's school there was 1 slave out of 36 pupils in 1812 and in 1814 there were 2 out of 63 (8.783). In Jan van Lindenbouw's school there were 1 slave out of 63 pupils in 1813 and in 1814 there were 6 slaves out of 72 pupils (8.784). In Frans Botha's school at Pary in 1818 there were also non-whites (8.784). (b) 60557: Secr.Bible and School Commission to Col.Secr.Cape Town 13 May 1827; (c) CS 1470 (1812-1813); p.26; Col.Secr. to School Commission, 26.10.1818.
tingent upon the attitude of the European colonists and their inferior and subservient economic condition.

A clear picture of the state of the education of slaves just prior to their emancipation, is obtained from the report of a Commission of Inquiry in 1831. The report concluded in the following terms:— "Whatever may be the success of the measures that have been taken to secure the civil and personal rights of the slave population in the colony, and to prevent the increase of their numbers from illicit sources, it is not to be expected that such improvement can be made in their moral character under the circumstances which have been described. In Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Bitterhoog and Graaff-Reinet, the opportunities of giving elementary instruction to the slaves from 3 to 15 years of age resident in the Towns, may be improved, and also of impressing them with the leading principles of religious and moral truths, but the slaves of the same age in the Country Districts and at the habitations of the farmers must depend in great measure upon the disposition of their masters to admit them to a participation in the limited means which they enjoy themselves of giving instruction through itinerant teachers to their own families, and considerable change must be effected on the feelings which the Cape farmers have been accustomed to regard their slaves, before the expediency of such a cause, both as it regards the present and future welfare of that unfortunate race can be impressed upon them." 1)

1) R.C.C. XXXV p.376 - 379.
5. THE BRITISH SLAVE TRADE ABOLISHED.

Mention has already been made of the importation to South Africa of negro slaves, most of whom came from Madagascar and Mozambique.

In 1807 the British parliament abolished the oceanic slave trade in British ships and by British subjects to or from any part of the coast of Africa. 1) This meant that there could be no further importation of slaves to South Africa. Just previous to this ban, however, Sir David Baird, in October 1806, allowed a few negro slaves to be sold at a public auction, because he regarded "the importation of a few negro slaves as highly advantageous." 2) He also gave Alexander Forrest of Cape Town permission to import 500 slaves. 3) A portion of this number arrived during the administration of Sir David Baird, but the remainder came during the regime of Baird's successor, the Earl of Caledon. 4)

Caledon found himself in a quandary, for the vessel which brought the slaves had been destroyed by a storm at sea and there were many more slaves than had been allowed for. 5) He was prohibited by the enactments of the British parliament to allow them into the country as slaves, and he felt that if he were to allow them to be landed as free people, due to their extreme youth and ignorance be forced eventually into servitude or starve

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2) R.C.C.VI p. 49.
3) R.C.C. VI p. 228-229.
For want of food. 1) He therefore allowed them to be apprenticed to servants for a period of seven years.

The demand for labour was so acute that a further request was made to Caledon by the colonists to allow them to purchase a cargo of 400 negro slaves from a Portuguese ship that had arrived at Table Bay. The governor did not accede to the request. 2) Despite this, however, the illegal importation of slaves continued. 3)

A practice apparently then developed by which negro slaves were imported and apprenticed or indentured to the government or to private persons. These Prize negroes, as they were called, were apprenticed for a period of seven years. 4) They could choose their masters from whom they would receive lodging, clothing, food and pocket money, 5) but it was regarded as essential that the employers had to be individuals who would ensure that the negroes did not fall into habits of idleness, vice and vagabondage. 6)

In the period between 30th Dec. 1808 and 31st Dec. 1809 no fewer than 73 negro boys of about 14 years of age were apprenticed to the navy and 92 others, mostly girls, were apprenticed for fourteen years to private individuals. 7) Once the practice of apprenticeship was established at the Cape, there were many applications to the government to import Free Blacks for that purpose. 8)
Thus from Jan. 1695 to Dec. 1716 no fewer than 1,483 male negroes and 451 female negroes were imported into the colony as apprentices. Of this number, 108 males entered the service of the navy, 111 were enlisted in the army, 143 worked in the service of the colonial administration, and the remainder, 1033, was apprenticed to private individuals. Of the females, 9 worked in the service of the Colonial government, while the remainder was apprenticed to private individuals.

In 1718 a further 133 negroes, most of whom were "debilitated and diseased" were rescued from a sinking ship and landed at Table Bay. 1)

Many of these negroes were kept under illegal slavery. 2)

In 1721 Somerset furnished Lord Bathurst with a return of all the negroes who had been landed at the Cape as prizes or as a result of other circumstances, and who had been apprenticed. The number was very great and the lists "filled a whole volume." 3)

It was stipulated that these apprenticed negroes should receive instruction in the Christian religion. 4)

On 1st August 1633 Somerset included the Prize Negroes in the terms of the 4th and 5th clauses of his proclamation of 16th March 1623, thus enjoining masters to send the children of their apprentices to school. 5)

1) R.C.C. XV p. 92-93.
2) R.C.C. XII p. 93.
3) R.C.C. XII p. 93; X p. 45; XI p. 102-106.
4) R.C.C. XVII p. 175; note by Thiel.
5) R.C.C. XI p. 93.
6) R.C.C. XVI p. 174-175.
It appears that despite the regulations little progress was made in educating the negroes. For the most part they grew up in complete ignorance, and as their terms of apprenticeship or indenture lapsed, they entered the ranks of the Free Black population.

In 1824 the fiscal J. Benyssen maintained that "those among the negro apprentices, who have imbibed the religious tenets of the nations to which they formerly belonged are not easily prevailed upon to change their religion, and many of them, advanced to a certain age, wherein the human mind is barely capable to be impressed with the ideas of a religion altogether strange to their understanding, are deaf for all instructions, whilst the young persons and children, who cannot but have a frequent intercourse with Mahomedan slaves are soon seduced by the example of their friends and comrades, by the allurements of the external rites attending the Mahomedan religion, and by the artifices of the so-called Mahomedan priest, to give a marked preference to that religion." 1)

Attempts thus at christianising these negroes also failed.

6. ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE COLONY ACT 1834.

Although slavery came to an end in the Cape Colony on 1st December 1834, the Slavery Abolition Act had fixed a period, which in the Cape was to be four years, during which the slaves were to continue to work

for their previous owners as apprentices. Full freedom, therefore, only came to the Cape slaves on 1st December 1836.

It behoves us therefore to review the educational opportunities and facilities that were made available to the Coloured People after emancipation.

In 1834 the Bible and School Commission submitted certain regulations to the Cape Government in connection with the general educational system. It suggested that instruction should be in English and Dutch. The Commission was further of the opinion that free education was not wise. It seemed right to members of the Bible and School Commission that if no effort was to be made in a particular community to sustain a school, the public money should not be wasted on such a neighbourhood.1) Hence the Commission recommended the virtual abolition of the Free School system and the substitution for it of a schedule of school fees to be added to the salary of the teacher. According to this scale of fees, the parents were to pay 9d per month for first class or elementary instruction, one shilling and six pence for second class instruction or instruction in spelling and reading and 2/3 for third class instruction or instruction in grammar, writing and arithmetic. In certain cases, however, pupils could be admitted gratis.

The buildings were to be provided from the public revenue but the parents themselves had to supply all the articles required in the schools. The teacher's salary was fixed

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1) (a) 6. 34 - '52 Ape. 30. III.
(b) 00 736 - 1834: Bible and School Commission to
on the basis of the enrolment. 1)

Wherever a school was established it was to be managed by a local school committee, that would make recommendations for the appointment of teachers to the Bible and School Commission. 2)

These regulations promulgated by the Bible and School Commission were accepted by the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban. 3)

Whereas the Free School System had intended to bring a measure of education, particularly religious education, to the poor and neglected sections of the Cape population, the new regulations defeated that purpose. It was obvious that the Bible and School Commission was chiefly concerned with the education of the white colonists. There was no stated desire to keep the non-whites from the schools, but a system of school fees could make education almost totally inaccessible to the non-European classes.

This new school system, however, met with little success. 4) The failure was attributed to various causes: politics, ineffective control by the Bible and School Commission, scarcity of qualified teachers 6), "religious feuds and animosities. 7)

1) C.24 '63, Annexix V No.20.
2) Ibid.
3) CO 736-1834: Bible and School Commission to Acting Col. Sec., Good Hope, 11.3.1834: Extracts from records passed at meeting of Bible and School Commission on 6.3.1824.
4) (a) Ross-Innes, Memorandum to Government on the Subject of Elementary Education at the Cape of Good Hope, 22.6.1824, p.10. (b) Sec also C.24 '63, p. XXXIII.
6) Ibid.
In 1837 Colonel Bell, the Secretary to the Cape Government at the time, submitted a memorandum to the Governor on the subject of education at the Cape Colony. He pointed out that as a result of the regulations laid down by the Bible and School Commission, education in the Colony had suffered. One thing that was absolutely essential was "the appointment of a sound-clear-headed man, either not belonging to the ministry or so untingrured with prejudice in favour of this or that form of the Christian Protestant Faith as to constitute him an impartial 'Director-General of Public Schools' in this Colony." 1)

When Sir George Napier succeeded D'Urban as governor of the Cape, he requested that the memorandum be laid before Sir John Herschell, the English astronomer, who had at that time come to the Cape. 2)

In March 1839 Sir George Napier submitted the proposals of Bell, Herschell and also of Fairbairn on the question of the reorganisation of education at the Cape to the Secretary of Colonies, Lord Glenelg. 3) The decision was the creation in May 1839 of a Cape Department of Education under the control and supervision of a Superintendent-General of public education. 4) The first incumbent to the post of Superintendent-General of Education was James Rose-Innes. 5)

1) (a) CO 1267 - 1856; "Enclosures of Despatches of Sir George Napier;" (b) 6.24 '63, Appendix V No.21.
2) Ibid., also 6.21 - '63, Appendix V No.22.
3) CO 1444: (1836 - 1840) No.11.
4) Government Gazette No. 1784, 23 May 1839.
5) (a) "Ke Zuid-Afrikaan" 31.5.1839.
(b) S.A. Commercial Advertiser, 20.4.1839.
With the establishment of a Department of Education, which would be responsible for the control, organisation and administration of Education in the Cape Colony, a milestone was reached in the history of education in South Africa. 1) The Bible and School Commission was discharged of its duty to administer education 2) and a new system of schools was introduced. The new system provided for First class or Principal schools, in which both a primary and a secondary course of instruction was given, and Second Class schools, in which only a primary curriculum was followed.

In all schools the elementary course of instruction was to be free, and at all times every government seminary would be accessible to every individual of the community. 3) This principle was reiterated later in a circular which the Superintendent-General of Education directed to candidates for appointment as teachers. In this circular he stated that the schools would be accessible to every member of the community. 4) Again in 1842, when revised instructions were issued to local school commissions, it was expressly stated that though pupils could be refused admission or removed from the roll in the interests of education, it was the express desire of the government that the schools should be not only accessible, but available to all classes, without distinction. 5)

1) The Education Gazette of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, Vol. XXVIII No. 5, 27 April 1937.
2) GD 1590: Col. Secr. to Bible and School Commission, 29 Apr. 1941.
3) C. 24 - '62: Appendix V No. 23.
5) C. 24 - '63: Appendix V No. 28.
In this way non-Europeans were admitted to the public schools, though the numbers must have been small. Nevertheless, it caused resentment amongst the Dutch population of the Colony. 1) Coloured children became, therefore, in a greater measure dependent for their education upon the mission schools, which were open to all, and which were attended by Europeans as well, particularly the children of the missionaries. 2) An important decision was taken in 1841 when state-aid was made available to mission schools. 3) The missionary education of the Hottentots and slaves had always been wholly a matter of philanthropic charity. No mission had received or been offered any aid from the colonial government. In 18th June 1841 a memorandum was published setting out the conditions upon which allowances would be granted by the Colonial Treasury in aid of the funds of mission and certain other schools not on the government establishment. 4) It provided that every such school, if in Cape Town, had to occupy a district not otherwise provided for and, if the mission school was situated in the country, it had to occupy such a locality or station as the Governor approved. 5) The aid offered was to be in the form of a grant renewable annually, provided that the school was conducted to the satisfaction of the Superintendent-General of Education. The grant was to be used to supplement the salary of the teacher.

2) S.A. Commercial Advertiser; 9.3.1836.
3) CS 912 - 1841: House-Journals to Col. Jcr. 27.4.1841.
where a school received a state-aid, the Department of Education reserved the right to inspect the school and ascertain its efficiency. The school had to be open to all, and while it was permissible for the education to be principally religious in character, other subjects had to be included in the curriculum. The English language had to be taught in all aided schools, and where practicable it had to be used as the medium of instruction. 1)

It is clear that it was not the intention that these aided mission schools should offer any opposition to the government schools and this system of aided mission schools was not intended specifically for the non-Europeans. There was to be no discrimination on colour lines. The aided mission schools were to cater for "the poor and less fortunate members" of the community. 2) In practice it happened that because of the prevailing circumstances of the country, the overwhelming majority of coloured people who received any education at all, received it at these schools, as they always had, at the mission stations.

Two years after the introduction of this system there were 21 state-aided mission schools with an enrolment of 3,382 pupils. By 1884 the number of mission schools which had accepted the grant on the conditions stipulated had risen to 27 and the system had "proved highly beneficial to the course of education among the lower classes of the community." 3)

   (b) GO 864 - 1884: Van Velden to rose-innes, 26.11.1884, 
   rose-innes to Col Sec., 26.11.1884.
   (c) GO 3672 -(1854-7) : Col Sec. to rose-innes 9.12.1884.
   The teaching of English was insisted upon before aid 
   would be given.
2) Ibid.
3) rose-innes, Memoranda..............p.15, 16.
The system of government aid was eagerly taken advantage of by the Cape missions and many additional schools were established. The Dutch Reformed Church as well as the English Churches erected new schools under these regulations and the aided-mission school system grew rapidly. 1)

The education of the European children and of the "heathen population" and Coloured classes generally, in the outlying districts, was a matter of concern to the Superintendent-General of Education and the Governor in 1840. 2)

It is not, therefore, at all surprising that in September 1843 state-aid was extended in a similar manner to schools in the more remote agricultural districts of the colony, where government-established schools could not be placed. 3) At such schools the government gave a fixed allowance of £30 per annum for the teacher. The residents of the districts had to agree to erect or provide and keep in good repair the requisite building. These local residents had to elect from among themselves a school committee, the members of which were to be the trustees of the buildings. The parents had to pay a quarterly fee of not less than five shillings for each child attending the school, the exact amount being fixed by the Committee.

The question of education continued to concern the government of the day. In 1854 and again in 1855 Select Committees were appointed by the newly constituted Cape parliament to investigate the educational system. Both these committees were under the chairmanship of the philanthropist Fairbairn. 4) As a result of the recommendations of these

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1) C. 24 1853, p. xlv.
2) Rose-Innes, C. 1853. p. 149-150.
3) C. 36a 1863, appendix V, No. 29.
committees amending legislation was introduced into parliament in 1857, 1) but this was not adopted, and conditions continued on the whole as before. 2) In the meantime Langham Vale succeeded James Rose-Innes as Superintendent-General of Education in November 1859. 3) Vale had been professor of English and Classics at the South African College, Cape Town and had made a study of the existing systems of instruction adopted in the principal schools of the United Kingdom. Two years after his assumption of duty the Cape Parliament appointed a Commission under the chairmanship of A. J. Watermeyer "to inquire into the present state of the established schools in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and into the conditions on which grants of money are made from the colonial treasury in aid of the salaries of teachers of schools not on the establishment, and to consider and report what measures, if any, it might be desirable to adopt for the extension of sound elementary instruction to all classes of the people." 4)

The Watermeyer Commission made a thorough investigation of conditions which lasted from Sept. 1861 to February 1863 and presented its recommendations in a voluminous report. 5)

The Commission found that the mission schools concerned themselves but little with secular education. It reported as follows on their condition: "In the many and well attended mission schools a great amount of information on Bible history and geography and of knowledge of the text of the Holy Scriptures is imparted. These exercises, with singing and repeating

2) Except for the creation of educational boards in the field-cornoties and villages: Act 14 of 1863, Govt. Gazette No. 2939 of 6.6.1868.
(b) ibid. Col. Sec. to Langham Vale: 17.11.1868.
4) G. 24 - '63 p.(iii).
5) G.24 - '63 p. LXXXI - LXXXIII gives a summary of the recommendations.
hymns, form the chief occupation of the day.... Secular
elementary instruction of which the essential subjects
are reading, writing and arithmetic is seriously neglected." 1)

The Commission also found that although all government
schools were ostensibly open to all classes and races of the
community, a system of segregation had in effect been intro-
duced and the government schools had become to all intent
and purposes reserved for European children only. 2) Only
in the poorer districts and in the very small schools of
the outlying areas of the colony was the colour bar not
applied. 3) But in the mission schools conditions were dif-
f erent. Though primarily intended for non-European children,
they served the poor irrespective of colour. 4) Thus Donald
Ross, the Inspector-General of Education found in 1883 that
out of a total of 38,369 children who attended the mission
schools, there were still 5,496 Europeans. 5)

The recommendations of the Datermeyer Commission were
adopted in 1866. 6) The system of state aid for schools was
consolidated in the Education Act of that year, when all
schools were systematically and legally classified. 7)

The mission schools received subsidies from the govern-
ment ranging from £75 per year for class I schools and £30 p.a.
for class II schools to £15 p.a. for class III schools. The
government grants had to be used for the teachers' salaries,
while the mission societies still had to provide the buildings
and equipment.

1) C. 64 - '63 para 122.
2) C. 24 - '63 paras. 986, 988, 991, 1013, 1014, 1325-30.
3) C. 24 - '63 para. 778.
4) Many of the children of the missionaries attended these
schools.
5) C. 12 '63, p. 11.
6) The Education Act of 1866 - Act 13 of 1865.
7) There would be the undenominational public schools (A),
mission schools (B), native schools (C). There were further
sub-divided into : A1, AII, AIII, B1, BII, BIII, C1, CII, CIII.
The attitude of the Cape Government towards Coloured education was expressed in unequivocal terms by the Superintendent-General of Education. The interests of the education of Europeans was its primary concern. In 1889 Langham Dale wrote: "The first duty of the Government has been assumed to be to recognize the position of the European colonists as holding the paramount influence, social and political, and to see that the sons and daughters of the colonists should have at least such education as their peers in Europe enjoy, with such local modifications as will fit them to maintain their unquestioned superiority and supremacy in this land."

The system of state-aided mission schools became very popular as the means for providing education for the Coloured people in the nineteenth century, and the number of schools as well as the enrolment grew. By 1883 there were almost 33,000 Coloured children attending state-aided mission schools. This system of state-aided church schools has come to be the prevalent system of Coloured education to this day. The Coloured schools of the Cape are still largely under church management, though the state provides most of the funds and prescribes the curricula and exercises supervision.

As a result of dissatisfaction amongst various sections of the European population at the Cape with the then existing educational system, requests were directed to the Cape

1) G 6 A '90, p.3.
2) G 12 '63, p.11. The exact number was 32,663. Rose, D: Preliminary Report on the State of Education in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope (1883).
3) In 1889 there were 636 mission schools against 36 government schools for Coloured children.
Villiers was appointed on 1st September 1879. This commission which had "to inquire into and report upon the working of the education acts in force in the Colony", submitted its recommendations in June 1880 to the House of Assembly. 1)

Among the recommendations of this Commission was one in connection with a measure of compulsory education in the larger centres, but "great care should be taken not to render the system odious to the public by making its provisions too stringent." 2)

Another recommendation dealt with the appointment of an Inspector-General of Colleges and Schools. This recommendation was acceptable to the Government and Donald Ross was appointed to the position. 3) He was, according to Dale, a man "in full vigour of mind and body, thoroughly experienced in the actual working of the educational system in England and Scotland, and generally acquainted with the modern system of school management in all its details." 4)

Ross assumed duty on 4th May 1882 and immediately undertook a journey throughout the Colony and presented a report on 22nd January 1883. 5) This report contains valuable information concerning the state of Coloured Education in the Cape Colony at the time. In this report Ross pointed out that there were European children as well as Coloured children attending the state-aided mission schools. 6)

2) G.75 - '80, p.XX.
3) Co 3511-1882: Dale to Col. ecc. 10.6.1882.
4) Co 3512 - 1881: Dale to Col. ecc. 59.6.1881.
5) Ross's preliminary report on the state of education in the Colony of Cape of Good Hope, 6.12 '83.
6) ibid, p.11.
When Mr Thomas Muir succeeded Langman late 1) as superintendent-general of education on 23rd May 1899, the new incumbent to the post of head of the Cape education department gave attention to the matter of removing such European children who were attending the mission schools for coloured children.

In 1893 he made provision for the establishment of state-aided mission schools for white children only. A resolution was adopted in that year by the legislature in connection with the education of poor white children. Such grants which were at the time available for third class public schools would be made available also for any white mission school. The grant was subject to certain conditions and the mission school had to be controlled by an approved managing committee. 2)

This action of Muir accelerated the policy of complete segregation of Europeans and non-Europeans into separate schools and part of the policy of the subsequent Cape school board act of 1905 3) was to promote the establishment of separate public schools for Europeans and non-Europeans. This was confirmed by a decision of the Appellate division of the Supreme Court of the Union of South Africa in 1911, when it gave the sanction of the law to the principle of excluding Coloured children from attending the government school for

1) CO 4262 - 1891: Dale to Col.Secr, 20.8.1891.
2) Votes and proceedings of parliament: resolutions on the education of poor white children, 1893, p.757.
3) The school board act with the regulations framed and issued there-under, 1905 - 1907. (1907 Cape Town).
European children in a Cape village. 1) As a result of this policy there were only 850 European children still attending the mission schools for Coloureds in 1919. 2)

The Cape Education Commission of 1919-21 came to the conclusion that the outstanding educational problem in the Cape Colony during the nineteenth century was "the prevention of illiteracy and total educational destitution among the European population." 3) Government policy was dictated primarily by the interests and requirements of the Europeans, and the education of the non-Europeans was only given secondary consideration, for among the Europeans there was "a prejudice against the education of the Coloured people." 4)

The policy of total segregation of Europeans and non-Europeans into separate schools was consolidated by various legislative enactments made during the past three decades. As a result of a number of ordinances accepted by the Cape Provincial Council, 5) a separate system of education, apart from that for Europeans, has developed for the Coloured people.

In Ordinance No.12 of 1918 of the Cape Province the distinction between European and Coloured education became legally recognised when the salaries were laid down for European teachers employed in training and practising schools for Coloured children. 6) In the Consolidated Education Ordinance No.5 of 1921 of the Cape Province, separate

3) C.R. 6 - 1912, p.3.
4) C.R. 6 - 1914, p.211-12.
5) Ordinance No.12 of 1918, Consolidated Education Ordinance No.5 of 1921 (Ordinances No.17 and 23 of 1890).
6) Ordinance No.12 of 1918, para 1; see also para. 5.
chapters are devoted to European and to Coloured education.

In Ordinance No. 26 of 1930 a very important decision was taken when the Cape Provincial Administration undertook to pay the full salaries of all Coloured teachers, though the missionary societies were to be responsible for the erection of the school buildings. The Cape Department of Education undertook to pay a rental for the hire of such school buildings. 1)

7. **Schools in which Freedom The Period 1930 - 1946.**

A good perspective of the advance of Coloured education during the second quarter of the present century is obtained from a perusal of the reports of the Superintendent-General of Education for that period.

At the end of 1932 there were 45,369 Coloured pupils in 426 schools under the control of the Cape Education Department. 2) Of these 3,675 pupils, in 17 schools, were under the supervision of School Boards whereas all the remainder were under the control of the Churches. In that year there were four training schools for teachers and two schools providing secondary education. 3) In his report for 1932, the Superintendent-General of Education, Mr A.J. Viljoen, stated that the whole question of Coloured education needed serious and early attention. The majority of Coloured School children received only a shortened primary education in a mission school. As good work as possible was done under difficult circumstances. The buildings housing Coloured schools had been designed primarily for church purposes.

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1) Ordinance No. 26 of 1930, amended by Ordinance No. 5 of 1921.
2) Ibid. report 1932 (Ch 2 - 109) p.33.
3) Ibid.
and the accommodation available was on a rule taxed to the utmost. 1) A special curriculum had been drafted to meet the needs of the Coloured people. 2) There were 1,189 teachers employed in 1922 in the Coloured schools, so that there was one teacher to every 43 pupils, and Dr Viljoen regarded this as a sorry state of affairs. 3) He concluded that additional funds were urgently needed "for the development of coloured education, and especially for sick-leave facilities, additional teachers, new schools and improvement of salaries." 4)

The new curriculum for Coloured schools aimed at giving a practical bias to the instruction in Coloured schools, greater emphasis was laid on manual and industrial work, special attention was given to nature study and school gardening, and the teaching of geography and history was so adapted as to be more suitable to the requirements of the Coloured people. 5)

In 1933 the Union Government made a special advance of £12,000 for Coloured education. The money obtained was used for aiding in the erection of mission schools and for paying the rental of buildings used as schools for Coloured children. Provision was also made for the payment of salaries to Coloured teachers, who were unavoidably absent from duty due to illness. 6)

A further advance in Coloured education was made in 1925. That year saw the establishment of the first high school for Coloured pupils, for in July 1925 the Cape Town Iraeliter School became a real high school with no primary

1) S.A.S.R., report 1922 (Cr 2-'23) p.33.
2) Ibid; see also S.A.S.R. report 1923-4 (Cr 4-'25) p.43.
3) S.A.S.R. report 1922, p.34.
4) S.A.S.R. report 1923, p.34.
5) S.A.S.R. report 1923-4 (Cr 4-'25) p.44.
   (b) See also Government Proclimations No.227 and 228 of 1923.
classes, and it served "as the secondary institution for the many primary and mission schools in the Cape division". 1) This school was provided with suitable facilities for work in domestic science, manual training, and laboratory work in science. It was able to offer a variety of courses and a range of work comparable to the best equipped high school for European pupils. 2) The school has an enrolment of nearly 100 pupils in the four standards, VII to X, at the close of 1925. 3)

...disguising feature, however, was that by 1925, although there were 50,000 Coloured children enrolled in the different Coloured primary schools, this number constituted considerably less than 50% of the Coloured children of school-going age in the province. There was thus a large body of children growing up entirely outside the civilising influence of the school. 4) The cause for this was attributed to the inability of the churches to provide suitable school buildings and the absence of any form of compulsory education. 5) Many Coloured children went to school for the first time when they were well over seven years of age and left at an earlier age than most European children. Thus the Superintendent-General of Education in his report for 1925 felt compelled to remark: "With good fortune the most that the average Coloured child can secure is three or four years' education, and this is a very inadequate equipment for life". 6)

In September 1926 the Cape Provincial Administration appointed a Commission to inquire into the whole question of Coloured education, and to submit recommendations in regard to the control, organisation, curricula of Coloured schools and the training of Coloured teachers.\(^1\) This commission was representative of the leading churches concerned in Coloured education, of the Coloured teachers and of the Department. It sat during the latter part of 1926 and the early part of 1927. As a result of its recommendations Coloured advisory boards and school committees were established and additional grants were paid for buildings.\(^2\) The commission also considered the question of compulsory education for Coloured children and made recommendations in that connection. It was felt, however, that some years would still have to elapse before compulsory education could be introduced, which would ensure that all pupils attended regularly and would not be unduly retarded in the early stages.\(^3\)

The Superintendent-General was able to report at the end of 1926 that school fees for all primary pupils had been abolished and that the State had accepted responsibility for all expenditure on primary schools for Coloured children except the capital cost of buildings.\(^4\) Legislation has been passed and regulations framed which enabled the Cape Education Department to pay grants towards the rental of hired buildings, grants towards the cost of repairs to old buildings, and substantial interest on buildings erected or acquired by

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2) S.C.E. report 1927-28 (Gr 2 - '28) p.43.
3) Ibid.
church and missionary bodies.

Co-ordinating boards for Coloured education had been
legalised in certain urban areas, and it was possible for any mission school to have its own management committee.\(^1\)

Dr Viljoen concludes his report by stating: "Although the leaders of the Coloured People and Coloured educationists generally are apt at times to be somewhat impatient at the rate of progress made, it can fairly be said that in all directions Coloured education has made a forward move and will continue to advance."\(^2\)

By 1929 the annual expenditure on Coloured education in the Cape had risen to over £300,000.\(^3\) Whereas in 1919 there were but 68 Coloured pupils receiving secondary education, the number had risen to 321 in 1929.\(^4\) Furthermore, out of 88 Coloured candidates who sat for the 1929 Cape Departmental Junior Certificate Examination fifty were successful, three of these obtaining first class passes.\(^5\)

A complete scale of salaries for Coloured teachers with provision for pensions was provided in 1930.\(^6\) Provision was also made in that year for the education of Coloured children living on the farms so as to prevent them from growing up in ignorance.\(^7\) By 1936 the enrolment in Coloured schools had increased to 73,870 and the number of schools to 631.\(^8\)

In 1936 the Cape Provincial Council granted free education to European pupils up to the age of fifteen,

1) (a) S.T.E.E Report 1927-8 (CP 3 - '29) p.43.  
(b) Ordinance No.22 of 1926.  
3) S.T.E.E Report 1929, p.52. The Vote for 1929-30 was £300,040.  
6) Ordinance No.17 of 1930.  
irrespective of the standard attained. This privilege was also extended to Coloured pupils. 1) A system of boarding and conveyance bursaries for Coloured pupils was also made available in that year. 2) In this way secondary education was brought within the reach of Coloured pupils who had in the past been debarred therefrom by reason of distance. 3) In that year, too; a separate branch of the Education Department was established for Coloured schools with a responsible officer in charge. 4)

In his report for the two years 1932 and 1933, Prof. W.G. Botha, the then Superintendent-General of Education, made some interesting observations. He was doubtful of the system by which the Church School had been the rule and the state school the exception. Though it was admitted that Coloured education in the Cape owed much of its origin and progress to the different churches, there had arisen objection to the existing system. Botha was of the opinion that the Cape Provincial Administration should henceforth make itself responsible for providing school buildings and that all new schools for Coloured pupils be placed under School Boards. 5) He said: "A state system of Coloured schools for the future would not only financially ensure the sound development of education, but would at the same time enable the churches, when they have been relieved of the financial burden of schools, to devote all their energies to the spiritual and social uplift of the Church people." 6)
He was not struck by the co-ordinating boards for Coloured education, which had been instituted in 1922. These boards, which served as an intermediary between the Education Department and the Churches in the one instance and the Department and the School boards in the other, proved to be either superfluous or troublesome and Botha was of the opinion that these be abolished. 1) On the question of compulsory attendance, Botha was of the opinion that though it was desirable, a great stumbling block to making it effective was the almost wholly denominational character of Coloured education, and the financial implications. 2)

A matter that was constantly causing the Superintendent-General of Education much concern was the presence, in schools for Europeans, of pupils who were not wholly of European descent. 3) So much of his time and that of his legal advisers were taken up with this kind of matter that he felt it desirable that legislation be passed to clarify the position and place it on a sounder basis. 4)

Botha was also concerned with the medium of instruction in Coloured schools. According to the ordinance of 1921 the medium of instruction in schools for non-Europeans was left to the discretion of the Superintendent-General of Education. 5) But as the schools in the majority of cases were church schools, a practice had developed in the fact that the language of the church also became the language of the school. There were, however, many schools under the management of Dutch mission

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3) Ibid, p.49.
4) Ibid, p.50.
5) Ordinance No. 8 of 1921, Section 332.
churches that had followed the old practice of former years and had stuck to English as the medium of instruction. As this was unfair to Afrikaans-speaking pupils, the Superintendent-General of Education was of the opinion that provision would have to be made in the future that in all Coloured schools subsidised by the state the general principle of mother-tongue instruction be applied. 1)

In July 1934 Prof. H.C. Botha relinquished office as Superintendent-General of Education and was succeeded by W. de Vos Salen. 2) In his first report de Vos Salen referred to the "abnormal development in Coloured education in recent years". 3) He contended: "There is an almost unparalleled awakening amongst Coloured people today. Often with the greatest sacrifices to themselves Coloured parents are keeping their children at school beyond the age at which they may become wage-earners". 4) He found that as a result of the enlarged enrolment, the education of the Coloured child had become handicapped by the un-wieldy classes with which many teachers in Coloured schools had to cope. 5) He also found that the retardation of Coloured pupils was a serious obstacle to their education. In November 1936 there were almost twenty percent of pupils in Coloured 10 A Schools who were twelve years of age and in 'Stel. I.' in Coloured Country Schools the number exceeded 30%. 6)

Other matters with which de Vos Salen concerned himself, were the provision of vocational schools through which

1) S.U.L. report 1932-3 (CP 4 - '34) p. 51 - 61.
2) S.U.L. report 1934 - 5 (CP 4 - '36) p. 3 - 4.
3) ibid, p. 54.
4) ibid, p. 60 op.cit.
5) ibid, p. 55.
6) ibid, p. 58.
the Coloured community might be led to new avenues of employment and the employment of European teachers in Coloured Schools.

The growth of Coloured education in the Cape is reflected in the continual increased enrolment and number of schools. By 1936 the number of schools had risen to 529 and the number of pupils to 104,468. In 1936 there were seven schools offering facilities for Coloured secondary education, and the total number of secondary pupils was 332. At 30th September 1936 there were fourteen schools giving instruction to a total of 1,662 secondary pupils. In 1938 the Superintendent-General of Education reported: "An idea of the rate of expansion in Coloured education can be formed when it is considered that the total enrolment has doubled itself in the last twelve years. This increase is very satisfactory, especially when it is taken into account that there has been no compulsion; but I would be failing in my duty if I did not point out that numbers of Coloured children are still growing up without, or with very little education."

A point of interest was the establishment at the beginning of 1938 of a new secondary school at Ganshoedt, the centre that had served the education of the Coloured people so well for so many years.

In 1943 a committee was appointed by the Administrator of the Cape Province to consider and report upon the salaries of teachers in schools for Coloured pupils under the Cape

2) S.W.E. Report 1936, p.34.
3) S.W.E. Report 1938, p.34.
5) S.W.E. Report 1938, p.34.
Provincial administration. The committee under the chairmanship of Dr. de Vos alam commenced its sittings on 8th October 1943. This committee considered the memoranda and representations made by various bodies interested in the education and welfare of the Coloured people, including representatives of the teachers' league of South Africa, 1) and the Coloured Advisory Council. The committee also gave consideration to the staffing of Coloured schools; as well as to the employment of European teachers in Coloured schools; it gave consideration to the leave regulations and pension provisions for Coloured teachers.

By its recommendations, which were accepted by the Cape Provincial Council, the committee felt that it had taken the first step towards raising the Coloured teaching service to the dignity of a profession. 2) The committee also recommended that the furlough privileges enjoyed by European teachers and by Coloured teachers serving under school boards be extended to all teachers in Coloured schools, i.e., those in mission schools as well.

The financing of Coloured education was placed on a new basis as a result of legislation passed by the Union Parliament in 1946. 3)

This history of education thus shows the gradual separation of Coloured and European children into entirely different and distinct sets of schools and institutions; a separation which has today become complete, except in the sphere of higher education in some of the liberal universities of South Africa. 5)

1) The recognized association of Coloured Teachers in the Cape Province.
2) Salaries of Coloured Teachers in Coloured schools; Dept of Public Education, Cape of Good Hope, 1943, para. 3.
3) Ibid, parr. 6.
4) Act No.38 of 1946.
5) Even here the presence of non-Europeans has caused resentment among sections of the European student body. See also: JG 27, 1942.