

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE
ANGLICAN CHURCH
TO EDUCATION IN THE CAPE.

A thesis submitted to the Department of Education of the Rhodes University for consideration as a qualification for proceeding to the Degree of Master of Education.

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INTRODUCTION

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1. The Contribution .. In his "Onderwys in Kaapland, 1652 - 1939", Dr. P.S. du Toit makes seven references to the educational work of the Anglican Church, indicating that there is some contribution. This study has as its aim to expose more of the reef of which the outcrops receive mention by Dr. du Toit. For instance, a school in the Earl of Caledon's days was conducted by Dr. Malloran, and he was succeeded by Mr. F.E. Turr. The work of this school was taken over by the Revd. G. Hough, and in its turn was swallowed up by the S.A. Athenaeum in 1829. Much can happen between 1807 and 1829, and some of what did is described in these pages.

One of Dr. du Toit's interests is the effect of the attempt to make English and instruction in English the basis of all education. This prevented the engagement of Dr. J.C. Berrange as principal of the School mentioned, when Mr. Hough was appointed. It could be inferred that the Governor's attempt to obtain national unity by means of the educational system - successfully accomplished by one of Lord Charles Somerset's Dutch predecessors, be it noted - had the approval of all English settlers. There is evidence, here, however, that this was not the case.

This School is mentioned again when the Revd. E. Judge emigrated to the Cape to take charge of it. At the same time a similar Grammar School was started at Bathurst, and it receives equal mention. But the fortunes of these two institutions are, however, quite different, as will be revealed.

Continuing the references in "Onderwys in Kaapland", the opening of the S.A. Athenaeum by a service in the Groot Kerk, Adderley Street, is described. Mr. Hough, Colonial Chaplain, took part in it. He is mentioned as representing the Episcopal Church. Undoubtedly he did so represent it, but this description of the Anglican Church at the Cape at that time is innocently ironical, for it did not receive a Bishop until nigh twenty years had elapsed. Also, the beginnings of what later grew into the S.A. College has much of interest for the Anglican Church, but its subsequent history shows that the Church lost all influence in its fortunes and later development into the University of Cape Town. It is maintained that the loss is mutual, and reflections on it appear later.

The early days of the monitorial schools, ^{using} ~~making~~ the Bell and Lancaster systems, receive mention by Dr. du Toit. The Colonial Chaplain, the Revd. Robert Jones, a member of the Bible and School Commission, is credited with the early attempts to train teachers by these methods. They failed, but the methods did play quite a large part in Cape Town Schools later, as will be seen.

The last two references to Anglican Church contributions to education at the Cape (pp. 90 and 105, "Onderwys in Kaapland"), both mention the Diocesan College, founded in 1849 by Bishop Gray, and St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, the creation of Bishop Armstrong in 1855. These Schools are important in any history of Church education, and more details of them will be found subsequently.

Dr. E.G. Malherbe ("Education in South Africa, 1652 - 1922") in a wider field and interested in statistics, makes less mention of the Anglican Church's share of education at the Cape. The details that follow, therefore, will be taken from the Archives of the Cape Colony and Church periodicals found in the Cape Town Diocesan Library, and also from the Archives of ^{both} the E Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, both in London. These amply illustrate and expand the contribution to education which the Anglican Church has been able to make in the land taken over by Great Britain in 1806.

ii....of the Anglican.. The Church of England made England. If there is any doubt about this sweeping assertion, it will be decreased by a perusal of Dr. S.S. Carpenter's "The Church in England, 597 - 1688", published in 1954 by John Murray, London. In this detailed history the educational work of the Church is naturally not prominent, though it is always assumed. The viewpoint of bishops, priests and deacons is always the same, whether the heathen they minister to be illiterate as were the Angles, Saxons and Jutes in the early days, or Xhosas, Zulus and Mashonas later, or skilled in all the knowledge the human race has gained. The Christian religion is the vital faith, and it is enshrined in books. Thus it is a preliminary task to teach the young - and old, where possible - letters, so that they may be able to read and follow the Bible, as well as take an intelligent and devout part in regular acts of worship. "When ye glorify the Lord, exalt him as much as ye can: for even yet will he far exceed: and when ye exalt him, put forth all your strength, and be not weary; for ye can never go far enough" (Eccius. Ch. 42) is the ultimate aim in all Christian education. The establishment of schools, the supply of teachers and priests, the evangelisation of others to whom the Word of God should be preached, are constant needs. Where the Church was given a footing, education was its handmaid.

Dr. Carpenter mentions no school founded by St. Augustine's monks at Canterbury, but one may be inferred from the prospectus of King's School, Rochester, which stakes a claim to be the second oldest school in England with a continuous history. The only other place that could have preceded it was Canterbury. King's School goes back to Justus, consecrated in 604 A.D. as first bishop of Rochester.

St. Aidan, "The Apostle of the North", planted his habits of monas-

tic discipline, learnt at Iona, on the island of Lindisfarne, and in his school there boys like Cedd, Chad and Wilfrid received their education. Theodore, of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury from 669 to 690 A.D., founded a famous school in his cathedral city. Another was established at York. The Church in England owed a great debt to its early pioneers, and before long, as history goes, it repaid some of it. From the early monasteries went out the early missionaries, Willibrord to Frisia, where Wilfrid had started the work, and Boniface to Germany, among them. England's first historian and source for all information up to his time was the Venerable Bede. When the Scandinavian invasions destroyed much of what had been recently built up, scholars went to Europe, bringing to the Franks what they had learnt. Alcuin, Charlemagne's "minister of education", came from England. The Church had captured the noblest spirits in England when it trained the youth in its schools and they in turn enriched the whole of Christendom.

The interest of King Alfred in the worship of God and in education is well-known, and his efforts to combat illiteracy were as successful as his resistance to the Danes. Archbishop Dunstan followed up his work. The main weapon was the founding of monasteries and convents, which were like lighthouses to the surrounding countryside, especially in the care of the young. They received children of promise, and furthered them in learning as well as in making copies of religious books.

The whole land, whatever storms were raging in the world of politics, looked to the Church for education. Without it there would have been none. The Church itself needed an instructed clergy, and its leaders saw to it that men suited and trained to their vocation were provided where possible. The famous Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grossetete (1235 - 53) was the world's outstanding scholar of that period, knowing both Greek and Hebrew. His great work as Oxford University's first Chancellor was but part of his labour to raise the spiritual and intellectual level of the land. He would not accept unlearned clergy, but often covered a man's expenses to go to Oxford. He was a contemporary of Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon and William of Ockham, whose combined learning, both of theology and science, might well have given rise to the phrase "Clerus Anglicanus stupor mundi".

Places of learning multiplied in the years succeeding the rise of the Universities. Kings and bishops, separately or together, founded most of the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, and new schools, like Winchester and Eton, began in the 14th and 15th centuries. But the disintegration caused by the Reformation in England was disastrous for education. The ~~nauseating~~ history of Henry VIII becomes ^{even more nauseating} ~~quite painful~~ when the effects of his acts and actions are seen in the losses to education caused by them. There were gains in his

reign, like Colet's School in London, which make the Reformation consistent with the meaning of the word. In other directions the losses were manifold. For instance, the suppression of chantry priests not only deprived the land of their prayers but also took away a body of elementary teachers from every place where their office had been created by endowment. Henry's successor's Grammar Schools were not even sops to the royal and noble consciences.

The disintegration of the Church's wealth into other hands attacked education at all levels. Two quotations from Dr. Carpenter, both relevant to the matter, illustrate the assertion: "So in 1572 Dr. John Caius (of Gonville Hall, Cambridge), recalls regretfully the undergraduates whom he professes to remember in 1530 - 40. They were short-haired, long-gowned lads, who found their only joy, not in games, but in admiring and critical attendance on each other's disputations in the schools, who never missed a public lecture, nor visited a public-house, who spent their scanty money not on clothes which would wear out, but on books which might endure for ever.... As for discipline, it was not needed..... Caius was at that time a soured, querulous old man, but there is no doubt that the blows delivered at superstition inflicted a grievous hurt on education"(pp. 260-1). The second one also refers to the changes that the Universities underwent during the Reformation. In Edward VI's short reign "Royal Visitors descended, equipped with powers to extinguish colleges, to transfer students, to make new statutes, and the character of the Universities was profoundly changed. Not only did the old teaching cease to be given, but to the great distress of friends of education like Lever, Latimer, Roger Ascham, and Bernard Gilpin, the 'poor scholar' almost disappeared. Latimer said 'There is now none but great men's sons in College, and their fathers look not to have them preachers'" (p.270).

In the centuries that followed nothing much more was added to the structure of education in England, except that those of Roman Catholic and non-Conformist persuasions were obliged to make provision for their children's education where they could not bring themselves to use the Church's Schools. Of the latter the poet Milton is the most outstanding example and exponent. But the work was ever before the Church, and the needs of the land before the Industrial Revolution are described by Dr. C. Usher Wilson in the Church Quarterly Review for October, 1907, in an article which it is impossible to abbreviate. After quoting Dixon's History of the Church to bear out the assertion that the Reformation created great gaps in education he continues: "We must now notice a very important move made in 1670, when the Revd. T. Gouge, Rector of S. Sepulchre's, London, established a Society for the purpose of supplying books, and planting parochial schools in the Principality of Wales. He was cordially supported by Archbishop Tenison, the founder of the well-known Tenison School in London. This Church Society for the education of the poor in Wales was founded in 1674. A few years

later came the establishment of the Charity Schools in 1685, started in most cases by the Priest of the Parish. In 1698 the venerable Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was founded to "lessen the ignorance in which the bulk of the people were plunged". This Society, better known by its initials S.P.C.K., is now 208 years old, and is still carrying on its magnificent work. It is well to remember that the foundation of this Society, and also of its kindred Society, the S.P.G., was the result of a High Church ~~revival~~ revival, which began at the close of the reign of William III, and continued during the reign of Queen Anne, and that the first definite efforts to bring education ~~to~~ within the reach of all who might desire it, were the outcome, not of politics or philosophy, but of the religious convictions of a few who, deeply impressed by the wickedness of the times, felt that the only remedy was the removal of that barbarous ignorance among the poorer classes which proceeded from the want of religious elementary instruction.

With the establishment of the S.P.C.K. we arrive at the time when a somewhat connected history of elementary education is possible. We cannot, moreover, fail to notice two very important points:-

1. the close connection of education and religion.
2. the aloofness of Parliament.

The fact is that all educational work was regarded as a matter for individual effort, and not of national or State concern. It was due to the efforts of those who as individuals, and as Churchmen, worked in the cause of religious education, that public opinion was stimulated, and at last the nation was aroused to a sense of its great responsibility, and Parliament was forced to take up the whole question as a national one.

In 1701 the S.P.C.K. appointed Mr. Cogan as the first Inspector of Schools. By the year 1704 that gentleman had 54 Charity Schools under his inspection in and about London alone. In 1730 the Rev. Griffith Jones, Rector of Llandowros in South Wales, started a system of 'circulating schoolmasters', who visited in rotation a number of schools, and it is calculated that over 150,000 children received some sort of education in this way."

It was the Industrial Revolution that brought the most significant changes both to the country and its educational provisions. Through the permanent despoilation of its resources the Church was unable to expand quickly to supply the Schools (and Churches) that were required. (The most tragic sights in Britain are the ruins of monasteries and abbeys, such as Glastonbury and Arbroath, of which the inhabitants around seem more proud than ashamed). But other measures were undertaken. The Sunday School began as a School held on Sunday because its pupils were at work from Monday to Saturday. Many of the increased population, the offspring of the machine invented to ease mankind's labour would have had no education whatever unless Dr. B.

had gone to India as a ^{chaplain} ~~missionary~~. Dr. Usher Wilson continues:

"In 1781 the Rev. Mr. Stock, Vicar of Hothbury, persuaded Mr. Robert Raikes to lend his powerful advocacy to a scheme for the promotion of Sunday Schools. Churchmen and Dissenters alike saw the merits of the new movement, and in 1803 there were no less than 7,125 Sunday Schools, with 88,860 teachers, and 844,728 scholars. At this time the Bishop of Durham (Dr. Shute Barrington) obtained an Act of Parliament to enable him to establish schools for the poor in the County of Durham. Meanwhile, in so distant part of the British dominions as the Presidency of Madras, a system had been started which was destined to play a very large and important part in the future elementary education of England. The monitorial (or pupil teacher) system was first employed by an Indian Chaplain named Bell, who subsequently became Rector of Swanage, in Dorsetshire. The success of his system led him to publish an account of it in 1797, and it was warmly taken up by a Nonconformist named Joseph Lancaster, to whom must be given the credit of introducing it into England.

The appearance of the names of Bell and Lancaster marks an epoch in the history of elementary education in England. It was through the misplaced energy of Lancaster that the first undenominational school was built in 1800 - a thing unheard of before. EDUCATION in England had hitherto been based exclusively upon religion, and this school of Lancaster's was the first attempt to divorce religion from education.

At first the Archbishop of Canterbury and other prominent Churchmen approved of Lancaster's work, and especially of his monitorial system. But when it was understood that his plan excluded all religious teaching, save only the reading of the Bible, they turned to Bell - the real originator of the monitorial system, and determined with his help to start his system in all parish and charity schools.

A strong opposition soon sprang up between the advocates of the rival systems, and, as a result, the British and Foreign Schools Society was started in 1808 for furthering Lancaster's undenominationalism, and three years later the National Society (1811) was founded for promoting the education of the poor in accordance with the teaching of our National Church of England. The S.P.C.K. handed over to the National Society its department of elementary education, though it did not cease to help forward education by grants in special instances of money."

The second occupation of the Cape by Britain took place at this point in the history of England's educational developments. But further ones do assist in understanding something of what took place at the Cape. The Revd. C. Usher Wilson again supplies the best account from the Church's point of view. The extract quoted would

not give a true picture if attempts were made to minimise differences of outlook on the function of education shown by it among ~~many~~ Christian bodies other than the Church of England, and it illustrates the difficulties encountered by the Government when it comes into a field that is already occupied by two or more mutually exclusive religious bodies, as well as the problems which were the concern of all interested in education. It provides also a picture of the crucible from which the Anglican Church's work at the Cape overflowed.

Dr. Wilson explains that the Church's opposition to Whitbread's Education Bill of 1807 was not only due to the conviction that education without religion was worse than ^{no} education at all - a view shared surprisingly by the Duke of Wellington⁽¹⁾ - but also that the ideal of putting a State School, paid for by the rates, in every parish was quite impracticable, as it made no provision for the 8 - 10,000 teachers the plan would need. He continues: "The record of the Church National Society is worth noting. Born in 1811, by the time it was four years old it had built 65 schools at a cost of over £100,000. This sum was raised by Church people. By the year 1815, there were in connection with the National Society 570 schools, 522 trained masters and mistresses, and over 100,000 children. By 1833 returns made to Parliament show that out of 1,276,000 children, 57,800 only went to the Dissenting Schools, and that during the fifteen years since 1828" (this seems to be a misprint for 1818) "the Church had supplied 643,000 places for her scholars. The Government then made its first recognition of Elementary Education by a grant of £20,000 towards school building which was divided equally between the National Society and the British Society: that is to say between the Church and Undenominationalism. It is worth noting that at the time the grant was made the British and Foreign Schools Society had built 160 schools and the National Society 690. Six years later the Government granted £30,000 and decided to distribute it by means of a Government Department instead of through the Societies. This was in 1839, and the Board of Education dates from then." The Cape's first Superintendent-General of Education ~~was~~ was appointed in the same year.

The article continues with the history of teacher training, and a consideration of the effects of the 1870 Act on Education. As these have little bearing on the course of education in the Cape, they are omitted. (Dr. Spencer Leeson reviews the same period in Chapter III of his Bampton Lectures for 1944, "Christian Education", published by Longman's. It is curious that he dates the British and Foreign Schools Society from 1814).

iii. ..Church.. There have been hints as to the sense in which the

last word of the title is to be interpreted. One of them is the name Dr. Carpenter gave his book, "The Church IN England", not "The Church of England". The Church of England, according to its own history, its own teaching and its own development, is a part of the one Church of Christ. It has continued with essentials of a Church unchanged since members of it came to live in Britain during the four hundred years that the Romans occupied the island, and gave the land so much it keeps to-day. The number of places, for instance, the names of which are formed from the Latin "castra", are a striking witness. More concrete ones are the ruins of the great Roman walls; while the Church remembers a Briton both on June 22nd and in the Cathedral city of St. Alban's. One of St. Augustine's failures was to link up with the Church already in the land, albeit driven to the mountains of the west, more vital members of which came from Ireland through Scotland to begin a mission with St. Aidan. Though there were differences of races, languages and customs, though the Church of the Roman Empire had long ago recovered from four centuries of persecutions while the Celtic Church was still suffering from the new invaders of Britain, though the flower of the world's culture was enshrined in one while the other was comparatively primitive and unsophisticated, they were, and recognised themselves to be, parts of the same one Church of Christ. Both had valid ministries endowed by a sacrament which was regarded as indelible in God's sight, both taught the same doctrine of salvation through the Son of God made Man, and both revered the Church's own writings as being also the Holy Word of God. Both knew that Christ had made and empowered His Church; both knew that the Church's Book had no proper meaning without and outside His Church, and would have been amazed to hear that it was possible for bodies to found themselves on the Bible apart from the Church whose Book it is. The sin of schism was a shade worse than the sin of heresy, however much one is dependent on the other (St. Cyprian's "De Unitate" was written in the midst of much argument).

There was also inherent in it at all times the need to reform what did not accord with its teaching, though it is remarkable, broadly speaking, that reformations are needed when missionary work ceases; such reforms occur when there is no outlet for the Word of God, and life confined to a village, a town or a country stagnates without a vision enshrined in other lands. Wycliffe followed a tradition of St. Dunstan and Bishop Grossetête. The Reformation under Henry VIII was the first to divide the Body of Christ so deeply. The title of the first English Prayer Book of 1549 shows that there was no sense of separation from the Holy Catholic Church in its compilation: ... "of the Church, after the use of the Church of England". The

occasion was a Bull of Pope Pius V in 1570, excommunicating and deposing Elizabeth, "the pretended Queen of England", and absolving her subjects from disobedience to her. Another Bull, exactly 300 years later, has the effect of making the former quite irrevocable. But as the nation of England continued, so did the Church of England, being still the Catholic Church and also a Reformed one. (2)

In due course members of the Church of England came to South Africa, where, eventually, the name was changed to "the Church of the Province of South Africa", a Province being an organisation of three or more dioceses, each under a bishop, one of whom is accorded, generally, the title of metropolitan or archbishop, just as there are two Provinces of the Church of England, under the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. The simplest adjective available to describe the Churches which are the daughters of the Church of England is "Anglican", though, for different reasons, the word "Episcopal" has been preferred in the United States of America. The effect of this is to emphasise that the body of the faithful who make up the Church owe an allegiance to Christ, the Son of God, which is greater than, though ideally it includes, allegiance to a country or Government. It is in this framework that members of the Church, whether they reside in England or South Africa, have undertaken the education of all races, of people of all ages and of different languages.

One of the difficulties under which the early and later comers to this land suffered was to adjust their unconscious assumptions to the new environment. While their heritage was as fine as any in Christendom, yet it behoved no one to assume a superiority over any other, whatever the provocation might have been. It was the cause of so much rivalry and bitterness. One of the instances occurs in the advertisement of the National Society's school equipment for sale at St. George's School, Cape Town, in 1858, which somewhat condescendingly says "Articles in this list which cannot be obtained from other sources in the colony will be supplied to schools not in connection with the Church of England at an advance of ten per cent". It would have been more gracious to have said nothing at all, and then given Church establishments 10% discount.

The situation the Church found at the Cape was much as that discovered by St. Augustine and St. Aidan in Britain. Points of resemblance are: the existence of different tribes ^{aiming} to conquer other tribes; the impact of a superior civilisation on these more primitive; the desire of the latter to acquire something of the former; the need of a strong secular arm to achieve and maintain peace and order; the support of the Church ^{at} ~~among~~ salt water in extending the Church's work; and the sacrifice of much that seemed to be just wasted. The differences are: the Church was not the only organisation striving to attain similar objectives; the ~~importance of~~ educational work; the vast areas to be settled and the

variety of peoples to be educated far exceeding anything previously experienced; and the help of the secular arm was limited and uncertain, because it was not indigenous. But the Church persevered, for was it not written in its Book, "Come over and help us", and under God, was the appeal not the same?

iv.. to Education... The period under review reveals a wholly different outlook towards education from the ones in vogue to-day. The assumptions of the 19th century have been over-grown by all sorts of theories and practices, by the rise of psychology as a science, for instance, and the elevation of education as a department of a university for another. The climate of opinion (3) has altered so much that it is unrecognisable. Some of the changes are discernible in this study. It is not regarded as essential to-day that a teacher should have any idea that his work is really a vocation from God. Under the influence of many extraneous forces the whole philosophy of education labours in uncertainty; in the days that precede ours the assumptions underlying education were the existence of God, and the character of God, revealed by Himself in human affairs and culminating in the Incarnation of His Son. The proof of this was to be found in the Scriptures. Thus the Bible was a book for the school and the lecture room, just as much as the books in languages and science. If it were left out, the whole purpose of education was left incomplete. From the kindergarten to the university the truths of religion and the practice of it were expounded and fostered respectively. In them the educational establishments "lived and moved and had their being". There was no such thing as different kinds of knowledge and so a different kind of school for imparting branches of it. All knowledge was both a part of God's Omniscience and also a revelation of some part of His work.

But the unhappy divisions of the Christian Church compelled a different sort of education to which the Government was driven through having to include a syllabus in religion that would give no offence to anyone. Teachers in schools maintained by the Government could not be expected to teach the fundamentals of religion if they did not wish to, and pupils could not be forced to receive this instruction. The Church was bound to teach all the articles of the Christian Faith, and in its own schools could do so without interference or objection. When it accepted State aid it also had to accept pupils whose parents might ~~object~~ not welcome such instruction, it being a necessary condition of the aid that such instruction could be refused. So began a process that was accelerated by other factors (4).

One of them has been the pride in man's increasing mastery over his environment with the consequent extension of the boundaries of his knowledge. Science has been elevated into the place that God held. This attitude has been reinforced, possibly not consciously, by the Communist maxim that religion is the opium of the people, so

religion is tolerated rather than welcomed by the world of education.

The bulk of the world's knowledge has presented education with more problems. In theory man can absorb everything, but in practice one person cannot master all knowledge, and so he must choose, and choose early what part of it he is to pursue. The complications to education are enormous, for no pupil can know what he would like to pursue before he leaves school. The school's curriculum should ideally contain specimens of all branches of knowledge so that a choice may be made from experience rather than from ignorance. Even then there is room for mistaken choices, made from reasoning impossible to discover, unless the teacher has both the time and the interest to encourage rational ~~xxxx~~ selection of a career. The need for experienced guidance has been realised in part by the Cape Department of Education.

This apparent digression serves to introduce and illustrate the wisdom of the Church's syllabus for training the young. In it there is no specialisation, though many subjects are offered by the Grammar Schools. Languages, social studies, mathematics and science, with some art and music, are offered. All the main interests of mankind fall under them; yet they proceed from the practice of the day, and are not the product of any philosophy of education, in which the Church had no real interest as such. The last - and first - essential is the spirit of it: this is found in the doctrine of God and Man's existence through and after Him.

It is a tough doctrine, resting as it does on facts and a faith to interpret them. The portions which affect the process of education are 1) man's relative freedom of choice, and 2) the gift of reason. The first is the basis of any true education; without it none, in the real sense, is possible. The second is one which Anglican theologians of the last eighty years have demonstrated to be the partner of faith against all serious attacks; reason used aright can never be confounded and leads Man truly to his Creator. The indefiniteness of scientific philosophy, of which Herbert Spencer was one exponent, is caused by confining the use of reason to well-defined spheres. A scientist like anyone else sees the rest of the world through the spectacles which he has been accustomed to employ. That there may be other spectacles used in the search after truth just as clear, though of a different thickness does not come into the range of his own. If it is a biologist who studies amoeba, he is able to describe its most intimate habits, but he is not concerned, as biologist, with the question, "How did it arrive under your microscope?", or, "Was it exactly the same organism during the Egyptian dynasties as it is now? If so, why has it not altered? If not, why has it changed?" All other living organisms are then seen and interpreted as similarities or variations from the amoeba. The point needs no labouring. The human reason cannot be so fettered, however.

It must always be exploring beyond the boundaries which it knows. Thus, now that the wonder of the indivisible atom has been exploded, it is highly likely that the ether in which it explodes will receive the attention of scientists. Unlike solids, liquids and gases it will not conduct sound and heat waves, but it is the medium through which electronic and light waves pass. What is its substance, in the strict meaning of the word? (4)

To return to education at the Cape, it has come to light that there are two references which illustrate the Church's philosophy of education. In 1908, Bishop Cameron, Assistant Bishop of Cape Town wrote: "I assume ~~that~~ as a matter in which all experts ^{will} agree, that the object of education is two-fold, first to develop and train the mental powers and character; and secondly to impart useful knowledge; and that the former of these objects is more important than the latter." He develops his theme in connection with Native Education, and advocates elementary instruction through the mother tongue, the later acquirement of English, the grammar of the vernacular, geography and history, religious and moral teaching (properly inspected), hygiene and handwork. The provision of suitable text-books is stressed. On the matter of University education he said: "Twenty years ago I had pupils at Umtata who were quite capable of profiting by a College course about the same period, perhaps earlier, Dr. Stewart had a College class at Lovedale". He continued: "What a Degree guarantees is not the knowledge of one particular subject, but a certain standard of mental training and culture". (5)

Another interesting discovery is in the Oct. 1906 issue of the S.A. Church Quarterly Review. The Revd James Green, D.D., was Dean of Maritzburg from 1857, as such was ejected when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council confirmed Bishop Colenso in his see. His paper on "University Degrees, as condensed by Canon A.T. Wirgman, is relevant and bears full quotation. "The Church, he says, has an 'all important office ~~to~~ to discharge in connection with the cultivation and development of the human intellect'. A degree from ~~the~~ the University is not merely a Certificate that a student has passed a certain examination successfully. This is the modern idea, but it is utterly alien to the original qualification for a degree in the times when the Catholic Church founded the great Universities of Europe. The Church was the fountain of all academical honours in their several Faculties. By her authority the Bachelor and the Master of Arts, and the Doctors in the Faculties of Theology, Law and Medicine, were qualified. She demanded from her graduates soundness in the Faith, godliness of life and studious habits. The Dean traced this threefold qualification from the formula for conferring Degrees still used at our ancient Universities The Dean considered a Degree to be a gift from God, through His Church, and

attempt to treat the problems of human life on purely scientific lines. An exclusive scientific training leads men to demand crucial experiments with spiritual force such as are familiar in physical and chemical laboratories, forgetting that these forces can only be apprehended by the intuitions that are born of loyalty and sympathy. Religion has its close affinities with Science, for it depends on the verifiable truth of its convictions; and Science is an invaluable purge of Religion, cleansing it of illusion and superstition. But the actual life of Religion is far nearer to Art than to Science, and nearer still to human relationships.(6)

If we go down to the roots of education itself we find that it proceeds from spiritual sources. The children must be educated, say any proper parents and they take a hand in it, as well as providing other instruments through which they may be moulded. The love and care of the parent is the well-spring that nurtures normal development. This human spirit should lead to and be re-inforced by the true doctrine of God. "Yea, like as a father pitieth his own children, even so is the Lord merciful unto them that fear him"(Ps. 103.13). For there is nothing greater than St. John's definition, "God is love". The development of these three words is infinite, and without them education is crippled at the start.

v. in the Cape. The geography and the ~~skisais~~ of the country are, for practical purposes, the same as when Bartholomew Diaz rounded it. Their influence on education need no consideration, though for a little while they had some effect on a school in Cape Town. But when the history of the land is considered, its influence on education is enormous. There would have been little to record if Britain had not decided to remain at the Cape. Some of the consequences for the English Church, which came with the British have been already noticed (p. 9). With them came also the divisions already cleaving them in the religious world, to add to the complications which were already visible in the Cape's short history.

The connection of the English Church with the Government was both a benefit and an encumbrance. Not only were the representatives of the King in the main members of the Church, but it was also the only religious body which had direct representation in the British Parliament through the bishops in the House of Lords. As will be seen, it meant that the Church, once it had been roused to its responsibilities, as it was by the Oxford Movement(7), spread the shouldering of them over the whole vast organisation in Britain, and they were largely fulfilled. The Government was able to draw on help which in itself it had no power to create. The partnership achieved much that was necessary and which would not have been done at all.

On the other side, such was the state of the Church that the secular courts were the final seats of appeal in spiritual matters.

The effect of this was that as the Cape grew towards self-government and independence from control by Britain, so the Church in South Africa also shed both its control from the mother Church in England and also its connection with the Government of the Cape at the same time. It was driven to the position of the Church ~~xxxxxxx~~ before Constantine ~~turned~~ the condition of persistent persecution suffered by a body which affirmed allegiance, finally, to One greater than Caesar, and became the Church of the Province of South Africa, ruling itself as a voluntary body of South Africans, with ~~a~~ its Constitution and Canons.

This entailed both advantages and disadvantages. By being independent it could prosecute its work without being subject to the intricate system which ruled the Church in England. But by being independent it also lost much support in men and material help, which was necessary to establish its work. All the support it had enjoyed as a branch of the Church of England was in danger of being lost. But it did not cease; far from it. The clergy of the Church were mainly recruited from England, for the Church was in no position to raise up sufficient of its own members as priests and bishops; and material help continued to flow, mainly through the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. Their commitments, however, extended to other lands to which it had emigrated with English-speaking people, and the Cape could rely less and less on aid from overseas. The challenge was met, however, and the day came when, besides paying for its own clergy, its own churches, schools and hospitals, the Cape Diocese returns its thanks with a yearly collection for the two Societies.

Then, while the connection with the State lasted, there were ~~the~~ disadvantages also. The start of the S.A. Athenaeum must have been due to many shareholders who were not Anglicans, and who feared, from their reading of history, the effect of a State Church on their own traditions. This fear persisted and is illustrated by Bishop Gray's letter of 9.8.1849 to the Secretary of the S.P.G. in which he states: "All, however, are jealous at the vigorous efforts being made by the English Church and they fabricate all sorts of stories about us - the present one being that the whole education of the country is to be taken out of a Scotch Presbyterian's hands and placed in mine. This is now the lie of the day, and is being well worked in the papers". Again, on 4.6.1857, he wrote: "The Parliament, leaving off its attacks ^{upon} us, is attending, ~~well~~ and attending well to the business of the country..... Their chief act of folly has been to throw out an excellent Government scheme of education, because they thought it was mine and would work for the Church of England".

However, as a voluntary society with educational aims, along with other bodies, the Church has been able to use the help offered by the Government in education, and in doing so has

taken the Gospel to many who would otherwise have never heard it.

With these brief preliminary remarks, meant to elucidate the scope of the title, the study begins. It is concerned mainly with origins, but will trace historical developments if they appear pertinent. A conclusion appraising the present situation will bring it to a close.

The English came to the Cape of Good Hope and captured it in 1795. Their tenure was temporary and they were content to leave the land to carry on as best it could, in the ways to which it was accustomed. With them they brought their own customs and among them was the formal recognition of God and full services of worship. For this chaplains were necessary and two are mentioned in the early correspondence, the Revd. H. Davies who wrote a letter on 25th January, 1798 (1) to the Governor's Secretary and, later in the same year (the Revd. T. Tringham wanted more than 10/- per day allowed him as Colonial Chaplain. (2) These were the inauspicious beginnings of the Anglican Church in South Africa. Beyond becoming embroiled in a dispute over baptising an illegitimate child, (3) Mr. Tringham has no further record in the Archives of South Africa. There could be little opportunity for educational work under the circumstances of this, the first occupation. At this time, notwithstanding, however, the Revd. J.A.C. Hewitt noted (Church Chronicle, 13.9.05.) that "the Revd. J. Wearing established the first English School in Cape Town, of which the late Judge Cloete was a pupil."

The return of the Cape to the Batavian Republic, however, was the occasion of the next record of a Church School. The Misses Lewis and Edwards, in their monumental "Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa" record (p.6) that the Chaplain, Mr. Holmes, stayed on during this period and "opened a school"! (Hewitt as above) The only other famous exile under a now foreign Government in a strange land with a strange tongue is that of Sir George Yonge's gardener, Mr. Duckitt, whose descendant Hildagonda gave South Africa its first cookery book. But if there was scope for a school, it would seem that either there were many more English who were the first ^{so to} ~~to~~ love the Cape that they and their children stayed on, or else Mr. Holmes had learnt to speak Dutch

sufficiently well to make a success of a school.

This is a very significant beginning of the Church's work, as it illustrates the theme that education is a task which was undertaken by a minister of the Church as a natural consequence of his vocation; whether he was equipped for it or not is besides the point that education is the duty of the Church, inherent in its "esse", is one of the functions of a minister, and (as in this case) also the means of his livelihood.

We see this again and again. On the return of the British in 1806 there came a year later one Dr. Halloran (4) who obtained the post of brigade chaplain at the Cape. He opened a school in Burg Street, and two years' later was appointed Principal of the classical school. But his fiery talents led him to attack the Governor, Lord Caledon, in writing, and was eventually shipped back to England, where it was revealed that he had never been in Holy Orders! The steps taken to validate the marriages he had performed do not concern us.

His contemporary, the Revd. R.E. Jones, had arrived to find Halloran in the post he was expecting but stayed on. He learnt Dutch and left for Mauritius in 1811 to be chaplain to the forces and civil chaplain. (5) He is not the Robert Jones who came to the Cape in 1811 as first colonial chaplain, and who accepted appointment to the Bible and School Commission in 1812. It is presumed that as such he would have the oversight of any English education, as the Revd. C. Fleck had over the Dutch schools (6) and in 1815 we find a letter informing us of the existence of three English Schoolmasters, Messrs. Hopley, Doughty and Bendale. (7) They were paid by the Government for one of them, Doughty, lost his "gratification" for neglect of duty in the same year. (8) Mr. Jones also travelled on behalf of the Bible and School Commission, complaining once of delay in sending him horses when he was at

Drakenstein, (9) and on another occasion (12.4.1814) asking for his travelling expenses to be refunded. (10) He also agitated successfully for more education and was instrumental in having a Free School opened in Long Street. (11) His original reason for coming to the Cape was to be tutor to Sir John Cradock's son, so education was to him more than just a task of administration, and as Colonial Chaplain and member of the Bible and School Commission he was in a position to act with some authority.

Before he handed over his post to the Revd. J.S. Hewitt in 1814, going on leave to England, the Revd. George Hough arrived to be colonial chaplain at Simonstown. (This clergyman had the singular history of seeing the first Anglican Church in South Africa completed, consecrated with Mr. Jones, and in 1824 washed down by winter floods.) The Revd. Robert Jones returned from leave a D.D. (12) but did not stay long after that for Mr. Hough became Senior Chaplain in his place. The occasion illustrates again how ^a natural part of a clergyman's duties education was considered. He writes on 13.2.1818 from Simonstown, "It really does not appear to me that either expedience or necessity is so urgent in the case, as to demand an instant and most ungracious abandonment of my flock and friends in the Bay. my Pupils must move with me - a house must be prepared to receive them" (The picture of young and old around their priest is an attractive one). He came to Cape Town (presumably with his pupils) in that month.

Very soon after his views were sought on the proposal by Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church that "no minors should be admitted before the Matrimonial Court to have their marriages registered without a certificate of having been confirmed in one of the Established Churches in this settlement." In his consideration of the proposed law he said, "It follows from

these .. observations that Religious education and discipline must be employed to inculcate upon young minds the essential difference between good and evil, with the corresponding affections, in order to the formation of the useful and worthy character", He cannot approve of the proposal: "You cannot drive the human mind into acquisitions of virtue. It must have a willing share in forming its own temper and character... I do honour the anxiety of those gentlemen who have solemnly deliberated upon the means of correcting the evil, which all good minds coincide to deplore The complaint of the little parental authority which many of the civilised inhabitants possess over the acts of their children is one of which the weakness or the crime of the parents has laid the foundation." It is not clear whether he means actual legal transgressions and conviction, which would leave a very unpleasant picture of the Cape, or criminal negligence in not controlling their children. He went on: "For are we not told, Sir, (Colonel Bird, Secretary to the Governor) by experience and the text of inspiration that 'a child train'd up in the way he should go, will not depart from it'? Single cases of flagrant exception by no means invalidate the authority of the general truth. And I therefore conclude that filial piety, filial obedience, and a conscientious observance of the personal and social duties, would follow from the care and attention of Parents, to accustom the minds of their off-spring, in early life, to religious knowledge, and to fix and rivet the good impression by the good example. A child naturally honours his Father and Mother, and when the example of those, whom he is thus prone to respect, is agreeable to the sentiment he has adopted from Wisdom, his heart is taken captive at will, and, allowing for those failings and deviations which are inseparable from human nature, that child will grow into the moral, the pious and the honourable man. But if the example of Parents stand in direct opposition to those sentiments which

Religious Instruction would excite, then will the child feel an abhorrence of those who gave him birth or (which, I conceive, points out the cause and consequence of so much vice in this Colony) he will become indifferent to those sacred obligations of which he sees them make so light Parents, by a wise exertion of authority, must check in their offspring the first impulses of irregular passion; instruct the open mind in moral and Christian truth; and, above all, be uniformly careful to identify the theory with the practice of virtue, in their own personal example. Children would thus have the best chance of coming to maturity happy in themselves; society would be benefitted by an accession of religious and useful members; and idleness, dissipation, and infidelity fade before the presence of things that are honest, and lovely and of good report." (13)

This extract is quoted in full to show that there is always a gap between the ideal in education and its achievement; that the problems of to-day are the problems of yesterday; that education in character is the only aim of education by which it is finally judged that it cannot be wholly formed during the early years; that whatever the school may do, the parents have the more important influence; and, lastly, that Mr. Hough means that a regular habit of worship is what keeps a family together, although he does not say so explicitly here, as he does later.

CHAPTER 2.THE GREAT UNSETTLEMENT.

The settlers from Great Britain arrived in 1820 and their influence in South Africa was immediate. The two parties that concern us settled in Calvinia and Bathurst, for with them went the Revd. ~~J. F.~~^F Moleland and the Revd. W. Boardman respectively. While they were settling down in their chosen localities, events in the educational world of Cape Town were proceeding.

The next note in the Archives comes from the Military Chaplain, the Revd. N.R. Dennis, whose flock included many who had married during their sojourn in foreign parts, and whose children were in need of education. He writes to the Governor "Having heard several families of small incomes living in this town and neighbourhood lament the difficulty - I might add impossibility of giving their children a tolerable education, I propose, with your Excellency's permission, to open an Institution upon a plan that will afford an opportunity to all persons of respectability of sending their boys for instruction - and at the same time interfere as little as possible with any of the present scholastic establishments." (1) He wrote this in September, 1820, but apparently his suggestion was not considered possible by the Government, for we find him being consulted in 1823 on the advisability of starting a boarding school for the children of Government servants - civil and military - stationed in India. (see page //).

In Bathurst Mr. Boardman, who had had pupils under his wing during the voyage, started divine service and a school, (September 1820) in a marquee tent. He had previously offered to forego a salary allocated to the schoolmaster, (2) (being content with his ons as chaplain?) He arranged for girls and little boys to be taught by his elder daughter. (Inter alia ^{he} asked for Indian corn seed, out staple mealie, to be sent to Bathurst and wrote his thanks for the supply from the Government in January, 1821)(3)

There were ample pupils as five other parties were settled near Bathurst.

There must have been some teachers among the settlers who found it difficult to become farmers, for in 1821 approval was given for three schools for young ladies to be started in Cape Town by the Bible and School Commission. The applicants had the surnames of Shaw, Arnold, Miles and Taylor. (4)

Mr. Hough missed the arrival of the settlers as he was on leave in England, where he married, and did not return to the Cape until the end of 1820. Mr. Dennis' proposed school must have been postponed for his arrival and views, and he then took active steps to set up the school which was so badly needed. As the details were all worked out and afford much light on how schools were organised in England, and then in South Africa, by the Church of England, they are given in full.

He states in a letter to Colonel Bird that the middle and higher classes of inhabitants need a fee-paying school, for the training of the Cape youth. He bases his plan on the Public Schools of England which have proved their worth, and urges "the immediate establishment of a Public School of moral and literary education, under the qualified superintendance of a master of fair character and competent abilities.".....

The classics must be included and his words are not without relevance to-day: "Universal opinion and experience have determined that every system of education (design'd for the use of the middle and higher ranks of society) from which classical instruction is excluded, must be insufficient and erroneous the foundation of classical literature should be judiciously and solidly laid; and up to a certain degree every young man be educated in Latin and Greek The attainment of classical literature, however, should not be an exclusive object of attention ... I respectfully submit that here on the spot we occupy,

to raise a demand for ethical instruction, and to administer it properly, should be a material and prominent effort of the system adopted." (No details of how this is to be given are afforded us, unfortunately.)

After these main requirements the syllabus is then expanded to embrace "the study of English Grammar and Composition; of Arithmetic; of History, ancient and modern; of Geography; of Logic; of the Evidences of the Christian religion; and, summarily, of such useful and liberal science, as is taught in well-order'd establishments for the education of youth." The School Commission would be responsible for it and Mr. Hough volunteered to supervise it for three years. To the syllabus also he recommends the instruction in the Dutch language by a visiting assistant on some days of the week. (3.5.1821) (5)

There were also financial recommendations and each pupil would pay 15 rix-dollars a month to make the available 1600 worthy of a teachers' devotion. In this month the Bible and School Commission had more work than usual, for it dealt with Mr. Wright, the first S.P.G. missionary to come to South Africa. It not only approved of Mr. Hough's plan, but also offered him the post of Rector Gimnasii.(6) This may have followed a possible reply of Col. Bird to Mr. Hough that superintendance would be useless without anyone competent in charge (a dearth of qualified men was quite apparent), and which offered him the position in the school he himself had outlined, for on May 7th Mr. Hough outlined a Constitution -cum- Contract between himself and the Bible and School Commission which definitely states the syllabus and the emoluments. From it we learn that he had been a fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford,; that there would be three terms with holidays in between; that the hours would be three in the morning and three in the afternoon except Saturday; that prayer would open and close each school day; that the Governor and

officials would be present at an examination every year, the first to be held in December, 1822; that "Scholars shall be habitually admonish'd and encouraged to attend Divine Service, regularly and with devotion on Sundays and other days of Public Worship;" that "every attention shall be paid by the Rector to the Morals and conduct of the Scholars, and to the preservation among them of decent, respectable and gentlemanlike behaviour."

Mr. Hough also made provision for extra masters for Writing and Arithmetic, and for a permanent extra teacher for every 21 pupils if the school grew to that number and beyond. He also made provision for boarders. (7) It is regrettable evidence to the Governor's policy of anglicising the colony that there is no further mention of Dutch.

Information on how successful the school was is missing, but a few reflections on it may be permitted. In the first place, Mr. Hough was to undertake the whole syllabus himself at first. Any modern teacher, whether he is a graduate or not, would quail at the prospect. As for a clergyman to add to his daily tasks that of a school of such pretensions is inconceivable; even Mr. Boardman at Bathurst limited himself to two hours per day in his school. It is very surprising that Mr. Hough carried on his work as Colonial Chaplain together with the School until May, 1823 that is, for two years, before his health gave in and Drs. Barry and Liesching ordered an immediate abandonment of the Public School. Mr. Hough shows two things: the work of a priest in a parish is a full-time one, and so is a teacher's, a point which has so often been ignored in the South African Church; he also shows that if extra work is to be undertaken, it should also be paid for. Voluntary work is the ideal in Church but where the State and the Church are partners, the terms of partnership must be made completely explicit.

Dr. Malherbe connects the disappearance of Pringle and Fairbairn's school by the Governor's suppression of it in 1822

with the arrival of Mr. Judge to provide a school in its place. Mr. Hewitt also supports this reason. It is much more probable that Mr. Hough's valiant attempt to do work beyond his physical and nervous strength left a void in Cape Town which was filled by another clergyman after two years' interval (Education in South Africa 1852 - 1922, p.68.)

We return to Mr. Wright who came from County Killarney to offer his life to God in the mission field. The S.P.G. accepted his services and finally sent him to the Cape. Here he had no fixed work. While the Methodist minister, Mr. J. Evans, was establishing his Seminary at Cradock, Mr. Wright's services could not be used; he was left without direction by his Society, who had to rely on the Government at the Cape for its services as there was no Bishop. On enquiry Col. Bird must have discovered some use for him, for on May 15th, 1821, the B. & S.C. engaged him to "visit and superintend the free school" and "to give instructions to Masters in the valuable system of Dr. Bell." He had already undertaken this work! He presented his report on (8) 7th April to Col. Bird in which the English Department of the School in Keerom Street is shown to suffer from a frequent change in teachers. He said also that the Dutch Department suffered from lack of books. Consequently the Bell System was not working. It may be inferred that he carried on his work with success, for later in the same year he wished to start the National System at Wynberg for ten English speaking, thirty Dutch speaking and about a dozen free Malay and Hottentot pupils. (9) In his report to the S.P.G. on 1.3.1822, he says that he had not been given a building for it (S.P.G.) However, the needs of that residential place warranted his appointment there as Chaplain at 1,000 Rix-dollars per annum in July, 1822, where there was a temporary Chapel. He obtained £45 worth of books from the S.P.G. in the following month "for distribution and the use of the National Schools", and had the services of John Twist as Church Clerk, who

may also have been suitable for taking on the School as part of his duties, a usual combination. He continued to visit the free school in Keerom Street, supervising its work.

Meanwhile the party of settlers in Calvinia were finding out the changes that South Africa was making to their lives, but no word about the education of their young comes to our notice. It is highly possible that the comparative nearness of Cape Town made it possible to arrange boarding and attendance at an existing school. Mr. Mc Leland, in the midst of his duties as clergyman, has difficulties about his land, but none about the children. He had to obtain permission, like Mr. Sturt, at Simonstown, from Government, to leave his post for any reason.

This latter clergyman was colonial chaplain at Simonstown, and we learn in a round-about way that he had pupils under his charge, just as his predecessor, Mr. Hough. (10) Also there was a free school in this village (11) the supervision of which was in Mr. Sturt's hands.

Notice also should be made of the School run by the Government for the children of its slaves. Here Mr. Van^Wser was in charge and Mrs. Van^Wser saw that the girls used a considerable number of needles, pins and thread. All the requisitions passed through Mr. Hough, as Visitor to the Lodge School. (12)

In the meantime the Presbyterian minister at Caledon, Mr. G. Thom, had brought out six teachers from Scotland who were placed at Tulbagh, Caledon, George, Uitenhage, Cradock and Graaf-Reinet. From their ranks came the first Superintendent-General of Education. (13)

In 1823, the difficulty of replacing Mr. Hough as "Rector Gimnasii" was not overcome (the Revd. A. Faure applied for the post, but was not successful) and again Mr. Dennis was approached about his scheme. His figures must have been too high for the Governor to begin such an establishment, the need for which was

enhanced by the prospect of pupils being sent from India.

In 1823 the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, issued a proclamation on the education of non-European children and the Revd. F. Mc Leland offered his services as he had a slight knowledge of Dr. Bell's system, and had been using Sunday and Thursday evenings already in instructing such slaves as could attend. No indication of anything fruitful from this offer has been discovered. (14).

We hear more of the National Society's system of education in the next year from Grahamstown. Mr. Geary's experience of Africa is summed up in his description of the town where he spent just a year as a "horrible, wretched place!" But in the course of the squabbles which seemed to beset this unfortunate cleric, he does show that schooling in Grahamstown was proceeding, even if the Lancastrian plan had a first trial. (It must in fairness be stated that it is probable that part of his troubles were not due entirely to him but to the fact that he was an ordained priest of the Church of England sent at long last to gather in his flock, and found them in alien pastures. The effect of his arrival on his own people may well account for the opposition he received. He left South Africa completely beggared). (15).

The Secretary of the B. & S.C. made a tour of all the settlement in the Cape Colony in 1823. In his report he says "Mr. Boardman intends to erect (a school)" and the situation which developed is revealed to us by a pencilled note, presumably from the Secretary to the Governor, stating "Instead of erecting a School, the the Drosdy is appropriated by the Government for that purpose and a salary of £100 sterling per annum given to Mr Boardman." However, he persevered in the attempts to build the School, for it is highly likely that the Drosdy was already occupied by others, though who and why have not come to light, and in 1825 the Schoolroom at Bathurst neared completion. Mr. Boardman recommenced his school which ~~did~~^{had} not survive long in the marquee.

On 7th May, he reports 14 pupils. In his letter asking the Government for a loan of 1000 Rix-dollars to start the School he says, "The only anxiety on my mind at present arises from the expenses of preparation, and provisions for so many hungry little fellows before I can expect any return, which will amount to 1400 or 1600 Rix-dollars." (16) It is pleasing to record that he was assisted, for he sent his thanks of 7th May (17). His daughters needed the help of a "prize negro", shortly to be discharged from Somerset, and he asks for a female, but her services were in all probability never utilised. He was full of plans for boarding the 42 pupils he was expecting. (Mrs. Boardman had died in 1822, so he had no help in that department of education - the boarding house). (18) But in August of the same year he himself passed to his rest, leaving another gap in the Church and in education. (Yet his children helped settle the land. In Bishop Armstrong's account of his 2nd journey (1855) (19) we read "..... (we) climbed the Stormberg up a zig-zag road and reached the farm of Mr. Boardman, who hospitably entertained us, I asked Mr. Boardman to sell me one of a large troop of horses round the farm. He bade me mount, and set off with us, and then refused all payment. His gift was most valuable and eased me greatly." In the December, 1958 issue of the Springbok (an ex-Servicemen's paper) p.29, there appears "special thanks to Mrs. E. Boardman.")

But in that very year the Revd. Edward Conduitt Judge of Cains and Trinity Colleges, Cambridge, M.A. 1825, and in deacon's orders arrived with his sister to man one of the outposts left abandoned. (20) This was the school Mr. Hough had started and was unable to continue. He began in June, 1825 and by September had 34 pupils. As it was held in Mr. Hough's old house, quarters became cramped, and he wanted a Schoolroom built and equipped and a playground provided. (21) Soon after he found much theft had taken place, and some of the books lost throw much light on the work expected of his pupils: Ancient Atlas, Greek Grammar,

Latin Vocabulary, Murray's English Grammar and Reader, Geography Book, Dutch and English Dictionary, Dymoch's Edition of Caesar, Walkingham's Arithmetic, Keith's Arithmetic, Eton Latin Grammar and an abridged Johnson's Dictionary. These had arrived shortly after him and were passed duty free. (22)

The S.P.G. was instrumental in providing for us a graphic and detailed picture of Church and School provisions by requesting all clergy to answer what to-day is termed a questionnaire, sent out in 1826, Mr. Sturt's answers reveal that at Simonstown there was one Government School, which he considered sufficient for a scattered population of 1500 - 2000. When asked "Whether the means of education are adequate to the wants of the Colony," he replied, "... in other districts, I think the Schools are not adequate to the wants of the Colony, as some Districts are very large. The Farmers therefore educate their children at home, the teachers generally speaking are Dutch discharged, English is therefore neglected. The Colonial Government has instituted many Schools, but the Farmers being so poor cannot pay their Children's board, and from that cause they are kept at home deriving no benefit from the public Schools." This is his impression of the country as a whole. In particular he says of Simonstown "Dr. Bell's system (is used) and the children are educated in the Christian Religion, the females are taught plain work and the slaves or free Natives are much improved both in Education and Moral Conduct." (23) The task of the land in providing education is revealed, and the S.P.G. nobly rose to its share in it.

Mr. Geary's successor in Grahamstown, the Revd. Thomas Ireland, who succeeded to his troubles with the irresponsible["] sectaries,["] replied on behalf of his district. (24) After detailing the needs in a separate letter, he replies to the questions that there is one Grammar School at Bathurst, two free Schools in Grahamstown and one at Salem, but there is a great need for a fit master at

Bathurst. He wanted two more free schools, one at Bathurst and another at Port Frances (the present Port Alfred). His requests are backed up by Mr. D. Moodie, the Resident at Port Frances, the Landdrost of Albany, Major W.B. Dundas, and ^a ~~one~~ letter from Messrs. Currie, Wilmot, Bisset and Earle at Bathurst. (25)

These are the only two reports extant in the S.A. Archives. Mr. Mc Leland was congratulated on his (26) but copies of it and of the others were not made and retained for our information. But it was to take another twenty years before the Church of England began to make any adequate provision to the crying need expressed behind these reports - a successor to the Apostles in the person of a bishop.

We now come to two most pleasant and unexpected sidelights on the education undertaken by Anglicans in South Africa. In 1827, Mr. Ireland wrote describing the work of Mrs. Armstrong at Fort Wilshere. She had gathered native children left abandoned and put them to school, where among other matters they had learnt the Church Catechism. (27) This was not the matter of one year only for William Wright, in his (last) 1830 report, from the Koonap, says exactly the same thing, and gives the details that Mrs. Armstrong, "the lady of Captain Armstrong has succeeded in a very few months in instructing the children in writing, reading and the rudiments of Christianity to an extraordinary degree of proficiency. The children read and sang the psalms and responses during divine service many of these children were lately rescued from famine and the assegai, having been picked up on the ^{el} field of battle in the late carnage." And we may notice that a layman, in this case the surgeon of the 55th Regiment at Fort Wilshere, was doing the same work, carrying on Mrs. Armstrong's beginning - "an excellent school," the races of the children are not recorded by Mr. Wright (S.P.G.). It is possible, though not probable from the impression of the settlers generally that there were others who had the education, the

time and the interest to do similar work on behalf of the young. With examples like these before it, again, it is no wonder that the education of the native races of South Africa was both considered possible and attempted, consumptive as it was of missionaries, money and time, by the Anglican Church and others.

In 1828 the course of education went on. The agitation for a school to provide instruction for all the youth of the Cape must have been intensified when it was discovered that in Mr. Judge's school faith in God was not only expected but also expressed in set, outward forms of worship, just as he had learnt them himself at Cambridge. The demand for an undenominational school in a land and a town which had few whose training had led them to a Book of Common Prayer - common to all who used it together - was given definite expression as we shall see later. In the meantime conditions at Simonstown were such that Mr. Sturt writes on 30.1.1828 (28) "I have taken upon myself the internal management of the Free School in this parish" (His inaccuracy may well be pardoned as Simonstown was a place such as would lead him to think that it was a "parish" with clearly defined boundaries, as his sphere of labour.)

The Grammar School under Mr. Judge was passing through difficulties. The Government had seen it start in a house purchased by it for the purpose; it had arranged for its Rector and had given him a free hand; but it had forgotten that lesson of St. George's Church, Simonstown, that property, to serve the function for which it is acquired, must be maintained and protected, and so had omitted to say where responsibility lay in the matter. Mr. Judge in 1828, found it difficult to keep the School going when nothing was undertaken by the Government from May 1827 to April 1828, and "of five rooms in the outer building everyone admits the water in streams. Of fourteen rooms in the dwelling house, thirteen admit the rain, especially the bedrooms...." and "..... the remaining half of the horizontal drainpipe.... has been blown down by the winds of the summer now expiring." (29) The promise of extending the premises by adding a Schoolroom had not been fulfilled

either, and Mr. Judge points out that this had prevented the reduction of fees, already lower than they ever had been, because he had not accommodation both for more pupils and more assistants. His words are to the point: " I venture to request the resumption of the gracious intentions of Government in the year 1825, of attaching a suitable Schoolroom to this Establishment, the omission of which (I quote the words of a letter addressed by myself to His Excellency Lord C. Somerset, then Governor)'will effectually prevent the Institution from becoming of that extensive utility for which it was originally designed.'" The increase in numbers would also justify scholarships awarded by impartial and exterior examination in the senior years, as well as reducing "the expense of education in the Colony, or at least in Cape Town to two-thirds of its present charge, that is to about one half of its expense before the institution of a Grammar School"(30)

In the East of the Colony education was progressing though the Anglican Church could show nothing comparable to Mr. Rose-Innes Grammar School at Uitenhage (31) Several developments had taken place. The Revd. H. McLeland had succeeded in being appointed Chaplain at Port Elizabeth in 1825, leaving Mr. Marquard, a layman in his place at Calvinia, where the English settlers had failed to settle(32),and he comments rather sadly "I believe from the outset every exertion was used to paralyse any efforts on my part to become a useful and efficient Parish Priest"(33). He was welcomed by the Church Committee at Port Elizabeth, but inherited the dissensions of the congregation as well.(34)

He had the pleasure of seeing the first settler Church started, from money voted by the S.P.G. for Cape Town originally and, on Lord C. Somerset's recommendation, diverted to Port Elizabeth,(35) though opened on 12.1.1834,(36) it was not completed until 1842 (37).

However, in school matters, three teachers were recommended for an English Grammar School in 1827 (38).

No one had come to take Mr. Boardman's place at Bathurst, where, however, in 1827, two growing schools for boys and an expected Seminary for girls were reported (39). Mr. Wright after his troubles with the Government and the S.P.G. had been clarified, arrived at Bathurst in 1829, and there his well-known interest in education found plenty of scope, and at Port Frances. Mr. Wright was no longer regarded as a missionary by his Society on 22.1.1830 for having taken a Colonial Chaplaincy. The Society relied for its information on the Bishops of Calcutta, who succeeded one another at an alarming rate, but a) had no permanent and legal jurisdiction over the Cape whatever, and b) did ashore what they could spiritually while their ships were being replenished. They could not supersede the administrative capacity of the Governor, who was actually called the Ordinary of the Church by Mr. Hough and was regarded as such by all Chaplains. Mr. Wright was another unnecessary casualty in the Church's life, like Mr. Geary, owing to the absence of a spiritual head at the Cape, and took his place as one of the sacrifices offered up that South Africa might emerge. His subsequent history is in the S.P.G. Archives, where amid much detail we find that he married in 1829, and that he went to England on half-pay to investigate the reasons why the S.P.G. would not keep him as a member. There he resigned, according to Lewis and Edwards, obtained the LL.D. degree and worked on the Continent and in England. In a letter of testimony from Mr. J.H. Tredgold (4.4.1832) we find "The objects in which you appear to be most prominently engaged, such as the education and improvement of the coloured classes and your frequent and laudable endeavours to assist in obtaining justice in many cases of gross oppression under which many individuals of the coloured population then unhappily laboured, while these labours secured for you the esteem and favour of all friends of humanity and justice in the colony," (Pringle being one) "they doubtless at the same time exposed you to great unpopularity and obloquy among many of the wealthy and influential Colonials" (S.P.G.)

It was at this period that Mr. McLeland reported from Port Elizabeth that the place of Mr. Ireland, now Military Chaplain in Ceylon, at Grahamstown had not been filled, but the Revd. W. Carlisle arrived later in 1828(39a). At this time the salaries of all Dutch Reformed Church and Church of England ministers were raised to £300 per annum, showing that they were ~~not~~ considered to be a) Government servants and b) worthy of their hire.

19"/.....
 and consequently had left education to private members and societies of their realms. Of those the Church had in the lands it had helped to civilise been the organisation most deeply concerned and had built up a great tradition which even its opponents were glad to admit.

The British Government in 1814 committed itself to keeping the Cape and its first permanent Governor, Lord Charles Somerset was by destiny placed in a situation that was quite unique in the world, and could not be governed by any former precedents, entirely. He solved one problem to find he had created a host of others. Brilliant as the conception and execution of settling the vulnerable parts of the colony was, yet he could not lift a whole tribe of his own countrymen from one place, put them down in another, and expect them to be just as they were before. If they had been a tribe, being allegiance to proved customs and traditions, there would have been more success, but they came from Nottingham, from W. Ireland and other widely separated parts of Britain, and belonged to such various of Christian practice as they knew in England, so that rivalry, tension and dissension were inherent in the scheme at its very beginning. Churches and schools, the products of centuries, could not be transplanted with the people. New beginnings and problems were necessary, and the task of government was immensely complicated. Government, for the first time in the world's history, was forced by its own circumstances, to take an active part in education, for which all its previous experience had provided no training whatever. Lord Charles had no precedents to draw on to help him educate children whose home language was other than English. He had no historical precedents other than his own to which he could turn for help in determining the extent

and cost of a completely new system of schools other than the few clergyman able to come and whose number was limited by Government finance. But in the confusion, and as a consequence of it came the first known Superintendent General of Education (40); from him came the principles which have governed the administration of education in every civilised land; from the demands of the circumstances were evolved the ideas that underlie such matters as school feeding, special classes, mother-tongue instruction, bi-lingualism, compulsory education with the corollary of adequate school buildings and staff, teacher training, and a host of others. Behind it all lies the idea however, that the State must pay for it all, with its own inherent dangers, and therefore come the taxes which seem to have no relation whatever to the benefits of education. As shown in the introduction, the idea of religious knowledge and spiritual development must ultimately be ousted, and the Church is quite powerless to see that they are a part of education from which, by its own circumstances, and partly through its own negligence, it also has also in effect been ousted. Yet if it is true to its own foundation and vocation, steadfast and immutable on principle, intelligent and prayerful in attitude, friendly and co-operative in practice, self-denying and disciplined in spirit, the partnership of Church and State, instead of its divorce, will bring to South Africa that synthesis of spirit and matter in one common goal to which educators may dedicate a-fresh their lives.

CHAPTER III.CONSOLIDATION AND EXPANSION

1. Clerical Teachers. The period which roughly begins in 1830 is marked by successful efforts to erect Churches where men might join their lives in quiet to the ultimate purposes of God in learning from Him, in praising His Holy Name, and in taking out from them an ~~inward~~ inspiration and an insight into the true duty of man. We have noticed Simonstown and Port Elizabeth. Besides these places Churches were begun at Grahamstown in 1828, Rondebosch in 1834, Cape Town in 1834, Wynberg and Simonstown - its 2nd beginning - in 1836, and Bathurst in 1833.

The mother city of Cape Town receives first notice. The South African College was founded with great acclaim by public subscription and generous Government aid. The staff was entirely clerical! Mr. Judge was English Professor of Classics, the Revd. A. Faure, B.D., Dutch Professor of Classics, and the Revd. James Adamson, D.D., Professor of Mathematics. The inauguration took place in the Dutch Reformed Church, Adderley Street on 1st October, 1829 (1). Mr. Judge had given up the Grammar School so that his pupils could form the nucleus of the new College, but continued, with the Governor's approval to have his "House," according to the Public School system, in which he asked for the right to give private lessons, with the concurrence of the College Council (2). That his aim was to guide the youths under his care and foster their development emerges from what followed. He was made Secretary of the Senate at its first meeting, being at the time also Secretary of the Trustees building the English Church (3) and of the C. of E. Prayer Book and Tract Society (4).

The time table was fixed at its first meeting on August 21st (5). The scope of the work is revealed by a report of Mr. Judge on November 18th, saying that he had 93 English students in 8 sections, sixty-one for Latin in five sections, and 24 for Greek in four sections. It is plain why he was granted two assistants, one of them an old pupil, Martin Versfeld, and why he said "My attention is sub-divided and spread over so extensive a range of subjects at one time that, in the wish to give a little to each, I can give a sufficiency to none" (6).

Out of these beginnings, however, success could have been achieved by the voluntary slavery of the Professors, but it was not to be. At a meeting of Shareholders of the College it was resolved "that Religious Instruction shall be given to the Pupils, but not within the walls of the College". This very peculiar and self-contradictory decision, which the Senate was bound to observe, nearly wrecked the institution, for it led to an immediate resignation on 25th June, 1830, by Mr. Judge, who also

informed the Government that Dr. Adamson would not continue beyond his contracted year, and that Dr. Faure said the same. This decision has been described by Professor Ritchie as "odium theologicum". Mr. Judge's letter, however, displays where the odium might lie. He wrote: "I presume to hope that I shall stand in little need of apology for retiring from an Institution in which it is laid down as a fundamental rule, not by any inferior Council or Senate, but by the highest authority from which there is no appeal, that the branch of education most important to all in every degree, shall be excluded from its walls - on me, the Rule, if submitted to, must bear with especial hardship. Having been ordained as a Christian Clergyman, I find the only plea which I can urge for the devoting of myself to the education of youth - (viz. that, in so doing I labour in no useless field to promote the cause of religion) - withdrawn from me by the Resolution above-mentioned. I scarcely need to say that the public interest can be but little promoted by an Institution professing to place itself at the head of education in the Colony, and adopting so obnoxious a principle". (7) In fairness to the shareholders it should be said that they must have had some reason for their decision which has not emerged, and also that they did not know on what dangerous grounds they were on when they decided the syllabus. ^{Theology was} ~~formally abandoned and until recently has not been recognised by~~ the University of Cape Town to its own detriment in presenting the fullness of truth, and consequently to the detriment of its numerous students, entirely due to this early inconsistency of trying to use ministers of the Church for its own existence, but repudiating the doctrine on which the Church is founded.

But Mr. Judge's action did lead to an amelioration of the situation later, for after the examinations in August, 1831, the following questions were put to the Professors by, and their answers given to, Sir John Truter:

Q. Has religious instruction been given to the students of this College ~~XX~~ during the past year as a regular part of the course of instruction. A. It has. (To comment on this is impossible!)

Q. At what time was it given? A. Every day. Q. In what manner?

A. The whole of the students were assembled in the great hall. One of the Professors, who took duty by turns, then read the Holy Scriptures and offered up a prayer. Two chapters of the Bible - one from the Old Testament and another from the New Testament - were next read by the pupils and on these they were examined by the Professor. Q. Was the conduct of the pupils decorous and attentive during the reading of the Holy Scriptures and the prayer? Invariably so. It has merited the highest praise. Q. Has any

difficulty arisen from the circumstances that the children of parents belonging to different sects and different religions are admitted without distinction to the College? A. None whatever. Q. Have any pupils withdrawn at such time by order of their parents or guardians? A. No. Q. Have any complaints been made to you on the subject? A. None. Q. To what sects or religion do the parents or guardians of the Seminary (sic) belong? A. On that subject we professionally know nothing. No questions are asked. Religious instruction ~~is~~ (1) is given to all alike who ~~desire~~ ^{attend} and ~~attend~~ ^{desire} it. (8).

So, in effect, the Shareholders "climbed down", but why has not come to light. Then the decision was repudiated, for in a leading article of the Advertiser of that month, this curious system of religious instruction was elevated into a course of Moral Philosophy and Theology! (9) In the serious straits into which the College fell some years later, one of the means of reviving the work the Council proposed to adopt was "provision must be made by the Church or Government or by the combination of the parties to teach Theology" (12.5.1845, C.O. 540). Nothing came of it.

The custom of opening the School day with prayer, however, persisted at least until 1925 in the South African College School, where, to the writer's recollection, sharp at 9 a.m., each class went into its classroom, the door was shut, and the master said the Lord's Prayer with the class. Thereafter the doors were opened, and boys whose parents withheld them from prayers came in and took their seats.

Mr. Judge also gave witness to the Church's conviction that a teacher also has a vocation to his work, and that it is of the highest importance that he should know why he is teaching and what his pupils should not only learn but also be. It is possible that if he had resigned conditionally that the decision would have been reversed. He was in Deacon's Orders, and had been at the Cape five years, so he was barely 30 years of age when he resigned. At a maturer age he might have decided on another course, and so have altered the course of education at the Cape. At this stage, however, it is not possible to form a complete conception of the situation, and ^{one} can only accept the fact that a useful career of teaching in the most advanced institution of early Cape Town was summarily terminated.

So he returned to 6 Rheebe Street, just across Orange Street, where the College started, and was allowed to resume his Grammar School. His application to go to Simonstown where Mr. Sturt had succumbed to the gout which he had for years suffered was not accepted. He applied for a renewal of the use of his house for further years in April 1831 and April, 1832. (10) He justifies the continued existence of the Grammar School in these words: "As there is no other Institution in Cape Town for the liberal

education of youth into which religious instruction (at least in accordance with the principles of the Church of England) is admitted as a fundamental part of the system, I would venture to submit that such an Establishment as the present is valuable to the Colony, and especially to the sons of English parents residing in this part of it although the recent date of its commencement may give it claim to indulgence in this respect (of results), since even its eldest scholars must still be too young to have distinguished themselves in the world, yet it has not only fitted some for the discharge of the public and private duties of life in our local community, but has sent others to pursue their studies in the Universities and Colleges of Great Britain, Holland and Germany, where the commendations of their Professors and the honours they have obtained as the reward of merit give assurance of their good conduct and acquirements." (A list of the names of young men who had returned to the Cape from Holland and were ready to be made ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church survives under the date 1.6.1836, and the Cape Town Presbytery asked for them to be considered when new appointments were made. Their surnames were Morrees, Brink, Meyns, Reitz, Roux, Scholtz, Borchers, du Toit, du Toit, Albertyn, Krige. It was noted that three others, Berrange, van der Riet and Smuts were going on to Leyden. There is no information, unfortunately, to show whether any of these received their grounding from Mr. Judge, or Mr. Rose-Innes, the only two teachers in South Africa who had been teaching continuously enough to ensure that pupils under them would benefit from a sojourn at a European college or university (11)).

Mr. Judge also pointed out that it was a cheap school (£9 - £10/16/- per annum) and was the only Institution that had trained "Native Teachers" (meaning "born in the country" and not "having black skins"). He was ordained to the priesthood of the Church, after at least seven years' teaching in Deacon's Orders, by the visiting Bishop of Calcutta, Bishop Wilson, late in 1832. This privilege was the occasion of being able to undertake the work of a chaplain fully and we find him acting in that capacity at Wynberg in the same year (12). He also took charge of the Rondebosch congregation in 1834 (13). Professor Ritchie supplies the following further information: "Mr. Judge, after some years in his Grammar School, removed to Simonstown in 1839, where he was in charge of the English Church and also Military Chaplain. He still continued to take pupils there and amongst them were Mr. Justice E.B. Watermeyer and his brother F.S. Watermeyer". Such must have been his reputation that parents were eager to let their sons do "homework" when Mr. Judge went about his other duties. To-day there is no No. 6 Ruede Street, the probable site being now a tennis court. Mr. Judge was not lost to education, for he

appears again and again in the historical records of the Cape.

Notice may be made of an interesting attempt to start an establishment for higher education, made by the Revd. E.J. Burrow, D.D., who had gone to Mr. Wright's post at Wynberg. He proposed to Sir Lowry Cole the founding of a College (later called King's College). His Excellency approved of the idea but could promise no support from the Government, but hoped that the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. would give their aid. The prospectus is dated 17.12.1831, and comprises Statutes 1-6 Members and Contributors, 7-11, Board of Trustees, 12-15 Meetings, 16-17, Terms and Vacations, 18-23 Admission, 24-27 the College Council, 28-31 the Principal (Dr. Burrow to be the first), 32-49 Professors, 50-54 Students, 55-63 Foundation and Missionary Scholars, 64-68 Discipline, 69-72 Attendance on Lectures, 73-75 Academical Habit 76-83 Dues and Fees. This ambitious scheme came to naught, but it illustrates the interest of Anglican ministers in education, their ability to carry on its educational tradition, and the needs of the youth of Cape Town. (The Governor's letter is filed with Dr. Burrow's report in the Archives of the S.P.G.).

While the name of Sir Lowry Cole is recalled, mention may be made here of the School of Industry which Lady Frances Cole started at Cape Town at this time for girls. It is still so named, and is nominally under E.C. management, but this has passed to the South African Association.

11. Schools owing their origin to Anglican Ministers Wherever and whenever a School was needed it appeared first through an application generally made by a minister. So it is natural to hear that Cuylerville's needs appear ~~mark~~ through Mr. Carlisle of Grahamstown (14) and the Revd. George Porter, who was acting chaplain at Bathurst in 1831 (15). They asked for a clergyman; the latter added that a schoolmaster was also needed; he had not heard of the S.P.C.K. grant.

Bishop Turner, who had visited the Cape in 1829, on his return from Calcutta had gained the interest of the S.P.C.K. to the amount of £2,000, which was to be devoted to help erect Churches and Schools at the Cape. The Churches which this amount had helped to build are listed on p. 21. The need for Schools appears first in an application by Mr. Judge, Secretary of the Cape Town branch of the S.P.C.K. on 11.7.1832, in which he asked for a grant to build a room for an English National School in connection with St. George's Church. Its aims were to "prepare the children for becoming intelligent^{en} Christians, sound Churchmen and religious members of Society" (16). The Revd. John Heavyside, who relieved Mr. Carlisle at Grahamstown next asked for help to erect a "School of Industry and Sunday School for girls". A room

40' by 16' and 14' high would cost, he estimated, £140, though he preferred a width of 18'. (17). The congregation at

Wynberg, at the instance of the Government, were prepared to plan their new Church so "as to admit part of it serving as the Free School and to be used as free sittings on Sundays" (18). In the contributions listed, Col. J. Bell, Secretary to the Government, recorded that the Governor gave £30 himself, the Government would give £278 for the future use as a Free School, and £40 would come out of the S.P.C.K. grant (19).

The Revd. Thomas Fry had come out to South Africa in 1837 through the help of the S.P.G., and had relieved Mr. Judge of his work at Rondebosch. Following the practice of reporting on his work, demanded by the S.P.G., he mentioned on 29.11.1839: "I have, in conjunction with my parishioners, commenced a school. Our attendance is rapidly increasing; we have about 70, most of them coloured people and many adults. We should have more but have no place to hold our school in, except the Church. I have great hopes, however, I shall get from Government here a schoolroom built and a schoolmaster". Then follows a comment on the Emancipation of the Slaves, and a challenge that schooling should follow for the new citizens made by that Act: "The late slaves are truly desirous of education and it is a sad thing that every means in our power should not be made available to give them a simple but sound education in connection with the Established Church",

On 29.7.1840 he said that he could build a school for £300 on the Church site. It would be used for a Sunday, day and, twice in the week, an evening school, for the coloured people were very numerous in Rondebosch. The next year the S.P.G. sent £100 towards the Rondebosch School, £104 was subscribed and the Government promised £75 a year as the master's salary, which was supplemented by £20 for his work as Church Clerk. Mr. Fry wrote on 19.9.1841 for permission to quarry ironstone to build "the foundations of the School Room at Rondebosch", (20) It was in use by July, 1843, and continued until 1949, when its pupils were taken over by the newly-built school at St. Andrew's, Newlands, and is now the Parish Hall of St. Paul's Rondebosch.

The next large mission school as such, begun by the Anglican Church seems to have been one in Barrack Street, Cape Town, started by the Colonial Church Society, who sent two catechists to the Cape. ^(20a) Opened in 1841, it had to close through lack of funds, which led to an appeal, supported by Mr. Rose-Innes, to the Government. Application was made to the Bible and School Commission, which granted £18 a year to the School, and another £18 for a Female Assistant at the Rondebosch School recently completed (21). Mr. Fry corroborates this, and further reports that the £18 was for the salary of of a female assistant, who had the use of the Church Vestry

for the girls. The boys and girls were together for the Catechism, reading, the people's part of the Church services and for singing.

He then described the developments at Driekoppen, the old name for Mowbray, where an infant school was started in a rent-free building. In Claremont he found that the Honorable H. Ross had begun a school for "the natives of Mozambique and their descendants, erecting a building, for which he had a teacher, then at Rondebosch." "In the other schools", he remarked, "there is no distinction of colour." He found that if he had had no private means himself, he would not have been able to carry on. £300 per annum was his minimum estimate for being able to do his work from Vyge Kraal.

In the same report he described how Mr. Wright's work at Wynberg had been developed. In September, 1841, he said that this place could boast an Infant School, a School of Industry (he says, established by Lady D'Urban in 1836), a Government Free School, and a Sunday School begun years before by Mrs. Hare. Mr. T.J. Bourne, visiting the Cape five years later, wrote asking for £50 "in aid of repairs of a School ... so damaged by a recent furious rain". £100 had already been given by the people themselves. It had been founded, he said, as a memorial to the late benevolent Lady D'Urban at the village of Wynberg, with "an excellent mistress... and is most ~~+~~----- (word undecipherable) by excellent women of our Church". (22).

Apparently the hopes entertained by the local committee of the S.P.G.K. (see p. 25), in 1832 had not been realised, for on 4.4.1841 the Revd. E.P. Blunt, C.F., asked the S.P.G. for funds to start a G. of E. School at the Cathedral, and on 13.6.1845 Mr. Hough wrote for support of it, saying that it had been opened in September, 1844, in a hired room in New (the present ^{Queen} Victoria) Street. It had a roll of forty boys, and an average attendance of 30. In addition it was open two nights a week "for the Instruction of Negro Apprentices". The S.P.G.K. had provided £150 to start it. The S.G.-E. recommended aid from the Slave Compensation Fund, and then "that His Excellency authorise a gratuity being placed on the estimates of next year". (23).

At Grahamstown Mr. Heavyside must have found his "School of Industry and Sunday School" for girls successful. Along with this interest in girls' education, he had also advised the B. and S. Commission on the running of the Free Schools - for boys only apparently - and that body recommended to the Governor "to place the Free Schools in the country districts generally upon a footing which should involve the principles advised by Mr. Heavyside for the particular school at Grahamstown". They had been led to this decision by the Revd. Mr. Robertson, who had been one of the six teachers, among them Mr. Rose-Innes, brought to the Cape from Scotland by the Revd. G. Thom in 1822. Mr. Hough signed as Chairman of the

B. and S.C.(24). As the years passed the needs of the growing generation were becoming more urgent. Settlement had come and peaceful family life was possible in the villages of the settlers - to be rudely shattered again more than once. Mr. Heavyside thus needed outside help, and approached the Bishop of London. The need for higher education was the reason, so he asked for a clergyman as his own assistant in the "select school" and as his curate. He had himself acquired experience as a teacher in a public school and as tutor to Sir John Hope's sons, during which time he had learnt French and German on the Continent. He expected classics and ^{the} mathematics from his assistant. "My objects are," he wrote, "at first, to provide a good education for the youth of my ^{own} flock, and particularly for my own three boys, in connection with Church principles; and secondly, to promote the efficiency and influence of the Church by the presence and co-operation of another clergyman". He gives a most unexpected tribute to the settlers as a reason for asking for a clergyman with a degree: "I would mention that many of our country sheep-farmers are men of refined education, and that the general character of the members of the Church of England in this regard render it expedient that the talents and acquirements of a minister should be of rather a high order" (25). His letter is dated 23.2.1843.

By July he was ready to open "a superior school for young gentlemen which will afford all the advantages of an English Grammar School". However, the assistant was Mr. Nye Fenner, whose qualifications did not include membership of the Church of England, so that it is not surprising that he left in March, 1844, to take charge of a Wesleyan Proprietary Grammar School. But for the short time that they were associated they gave instruction in "the various branches of the English language... the Latin and Greek classics, the French and German languages, and the Mathematics". Mr. Heavyside carried on himself in the Schoolroom which he himself had built, and obtained the interest of a Committee which formed a Proprietary Grammar School. Though he had a Mr. Long to help him, he did not, apparently, possess the necessary knowledge, and at the end of 1846 - the year of the war - Mr. Heavyside contemplated giving up the School as the proprietors had lost their initial enthusiasm and as so much of his time was being taken up as Chairman of the Board of Relief. As he had been agitating for 1) a bishop, and 2) schoolmasters and catechists since 1837, as noted by the Revd. R.A. Denton on 12th August of that year, it must have been a sad prospect to contemplate. However, he did succeed in carrying on for Bishop Gray, writing on 10.4.1848 said "I hope to get £200 a year from Government for a Grammar School at Grahamstown to which Mr. Heavyside will transfer his School" (26).

111. The work of Clergy as Supervisors of Schools. Some of Mr.

Heavyside's work in this connection has already appeared. But long before the Government Minute of 14.9.1943, proclaiming financial help for any schools in the country districts, and declaring that "the District Clergyman be a visitor of the School in behalf of the Government", they were already engaged in it. Thus Dr. Burrow, writing to the S.P.G. in 1832 said: "I find abundant employment, strictly missionary, within Town, in the superintending of Schools, and in assisting Mr. Hough in the execution of his duties". In this essential work, now shared by inspectors and School Boards, the evidence for the Anglican contribution is voluminous, and can be adduced only briefly. Thus:- the Revd. G. Sturt recommended the Resident's proposal of Mr. Hilliers as Free Schoolmaster at Simonstown in place of Mr. Coleman, deceased (27). Mr. McLeland reported that there were 95 scholars attending the Free School at Port Elizabeth (28). In 1830 Mr. Sturt signed with Mr. Lind, the Resident Magistrate, the list of requirements for Simonstown Free School - his last recorded service (29). The Revd. Charles Wimberley, who left Wynberg for Simonstown on the death of Mr. Sturt, sent in a quotation of £93 for repairing the Free School, but said, "I have ascertained that by hiring workmen by the day and procuring the requisite materials the whole may be done for half the sum, and I shall be most happy to see to the work myself" (30).

At Bathurst Mr. Wilmot was recommended to succeed Mr. Earle as Government Schoolmaster and Postmaster by the Revd. G. Porter and Mr. Heavyside (31) while in the same year (1833) Mr. McLeland forwarded a list of rules for the government of the Free School at Port Elizabeth, saying that they had worked well at Simonstown; he also suggested opening a school in the prison (32); and he took upon himself to report that there had been no teacher "since Mr. Daly closed his School," in 1834 (33). He asked for help to build another School in connection with the Church (34).

Mr. Hough, as Visitor of the Government Free School, New Street, Cape Town, not only reported the resignation of Mr. John Dyason as Master, but also submitted a plan to combine this School with the Dutch one, next to it but opening on to Keerom Street, under the Master of the latter, and appointing Mr. Dyason's son as assistant. The saving of £50 would then be available for the Infant School Society (£30), and the School of Industry (£20) (35). Mr. McLeland wrote about equipment for the Port Elizabeth Free School (36); the Revd. James Barrow, Colonial Chaplain in Mr. Wright's place at Bathurst, wrote strongly urging the Government to re-establish the School at Port Francis (37). The Revd. H. Frazer signed as Secretary of the Simonstown School Commission asking the B. and S. Commission to enlarge the Girls' School Room by ten feet (38). Mr. Heavyside reported the non-arrival of school material at Grahamstown (39). Through Mr. Frazer the School Commission appointed Mr. S. Osler as Schoolmaster

at Simonstown (40). For the first time it is brought to light that Mr. Hough was the Government nominee on the Council Board of the S.A. College when he resigned on Feb. 6th, 1839 through "frequent infirmity of health and increased and increasing professional duties" (41). Mr. Frazer spoke again for the School Commission at Simonstown in appointing a Mistress to the Free School there. Two months after this he went to his eternal rest in August, 1839 (42). She stayed only one year and Mr. Judge nominated another in her place (43); in two years' time he nominated another (44), only to find that she could serve for only 2½ years, probably because she could find no house to live in, so he appointed one of the old pupils of the School, Miss Nankivell (45). She naturally had difficulties in discipline; thereupon Mr. Judge drew up a subscription list for building the School Mistress a house to induce "an experienced and matronly person, of sound principles and approved piety, to accept the office" (46). The relations between the Superintendent-General of Education with the local representatives are revealed by his comment on and approval of Mr. Judge's nomination: "From the deep interest taken by the Revd. Mr. Judge in the Simon's Town School of Industry. I feel satisfied that the person recommended by him to succeed Mrs. Kettley is fitted for the charge" (6.12.1844). Simonstown, built upon a hillside which received little of the afternoon sun, has an unenviable record of collapsed and deteriorated buildings. Mr. Judge found that Mr. Wimberley's repairs had not lasted and urged further ones in 1842. (47). Yet the nuisance of the sun led him to recommend closing up two windows on the west and opening one extra on the other side of the Girls' School of Industry (48).

Under Mr. Fry's fatherly eye the school, built and carried on by him at Rondebosch, had increased so much that the thirty-three girls could no longer be accommodated in the vestry. He asked Government for a separation of girls and boys, and the appointment of a Schoolmistress. The S.-G.E. recommended that another room be added to the Schoolroom (49).

This section ends with Mr. Judge. His interest in educating the young and his work on their behalf had been outstanding. In his manifold duties as Colonial Chaplain the Schools were his first love. The full text of the Government Minute of 1843, section 10, was "That the District Clergyman be a visitor of the School on behalf of the Government, as also any member of the local School Commission of the Division to which the proposed School District belongs". It is obvious that the interest, knowledge and time required to make a visit or inspection of any use depended entirely on the persons authorised to enter the school. At Simonstown, it is obvious, Mr. Judge exercised his privilege

and performed his duty to the best of his ability. This appears because his virtual control of all things educational at Simonstown caused opposition in some quarters. ^{If} ~~This~~ came to a head in 1846. According to Mr. Judge, the Resident Justice, who was also President of the School Commission, called Mr. Osler, the Master, into his office and "threatened" him - with what is not said. The reason given was that he, appointed in 1838, was incompetent, and this Mr. Judge considered to be a reflection on himself, for "whereas the Resident Justice has not attended one of the quarterly examinations for upwards of two years and a half, I have attended and conducted every one for the last six years, besides occasionally visiting and teaching in the School at other times: and, whereas I have regularly drawn up and sent in returns of those examinations I cannot but apprehend that the observations of the Resident Justice (if correctly reported by Mr. Osler) imply a reflection on those returns, as well as upon the Government Teacher" (50). Sir Peregrine Maitland deplored the dissension, and put the blame for it on Mr. Judge.

However, he continued in Simonstown. In one emergency at the Girls' School of Industry he appointed Mrs. Judge, and asked for her salary to be paid. "It will be appropriated to the fund for building an Infant School in this town, and to some other religious and educational object" (51). This arrangement timed over a gap, filled by Mrs. Taylor, who had been recommended by the Governor and accepted by Mr. Judge immediately he had interviewed her (52). He was made a Canon of Cape Town Cathedral by Bishop Gray, and his services to education continued as a member of the Board of Public Examiners until the University of the Cape of Good Hope came into being. The life devoted to the young ended on January 6th, 1875, at Simonstown (53).

v. Anglican Clergy on the Bible and School Commission De Mist had founded this body to further his educational plans in 1804 & and it had been reconstituted by Sir John Cradock to prosecute the task of providing Biblical literature throughout the land. The ministers of religion outnumbered the others (54) and its recommendations were generally supported by the Government financially, while to it were entrusted also public funds for religious, or educational or social welfare purpose. Its work and its limitations have been fully described in all histories of the Cape's Educational development. The interest under this title is to see what contributions the Anglican Church made through its medium.

As already noted, the first Colonial Chaplain, The Revd. R. Jones served on it. In 1821 the members of the Commission were the Revds. J.C. Berrange, A. Faure, F. Kaufman, G. Hough and ~~Mr. H. J. van Manger~~ J.H. van Manger, with Mr. J.P. Venter, all of whom signed the Fund Statement (55). Mr. Hough naturally took responsib-

ility for English-speaking Schools in the Cape Town area. Even when he was in charge of his school, Mr. Vawser regularly approached him to recommend the needs of the Government Slave School in the Gardens, and he recommended Mr. Vawser to be placed on the same scale as other teachers (56). Mr. Hough sat on it even after the appointment of Mr. Rose-Innes. By virtue of being English, he was the main medium of communication between the Governor and the Commission. (No evidence as to his knowledge of Dutch has come to light, but it is improbable that he would be unacquainted with it after such a long association with the Dutch "reformed and Lutheran ministers who served with him). Thus he approved of increasing the salary of the Board's Secretary with other members (57) and signed the Board's Balance Sheet in 1824 and 1825 (58), and did so for a number of years. With the increase of the English population another minister, the Revd. Charles Goodison, C.F., was appointed to the Board in 1827, and was at the Cape acting as Chaplain to Wynberg until 1832, when, apparently, his health gave in (59). It was he who in 1830 approached the Governor for a day on which he would be able to examine the Free Schools in Cape Town on behalf of the B. and S.C. (60), and he signed the accounts with Mr. Hough in that year (61). In 1831 he performed the duty once more, in the capacity of acting chairman.

In 1834 the B. and S. Commission put up new Regulations to the Government. These had been commented on by country clergy, amongst them Mr. Carlisle at Grahamstown, and they were approved by Government in April of that year. Briefly, they recommended that the Dutch language should be used in Schools where needed, that salaries of teachers should range between £40 and £80 per annum, that school fees should be charged, but they could be remitted when the local School Commission sanctioned individual cases. The important addition was that local School Commissions should be composed of at least three members, and that their wishes as regards the appointment of teachers should weigh heavily. The new School Commissions were to come into being immediately. One effect was that Mr. Judge and Mr. I. Stewart were asked to take their places as extra members at Wynberg. Mr. Hough signed this letter on 28th July (62). Mr. Judge had to resign when he took over the Church at Rondebosch, and the Revd. Dr. Holt Okes was appointed in his place. (63).

We come to the end of the B. and S. Commission's work. It is fitting that Mr. Hough should pronounce the *Nunc Dimittis* in a letter of 14.5.1841. The members felt, he said, that they had done their duty as far as in them lay and had discharged the task that had been imposed on them by the terms of the Constitution. His own words best describe the situation brought

about by the appointment of the Superintendent-General of Education:- "With regard to.....the Commital into (his) hands, the supervision of all the Government Schools ... the Board, as in duty bound, bend to the decision of Her Majesty on so serious a subject, differing, as that appointment does materially differ, from the suggestions and recommendations contained in the Board's Letter of the 20th October, 1837, accompanying their Report 'on the state of the Government Schools throughout the Colony'. In that letter and Report, as well as on every occasion on which the Board has deemed it incumbent to forward any recommendation to the Colonial Government, the Board always gave an honest and conscientious opinion; and although the Plan therein recommended by the Board, and the scheme adopted by the Government are widely opposed to ~~it~~ each other, they congratulate themselves on having done their duty, and discharged their Trust with fidelity and Zeal, having no other purpose to serve than the Promotion of the Public good in the best means of Public Education throughout the Colony". Yet, while there was no purpose left for it then in the sphere of secular instruction, the Board, with the extra facilities granted to Mr. Rose-Innes, could have done the work he was doing. The Board would receive the rents from its properties between New and Tuin Streets at 6% of the cost price, repairs, rates and alterations to be paid ~~out~~ by the Government. The Board would continue to help Lady Cole's School of Industry from its funds and would aid Sunday Schools attached to Established Protestant Churches, as the Bible and School Fund was started to promote "Religious Education". They desired to make no reduction in their Secretary's emolument of £28(64).

Thus passed out of public education in the Cape any direction and control of it by any part of Christ's Church. It was an inevitable end under the circumstances of the times in which an emergent nation was feeling its way and trying its wings. The importation into the Cape Colony of liberal and democratic political ideas through both the missionaries and the settlers ensured that European developments in political theory would be followed here; ~~per~~ *passu*, education by the state, and for the state, (but not necessarily of the state) became the order of the day. That so many gentlemen of widely differing backgrounds and so many different languages - the Lutheran minister served on the Commission for long periods - could and did find agreement on what was best in education for an embryo country, was passed over and forgotten. In the long run the Superintendent-General was the only medium of ensuring that there were opportunities of education available for every child in the country, as he was free to wander about, seeking places to which he could bring teachers. The clergy of Cape Town were not able to depart from their first calling as pastors of flocks in one small area to seek the scattered sheep persistently

and consistently. This has been illustrated in the histories of Messrs. Hough and Judge, though Mr. Jones had done some travelling. But the truth of what has been termed Western civilisation has not been revealed anywhere in the world more convincingly than in the association of the free, intelligent and devoted minds of those who served the Cape on the Bible and School Commission. Behind all they did in education was the common and often unexpressed aim for all who were in the schools, "that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fullness of God" (65). But no educational policy could be based on this aim where it concerned so many different (and indifferent) parties and persuasions that found themselves through so many causes in South Africa. Still less could a full-time employee of the Government have this aim and also prosecute the means whereby comprehension could be achieved. It needs the whole body of Christ behind it - His Church, so broken and torn that hopes for its realisation are not foreseeable even in a remote future.

vi. The Literature provided for Cape Schools and the Anglican Contribution. The first notice of Books received from the S.P.C.K. occurs in 1820, when the Bible and School Commission paid 39.30 Rix-dollars for them and for others received from Holland. (66). They were obviously for use in Schools. It is not recorded whether the case of school-books which Mr. Judge brought with him in 1825 and for which he asked remission of duty included publications of the S.P.C.K. There is sometimes a list of the books so imported, and they afford some idea of the mental "pabulum" provided for the scholars of the Cape.

The year 1826 saw the existence of a "Church of England Prayer Book and Tract Society", of whom Mrs Judge and the Revd. Fearon Fellowes, Astronomer Royal at the Cape were members. They asked for the usual remission of duty on two cases of literature sent by the S.P.C.K. (67). This occurred again in May of the following year (68). The use of these books was for the English congregation worshipping in the Dutch Reformed Church, but it is unlikely that none of them were bought by children attending the Grammar School. The visit of a Bishop of Calcutta in October, 1827, throws some light on the tracts: they were not to be given away, nor were they intended for use in Schools, for Mr. Hough wrote to ask for £4/2/6d to purchase 200 Tracts on Confirmation, to be distributed at the service.

In its discussions on the needs of Schools the B. and S.C. received an offer from Mr. Goodison (see p. 32) to order Watt's

Divine Songs (Isaac Watt, author of "When I survey the wondrous Cross", "O God, our help in ages past", Jesus shall reign where'er the sun" and other hymns) and Tait and Brady's new version of the Psalms (they wrote "As pants the heart for cooling streams" - Psalm 42 - and "Through all the changing scenes of life" - Psalm 34). The number required for the Schools was 1,200 and cost the B. & S. Co. 4d each (69).

The needs of Wynberg Free School appear next. Together with slates and stationery the Commission ask for 12 Prayer Books at 3/9d each, and 12 Broken Catechisms at 2d each. As the Prayer Book contains the Catechisms the latter seems a most curious one as well as superfluous: but "broken" means "broken into sections according to subject" (70). The needs of all the Free Schools using English in religious instruction cost the Government £25 in May of that year - 1830. The books were to be used in schools following Dr. Bell's system: National School Book No. 2, Sermon on the Mount, Parables, Discourses, Miracles, History (all of our Saviour), Catechetical Instruction and History of the Bible, were titles mentioned. Another 12 Prayer Books were needed in December (71), and the Board followed up these requests with another on behalf of the Grahamstown Free School, the requirements of which were: 3 doz. Church Catechisms, 3 doz. Broken Catechisms, 18 Old Testaments and 36 Slates. (72).

The Free School at Wynberg needed another 12 Prayer Books in 1832 (73) and a large general order appeared in September of the same year for 30 Histories of our Blessed Saviour, 60 Broken Catechisms, 20 Bibles and 20 Prayer Books (74). But the next year showed a remarkable advance in the popularity of Dr. Bell's system, and the letter of 12th March, signed by the Chairman of the Board, the Revd. J.H. van Manger, deserves fuller quotation:

"The Government English Free Schools at Cape Town, Simon's Town, Graham's Town, Wynberg and at Port Elizabeth which are carried on Dr. Bell's System, being much in want of the undermentioned books, which are not procurable in this Colony except from the District Committee of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, the Board of Bible and School Commission state that Six Thousands, one hundred and fifty copies may be procured from the said Committee for Twenty-Three Pounds Nineteen Shillings Sterling, and request that you will be pleased to move His Excellency the Governor to cause an Authority to be issued for the purchase of the same - viz:

700 National School Book No 2	@ 7/6 per Hundred
900 Our Saviour's Discourses	@ 7/6 " "
900 " " Parables	@ 7/6 " "
900 " " Miracles	@ 7/6 " "
900 " " Sermon	@ 7/6 " "
900 Asherwald's Abridgment	@ 9/- " "

50 Church Catechisms broken into Short Questions @ 15/- per 100"

(75). These were not sufficient, and Prayer Books, English Bibles, Singing Psalms, Selections of Hymns for children, were ordered (together with 6 Dutch Bibles, 6 Abridgments of Murray's English Grammar, and 6 Histories of England for Cradock, where the Revd. J. Evans' seminary would not, naturally, use Church of England literature) to fit special needs.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Wynberg Free School must have enjoyed an increased enrolment for in 1834 it asked for fifty more National School Books and a further dozen Prayer Books (77).

The New Regulations of 1834 under which fees were introduced into the schools (making the title "Free" an anomaly), had hit Grahamstown hard. Mr. Heavyside reported (16.9.1836, 78): "Since the introduction of the New Regulations the members attending here have diminished from 130 to 61. But I trust that they will increase again. Accordingly their requisition was lowered as only 1/3 of books ordered could be given free to indigent pupils (who seemed to have formed more than half the total in Grahamstown at this time). Among the items asked for by the teacher, Mr. Walker, appear National School Cards, the Sermon, Parables, Discourses and History of our Saviour, National Society Central School Books 1, 2, 3, and 4, all, of course, published by the S.P.C.K. Other requirements were Lindley Murray's 1st and 2nd Books, and Grammar, Mavor's Spelling Book, Johnson's Dictionary, Introduction to English Reader, English Reader, Exercises (in English), Grey's Arithmetic, Pinnock's History of England, as well as Bibles and Prayer Books (79). This was the equivalent of our modern primary school. (It is unfortunate but not unexpected that in the list of books stolen at Mr. Judge's Grammar School in 1825 none of a religious nature appear, so what the higher school regarded as a developed system of instruction cannot be measured at the moment).⁽⁸⁰⁾ The provisions of the South African College for undenominational religious instruction deserve the description of "curious" in the light of what the cold records of South Africa's history lay bare (p.23).

vii. Anglican Bay People in Education. They played a great part in the making of the schools, and few of them appear in the pages of history. The Church of England expected (and expects) every man and woman to do his or her duty "in that state of life to which it shall please God to call" them. Those who have been mentioned in passing, such as Mrs. Balston,⁽⁸¹⁾ Mr. Vawser, Mrs. Armstrong, Mr. Osler, Mrs. Shepherd, Miss Nankivell, Mr. Walker, are the representatives of a considerable number who, for very little remuneration, contentedly and devotedly fulfilled their vocation, their high calling in the service of Christ's little ones.

NEW LIFE

1. Introductory. With the consecration of the Revd. Robert Gray, M.A., on 29th June, 1847, as first Bishop of Cape Town, a new era began both for the Church and for the education of the young in South Africa. Many pens have described the results that followed this momentous event. The fortune that South Africa received in him is at least on a par with that brought by Dr. Andrew Murray to the Dutch Reformed Church. Their meeting is remarked on by Professor J. du Plessis in his "Life of Andrew Murray" (1). They held services, one after the other in the school-house of Bloemfontein on Sunday, 5th May, 1850.

Bishop Gray's first letter in the S.A. Archives on educational matters was written shortly after his arrival at the Cape and pleads for the needs of the schools at Southwell, Cuylerville, Mancazana and the Winterburg (2). For twenty-four years he worked in and for the Kingdom of God in the land to which he had been sent, and was buried in it at St. Saviour's Church Yard, Claremont, not far from the home, "Protea", which he had purchased for his headquarters. The sphere of work assigned to him was "Africa, south of the 25th parallel of latitude south". Thus a record of his services to education is not possible under the title adopted for this investigation, confined as it is to the Cape. His extensive Diocese was divided into three in 1853, Grahamstown and Natal each receiving a bishop. Grahamstown Diocese was further reduced in 1873, when the Bishop of Kaffraria, now known as St. John's, was consecrated. Still later, in 1911, the Diocese of George was formed, taking in parts of the sees to the east and west of that town. But the foundations of schools were laid in all of them during Bishop Gray's lifetime, and often through his own support and encouragement.

It is impossible to note the history of every Anglican educational establishment that was born after 1848. This chapter will 1) trace the early history of a few of these, mentioning the persons concerned in the foundation, and giving details of educational work; ^{and} 2) acknowledge some of the interest and sacrifices that made these schools possible.

ii. New Schools Founded a) The Bishop's Own 1. The Diocesan College.

Protea, known soon after as "Bishopscourt", has many buildings, forming three sides of a quadrangle. Here he realised his plan to form a College which would feed the Church's work with learned, prayerful men, going out to man posts already established and to adventure for God in new places. Before he was consecrated he wrote to the S.P.C. (26.4.1848): "Another important object to be kept in ~~my~~ view will be to erect a Collegiate Institution, where I may live myself and, with one or two clergy, endeavour to train young men for the ministry of the Church in the Colony". This idea was not impracticable, he discovered, for he wrote from the Cape on 10.4.1848: "I am very anxious to obtain information respecting the foundation of a

College, and should feel obliged if you wd. give me any hints; or if you can furnish me with the Regulations or Statutes of Colleges in our Colonies - or those of St. Augustine's (Canterbury; a recently revived Missionary Theological College: the Bishop's mind was on it and its purposes) - "or Marlborough School - or any other Institutions of the Church of England".

"I do not see my way at all clearly as yet on the subject of education. Nothing can be worse than the whole existing system or more ruinously expensive to the Government."

"Something however must soon be done for the education of the higher classes of English in Cape Town. If I cannot bring the S.A. College to terms which I do not expect or greatly desire, but think I ought honestly to attempt, I must endeavour to found an English College..... If I build a College or found one it must not simply be for Divinity students, but for general education and upon C. of E. principles". (3). Three months later he had not been able to take over the S.A. College because of its endowments, and expressed the opinion that it had been a failure. Next month, August, the sixth after his arrival, he reported to his Synod of Clergy that he hoped to start his College in 1849, asking them to make this known, and also the fact that he could take boarders. This beginning was achieved "at no great cost and in a quiet way", so much so that details are missing. It was under the Principal, the Revd. H.M. White, Fellow and late Tutor of University College, Oxon., who "had a brilliant career, taking a First in Greats and a Second in Mathematics but he gave up his splendid prospects and came as an unpaid worker to South Africa in 1849" (4).

Later in the year the present site in Rondebosch was purchased at a cost of £1,100, but the buildings envisaged on it would cost £10,000. "We contemplate the Education of pupils from 10 years old and upwards, so that there will be two Departments partaking the nature of College and Grammar School. Provision will be made for the training of Candidates for Holy Orders, and also for giving a liberal education for those who intend to engage in secular employment and professions". In addition to Mr. White there were a Vice-Principal (the Revd. H. Badnall), and two tutors, (Messrs. Sykes and Herbert).

The Bishop consequently appealed for funds to maintain the College which "could not have been started had not the Principal given his services gratuitously for a time". He contemplated scholarships for "Fellows, or of poor and otherwise deserving scholars..... For it is to be feared that the expenses must always be so high as to exclude men of limited incomes from availing themselves of the advantages which the Institution offers." The prime purpose of the College is clearly expressed in the last paragraph of the appeal on its behalf: "The Bishop would commend to the whole

body of the Church in England this attempt at founding an institution in connection with the daughter Church at the Cape, in the firm belief that hereafter it may become a great engine for the extension of the true faith of Christ throughout that part of the vast African Continent by the education of a body of devoted Clergy and a pious and intelligent laity" (5).

Thus began "The Bishop's College", through the devotion and gifts of many. It ~~rapidly~~ made great progress. But the days of generous endowment were over, and only Parliament had sources of revenue which could be applied to the general good. Thus the South African College succeeded to the revenue of the old Bible and School Commission (6). The University of the Cape of Good Hope came into being in 1873, and the Diocesan College, with the S.A. College, Victoria College, Stellenbosch, St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, the Huguenot College, Wellington, Gill College, Somerset East, and the School of Mines, Kimberley, prepared candidates for its examinations. In the first years of the 20th century there had been both rivalry in successes and sport and also ^{equal} ~~strong~~ competition in certain subjects between the S.A.C. and the D.C. In 1911 the Diocesan College gave up its Collegiate Department and its three professors, T.P. Kent, G.W. Vipan, and R.D. Nauta, Professors of Mathematics, Classics, and Modern Languages respectively, to the S.A. College, and ceased serious post-Matriculation work(7). Their absence of Theology should be noted in both Institutions. As a school the College flourishes, with a Preparatory Department, and even the sons of clergy have difficulty in obtaining a place in the School, if they are not prepared to wait some years. (It is a concession to the Church that they pay half the normal fees).

2. Zonnebloem College. News of the native rising in the Eastern Province reached Cape Town on New Year's Day, 1851, with the slaughter of Sir Harry Smith's column in the Boomah Pass. It is significant that on the following day Bishop Gray, in a pastoral letter, wrote: "A third object which I seek to accomplish by my return home is the raising of funds and selecting men for the establishment of an extensive Mission to the Heathen of this land". The story of how it was accomplished, as far as the educational side is concerned, occurs elsewhere. He had met Unhalla first in 1848 and on Aug. 1st, 1850, at his Kraal between East London and Kingwilliamstown, so could speak with knowledge of the "600,000 Heathen within the Diocese alone". The problem of carrying out his resolve was one that others would have to solve by their lives, but it is characteristic of the Bishop that he personally did what he could himself. To Cape Town came from their homes far away in the East ^{the sons of} ~~natives of~~ who held positions of hereditary influence in their own tribes. Archdeacon Lightfoot's diary gives us the picture of what

succeeded to "Bishop's" at Bishopscourt. He recorded on 17th April, 1858: "I saw the Revd. Mr. White, Principal of the Diocesan College, and the Revd. Mr. Hirsch, a German, who is now in charge of the Kaffir boys at the Protea Mission College at Bishopscourt". Again he wrote: "In the afternoon went with the Dean to visit coloured children at Bishopscourt ... Fine intelligent little fellows they are: they have been here only a few weeks but have made astonishing progress" (8). The Bishop's eldest daughter, Louisa, had married a missionary, the Revd. E. Glover, stationed in the Langkloof, and they returned in 1859 to take charge of this work begun at Protea. The Bishop wrote to his sister in England (14.9.1859): "The Kaffir College is going well. The boys now correspond both in Kaffir and English with their parents in Kaffraria. At present we have but three girls. Louisa seems very happy and takes her share in the work of the College".

These beginnings demanded a better situation, and in 1860 the Bishop made negotiations to buy an estate - "a very expensive place". Zonnebloem, used as a wine farm and a tavern in previous days, on Devil's Peak, ⁽⁹⁾ below the present de Waal's Drive, was finally purchased in a Deed of Transfer and Trust. Its chief interest is to lawyers, but it mentions the new use for the old estate, so is quoted extensively: "Whereas with a view to civilising and Christianising the Native inhabitants of Africa and their descendants of pure and mixed race, and of providing for the education of destitute European children, it is desirable that a portion of land situate at Zonnebloem ... should be set apart as an Endowment for the Establishing and Maintenance of an Industrial School or Schools for the education of the children of African Chiefs, and of pupils of all races of South Africa to be under the management and superintendance of the Lord Bishop of Cape Town to hold the same in trust as an endowment of such Industrial School or Schools aforesaid, so long as a Religious Education, Industrial training and instruction in the English language shall be given to the pupils maintained and instructed at such School or Schools". Sir George Grey acted as the temporary intermediary between the Bishop as a private person, and the Bishop of Cape Town (10).

The Bishop indicated its first staff in a letter (dated 4.6.1860): "My daughter teaches the drawing. We have an excellent young woman, a niece of Mrs. Ainger of Hampstead, for the girls and a friend is coming out to help her. So, with a carpenter, tailor, shoemaker, agriculturist and schoolmaster, and another young man, and Mr. and Mrs. Glover, we have a pretty strong staff. All, however, have full employment" (11).

That it fulfilled its primary function is evidenced by an appeal for funds to replace buildings burnt down. It said: "This

calamity is most unfortunate as an urgent demand had been just made by the Colonial Government on the authorities of the College to provide for the education and industrial training of a large number of the sons of Basuto Chiefs, nineteen of whom are now resident in the Institution" (12). It continued the industrial work for many years, in which printing also fell. When St. Paul's Church, Bree Street, Cape Town, was consecrated on 30.3.1880, the pulpit and altar panels, designed by the Governor's daughter, Miss Catherine Frere, were executed by Zonnebloem College (13).

With Government assistance the preparation for Provincial Examinations has precluded all natives from attendance, as a third language, of a high standard, was necessary for them. It is attended now entirely by coloured pupils and students, though there are many Europeans still in Cape Town who received some or all of their schooling at it. It comprises Boys' and Girls' Primary Schools, a mixed Secondary and Training School, all under the management of the Warden. Bishop Gray's ideals have been recently re-captured, in that there is now a Theological College again, after many years' lapse. The industrial work has long been given up except for the Departmental requirements in Woodwork and Needlework. The Cape Provincial Administration pays all teachers, and provides all the equipment in the Schools, as it does for all the Schools of all Churches which have been left to local management.

3. St. Cyprian's School for Girls. During the month of April, 1850, the Bishop wrote from Colesburg, where Dr. Orpen, both a general practitioner and an ordained minister of the Church, had much to do with the school there, to his brother-in-law, Dr. Williams in England: "Everywhere people are looking to us for education.... Female education is a subject upon which my thoughts run now and then. If some good woman Churchwomen would set up a School at Grahamstown they would succeed". But it was not until the year before his death that these early thoughts found concrete expression in Cape Town.

In 1855 the work of dealing with delinquent girls came before the Diocesan Synod. Bishop Gray brought out eight ladies in 1868 who immediately undertook this restorative work. So successful was it that the Synod in 1870 gave it a warm commendation; further, it "desired very earnestly to recommend the establishment of a similar agency to promote the cause of education amongst the upper classes of society". Miss Rebecca Arthur, at the head of the Association of Mission Sisters, took the resolution under her wing, and with the Bishop's help and encouragement, St Cyprian's School for Girls was opened by the sisters in a room in Burg Street the following year. It took in boarders from its foundation. The early days are not recorded in the Church News, but in 1876, in her report for St. George's Home, Miss Arthur stated that the School had been a success.

In that year the Sisterhood of All Saints', arrived and eventually took over all the Mission Sisters' work, St. Cyprian's School included. (14).

Three sites have been occupied since, one, now an extension of the Caranus Nursing College, ^{at which it left} ~~leaving~~ behind a de-consecrated chapel. In 1925 the Sisterhood handed over the School to a St. Cyprian's Company, and retired from the School, which has gone on from strength to strength and will shortly be able to accommodate 400 pupils. Like Bishop's (School), it has received no Government assistance whatever, but offers a very full curriculum, with extra subjects. Religious Knowledge and services in chapel integrate the life of the School. A pageant and play, written by members of the staff, was performed by the pupils to commemorate the 1700th anniversary of St. Cyprian's martyrdom, in 258.

b) Others. 1. St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown. It is not often that research in a field already well delved brings to light origins which have been obscured by later growths and fruits. Mr. Heavyside's difficulties in keeping a Grammar School alive have already been described (p. 28). Lewis and Edwards state that "in 1849" the parish school of St. George was started becoming later the grammar school "in a Gothic building, still a feature of Muntly Street" (15). This is a gap of only one year after Bishop Gray mentioned Mr. Heavyside's school (see p. 28), so that a completely new foundation, presumably in opposition to Mr. Heavyside, who had all the Anglican weight and authority in Grahamstown at that time, seems very improbable. On page 58, Lewis and Edwards describe the new "grammar school just finished at a cost of £900" being inspected by Bishop Gray after arrival in Grahamstown on 5.8.1850. It was obviously the same building of which Mr. Heavyside had somehow managed the erection, and into which he transferred a school already in being.

Bishop Armstrong, the first Bishop of Grahamstown, was welcomed by Mr. Heavyside on his arrival in Grahamstown some (unascertained) day before 29th October, 1854, (his first Sunday). Later in his Journal, however, the Bishop mentions the "Revd. F. Bankes, the Head Master of our Grammar School, who was taking a holiday tour, reached the (present St. Luke's, Newlands) Mission soon after us" (16). The "S.P.G. 1701 - 1900" mentions Mr. Bankes as working in Grahamstown for the two years 1853-54 (17). Thus he had arrived before the Bishop in Grahamstown and was in charge of a Grammar School in 1853, to whom, most probably, "Mr. Heavyside had transferred his School". No indication of what occurred in the interval has come to light.

* The foundation of the present College was laid on St. Andrew's Day, 1855, as recorded in Bishop Armstrong's "Life" (18). "Our

infant College", he called it. The sketch opposite the page shows the northern wing and half of the main part of the present Armstrong House in Somerset Street. On January 15, 1856, four months before his death, he wrote to a friend: "The college is ^{rising} rapidly near our house. It looks well so far, and as I am surveyor of the works and architect, it affords me constant interest" (19).

The death of the Bishop, after so short an episcopate must have held up the College's immediate development. But it continued, possibly under Mr. Bankes, and reached the stage when the examination questions set at the end of 1857 were published in the S.A. Church Magazine. The first paper was Divinity, and a few of the ~~xxxx~~ questions are reproduced. "State the characteristics of the first three Gospels, and wherein do they differ from that of St. John?" would present difficulties to a theological student to-day, while "Show that the Holy Scriptures contain all that ~~is~~ ^{we} required for salvation", and "Can you draw any comparison between the nature of miracles and prophecies? Or show their respective use as evidence of truth?" seem to be specialities of the teacher. In Latin, translations from the Aeneid, Book I, and Caesar, Book I, indicate the standard attained. In History three sets of questions for A, B and C classes indicate that the full course to have been Roman and Greek History, early English History, and later English History to Henry VII. The well-educated Anglican boy knew, of course, who Nicholas Breakspear was. Geography was very wide, Europe, South Africa and India being stressed, but places ~~xxxx~~ from Liege to Rio de Janeiro were expected to be placed correctly on a blank map. English Grammar was about the standard of the present-day Junior Certificate (D) As we have seen (p. 39) the College was able to enter students for the examinations of the Cape of Good Hope University. This Department, however, was extinguished in 1904, when its professors and students "migrated" to the Drosty, to be the beginnings of Rhodes University College. But, like all self-supporting and self-governing Church Schools, it continued to provide courses for a post-Matriculation year for students who intend going to a university overseas. This causes, naturally, much confusion in sport when teams from institutions which lose their students after Standard 10 are opposed!

While the College was taking the place of Mr. Heavyside's Grammar School, the work of providing pupils for it had to be carried on, and it is possible that the beginnings of St. Andrew's Preparatory School were laid at this time. Mr. Heavyside's difficulties in finding suitable masters continued until the S.P.G. sent him Mr. Samuel Brook. He reported on his first term (1.9.57) as follows:
June 8 School opened: no pupils. Monday: 1 boy. August 11th 11 scholars, September 1st 22. "The Cathedral School may sound grandly but as in a mirage of life a nearer view dispels the illusion."

However, in three months he had proved his worth, for the School-room was packed with 35 pupils. He was expected to take the Sunday School also, and did so with enthusiasm, for he found sixteen young teachers and over 100 children. He helped the teachers prepare lessons. He reported that six or seven coloured children were among the pupils.

In 1858 the Day School grew to 48 pupils and plans were made to enlarge the School. To keep it self-supporting the school fees were raised without any objection on the part of the parents. Two donations in the Offertory of £100 each, for special purposes, were also recorded by Mr. Brook during March of that year. In June, 1858, after reporting the admission of two more pupils, he wrote: "The progress made by the children in their lessons is most satisfactory to the parents and I have constant applications made to me for admission which from the limited size of the room I am compelled to refuse. It is pleasant to record an experience of Grahamstown quite the opposite of Mr. Geary's (21).

2. St. George's Grammar School, Cape Town. In previous investigations into the history of this School, many references to the St. George's Schools were found. From these it was decided that the School began in 1848, as stated in the prospectus. Whatever they were, it is submitted, they referred to the School of which Mr. Rose-Innes wrote in 1845: "No aid can be afforded the St. George's Church School out of the sum voted for the services of the present year, as the whole has already been appropriated - but I have always anticipated the establishment of such a school in connection with that Church or Mr. Blair's Chapel. And in 1843, when I divided the Town into School Districts, one was assigned to Lady Frances' School of Industry and the Free School about to be opened in connection with St. George's Church" (22). He recommended that it be put on the Estimates for the following year. Comparison may be made between Mr. Hough's statement (cf. p 27): This School was opened in September, 1844, and is conducted in a room in New Street near St. George's Church, hired by the Committee for a Term of Five Years at an annual rent of £50" (23) and Bishop Gray's, dated March 28th, 1848 (the year the School claims for its foundation: "There is a boys' schoolroom belonging to the Church of England in Cape Town, and we are paying £50 a year for the use of that which we now possess. There is a piece of ground lying between St. George's Church, the Government Walk and the Guardroom - and just opposite to the present girls' schoolroom, which is at present not applied to any purpose, and which would form an excellent site for a boys' schoolroom and an Infant and Teacher's residence. May I venture to hope that your Excellency will make me a grant of the land?" (24). The sum of £50

Mentioned by both makes it highly probable that the same (elementary or primary) school was the subject of both letters. This is quite different from the conception of a Grammar School.

The first clear reference to a school that would take more senior pupils occurs on p. 336 in the September, 1857, issue of the S.A. Church Magazine under "Grammar School, Cape Town". It says: a grammar school in connection with St. George's Church, will probably be opened in the month of October next. A Master has been ^{engaged} ~~engaged~~ in England, and is expected in the course of this month". This expectation was optimistic, as the next reference from the same source shows. The cover of the magazine, in different colours each month, was used for advertisements, among them Mr. W.L. Sammons' Book Depository at 11a Plain Street, and the National Society's Depot with Mr. Close (25) listing their wares. The Diocesan College first made use of this cover in August, 1857, and in April, 1858 appeared as well: "St. George's Grammar School, Cape Town. Visitor, the Lord Bishop of the Diocese. Headmaster, the Revd. G. Ogilvie, B.A., Wadham College Oxford", with the information that "This School which will be opened on Monday, 11th April, is established for the purpose of supplying a Classical and sound English Education, similar in character to that given in the best Grammar Schools in England, together with careful Religious and Moral training. Especial reference will be had to the proposed Public Examinations. The subjects taught will include the following: Classics - Latin; Greek. History - Biblical, Ancient, Modern. Geography - Political and Physical. Arithmetic - Elementary Mathematics; Euclid; Algebra. Vocal Music - (if desired).. for French and Drawing an extra charge will be made". (The Diocesan Collegiate School was able to offer German, but no Vocal Music, in the same month as part of its normal curriculum).

These statements are corroborated abundantly by the then Revd. (later Archdeacon) F. Lightfoot in his diary, who says, inter alia of relevance, "Had Night-school, at which ~~there~~ were four coloured men - which I took. There were a number of boys taken by Mr. Close (master of the boys' school attached to the Cathedral). It must not be confused with the Grammar School in the same building, and of which Mr. Ogilvie was the Master. Mr. Close's school was for sons of poor people, a kind of National school, " under the date of 21.4.1858. The need for a separate building was met at once, for Lewis and Edwards say (p. 137) of the second Cape Town Cathedral: "The lofty apse stands on the site of the old grammar school, built in 1858", and Bishop Gray speaks of it as follows: "then we had ^rten meeting in the new Grammar School, not yet quite roofed in" in a letter of May, 1860.

Its fees were the same as the Diocesan Collegiate School, which by this time had been able to open a Lower School and admit "Day

Scholars". St. George's School had no boarders, while both schools advertised their two scholarships, but St. George's were for Cathedral choristers. The advertisements were together for one month, and then only St. George's Grammar School appeared for a further few months, and then ^{rather} also ceased. This would seem to indicate that both schools were full.

The first building lasted until 1900, when steps were taken to erect the present one, which has received considerable enlargements. The Grammar School continued, and is now aided by a strong ex-scholars' organisation, as all extant Church Schools are. It has also a Junior School, situated in Mowbray, where the boarders are also housed. This, in time, replaced the first St. George's School for providing elementary education, before the Church handed over, or lost to the Cape Education Department ^{most of} its Primary Schools for European children. The whole School makes no mean contribution to education in ~~South~~ Cape Town.

3. Educational Work of the Community of the Resurrection, Grahamstown. Under Bishop Webb, Miss Isherwood, of St. Peter's Church, Eaton Square, London, came to Grahamstown to take charge of a Community for women. Her early attempts at teaching have been described by herself with humour. But with the strengthening of the Community by women devoted to the service of God, the educational work among girls grew up, and to-day the Training College for women (primary) teachers crowns a multitude of works. This part of the Community's off-shoots was recognised and further aided by the Cape Education Department in 1894, and its students play a large part in providing primary school women teachers for the whole of South Africa and Rhodesia, the supply of which ^{on} never satisfies the demand, especially of those capable of teaching English-speaking pupils.

4. Herschel School for Girls. With a gift of £5,000 from the late J.W. Jagger, and £1,000 from other interested founders, this School was established in Claremont, Cape, in 1925. It continues to provide an education in which the Church's teaching is given without let. To obtain this freedom the Church must have financial resources which render it independent of Government assistance and must charge fees which will cover the expenses of the School which has been established.

5. Anglican Schools which have failed. It is impossible to discover all that have been started and have not survived to the present day. There must be many schools existing to-day which owed their origin to the Church but which have been transformed by later developments, especially in the lists of Primary Schools, of which we have seen some examples already. Among the High Schools there are four which appeared and which have flourished and which have disappeared. The first of these is St. Mark's College, George. It received £150 from the S.P.C.K. in 1898 and was successful until the growth of

competition, both from the continually rising standard of the Cape Government Schools and from the attraction of other Church Schools in days when travelling, by train or road, makes it possible for parents to send their children long distances. It continued a precarious existence until 1946. Some years after the Bishop of George appealed for £10,000 to endow it, but the response was not sufficient to float it again.

Its sister school, St. Winifred's School for Girls, served the middle Cape for a number of years, and attained a great reputation. In the end the financial strain became too great, and it also was compelled to close, depriving one of the youngest Dioceses ~~with~~ of an institution that made a niche for itself in the town and Diocese of George.

St. John's Diocese, where the Church has a record of devoted service to the Bantu, also felt the need for providing a Church education for girls, who were not, in those early days at all events, able to travel far from their homes. St. Margaret's School for Girls emerged in Umata about the year 1900 and was taken over by the Sisters of the Church, Kilburn, who had been brought to South Africa by Bishop Kepp, in 1905. It gradually shared the same history as the Schools in George, but continued as a Hostel for girls who attended the Government School in Umata. Even this useful function has gone. The Sisters also took over a School at Cala, and its origin appears in the Church Chronicle for 15.1.1904: "It is good that the Girls' School at Cala, where Deaconess Marion Neale worked so long and so faithfully, is to be taken over by the Sisters of the Church". Advertisements for this School appear in the Chronicle from 1.4.1904 to 11.1.1905, so that it continued to hold the torch of education under the wing of the Church in that remote part of the Cape Province, for a considerable number of years, before it also succumbed to the means of education provided by the State (26).

c) Schools for Natives. So far the study has embraced the history of establishments which have emerged as places for the education of European and coloured children. The setting in which the belated Anglican contribution to Bantu education flowered was both dreadful and dramatic. Bishop Gray has been seen at Umhalla's Kraal (p. 39) and Bishop Armstrong near the same place (p. 42). The beginnings had already been made before Bishop Armstrong's visit, for St. Luke's, Newlands was staffed first by Mr. Clayton and then the Revd. J. Hardie, and so at length was fulfilled Bishop Gray's promise made in 1848 to Umhalla that he would send him "teachers".

There is record of "a little chapel", begun on St. Luke's Day, 1854, but not of a school then. However by 1856 there were six girls boarding under Mrs. Sedgely. The mission may have been the first Anglican one planted among the amaXhosa; but the school was not the first.

With Nathanael James Merriman, Henry Master White, priests,

Dr. Wright, Messrs. Thomas Henchman, James Baker and George Thompson, there arrived at the Cape in 1849 Henry Tempest Waters, aged 30. He was sent by Bishop Gray to fill the post of catechist and schoolmaster at Southwell, near Grahamstown. (The settlers there for long enjoyed the services of a priest-schoolmaster, the last being the Revd. A.C. Bickerdike, who left in 1924. They had in 1848 made a strong request to Bishop Gray after the war in 1846 for such a man, the first being Mr. W.A. Steabler, who moved on to Natal, and then to Bloemfontein. The schoolroom had been ransacked by the natives and in turn the troops had occupied it, lighting their fires on the floor) (27).

Here Mr. Waters had a few pupils. Bishop Gray wrote in 1850: "He has also attempted a small mission and mission ~~khakka~~ school for the surrounding Kaffirs". For five years in deacon's orders he, and Mrs Waters, worked from the little farming village. Then he was ordained to the priesthood with Mr. Steabler, and immediately he and Mrs. Waters set off to Krell's country with a teacher, Miss Gray, in the party. They arrived in September and Mr. Waters wrote his first report on 12th October, 1855, to Bishop Armstrong. He asked for £100 to start four or five out-station schools. He had one already, twenty miles from where they had settled down.

By the next year he had survived the suspicion that he was an agent of the Government, and Mr. Mullins had come to help in the work. The latter was working hard at learning siXhosa. "He has charge of one of our out-stations and does well. That he has some influence was shown by a long string of Kafir children coming to Church on Sunday morning from his school, a distance of 4 miles" (31.3.1856). "Stone walls of school at St. Mark's are being built. Mr. Mullins works hard and requires a curb" (April). In May Mr. Waters reported that 216 were on the school books, and that the average attendance was 131. The work went on though the Bishop had died, and Mr. Mullins, at the age of 18 (28; this accounts for his ordination only in 1863) was placed in charge of St. John the Baptist Mission at Bolotwa.

Then catastrophe came, and the £4,000 the Government had spent on mission buildings and the Church's grants to found these missions appeared to have been wasted assistance. The explanation of this is found in Lewis and Edwards, p. 252. Sir George Grey came to the Cape in 1854 from New Zealand, as Governor. The Colony had been ravaged several times by war on the Eastern frontier. Soldiers were stationed there permanently (see p. 15) (29) as a means of defence, but force, Sir George saw, was not enough, and he planned to set up schools among the different tribes. His intention, hampered by lack of local funds, was learnt of by Bishop Gray, who wrote to Bishop Armstrong, who in turn consulted his clergy. They offered a scheme for five mission stations which they felt they had the

power to man, if the Government offer held. It is not often that a plan, so generous in response to the needs of the time, has been both devised and carried out by the voluntary efforts of the clergy.

The horrors of the cattle-killing have been told by many writers. To St. Mark's, in the middle of the area concerned, it brought additional work and native men, were engaged at 1/- a day, paid by the Government, to keep them alive. In spite of it all the schools went on and were well-attended. Disaster was an opportunity for the mission and Mr. Waters went to the kraals of chiefs and chieftainesses with the word of God, and with the hope of better things for their children. Bishop Cotterill sent men: the Revd. R.G. Hutt and Mr. Turpin in July, 1857, to help Mr. Waters, and Mr. H.R. Woodroffe, catechist, son of a clergyman, in September. With all this help yet the labourers were few for the harvest lying white before them.

Mr. Hutt had nine boarders at St. John's, Bolotwa. Mr. Waters in September noted that Mr. John Gordon had arrived, and remarked that Miss Gray's and his father had both been killed in the wars on the Eastern frontiers. "A great portion of our time is spent in learning the language..." he remarked; "Every soul capable of receiving instruction on the station is under it - the younger portion in the day schools - the adults in the evening classes. Several boys have made progress and read Kafir. All can repeat several psalms and hymns - and begin to sing tolerably" (30). His teaching was diminished by visiting, supervising, and finding work for, the men, and preparing sermons in sixhosa. The day's programme is interesting: "Present times for teaching are:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. 6 o'clock Kafir service. | 5. 2½ o'clock Adult sewing class. |
| 2. 6½ o'clock " " (children) | 6. 5 " Children's Kafir |
| 3. 9 - 11 Girls' School, Reading, etc. Boys - gardening etc. | service. |
| 4. 12 - 2 Boys' school, Girls do | 7. 5½ Catechumen class. |
| 5 sewing. | 8. 8 Adult evening service. |
| | 9. 8½-9½ Adult school (men and women alternately)." |

Though he was not present at all these times, he had to see them kept.

In addition he went to visit Mr. Hutt and Mr. Turpin at Bolotwa. On 11th November he also began a class for the Hottentots. Another teacher, Mr. Aldred, arrived (31).

Mr. Gordon, who had been educated at the S.A. College, added more particulars in his report. There were 50 boy boarders, and an average attendance of 80 - 90. The girls, taught by Miss Gray and Mr. Aldred, numbered 90 - 100. The two hours' school for the boys were divided as follows: one hour for learning psalms, Scripture and hymns from memory, half an hour in the alphabet, reading and spelling among the five classes, and half an hour in figures. "I may ^{also} add that I have a separate class of the 4 best

boys for half an hour every morning engaged in reading the New Testament in which they take a great interest". Slates and copy books were used in writing. Then there was a class of ten boys who learnt English under a Hottentot teacher. "And I have a class of 9 Boys who are just beginning to understand the principles of simple Addition". Mr. Waters taught both boys and girls singing (Hullah's system) twice a week. Mr. Gordon also asked for pictures and the "Illustrated London News".

Progress was reported in 1858 in all directions except in Writing, as there were no tables. Numbers had increased to 117 boys, mainly from day pupils coming from the 70 families living round the Mission; they were never forced to attend school, but once they were in so keen did they become that they used to arrive half an hour before the school opened. Mr. Gordon wanted them to have rewards of clothing, which they all desired. He remarked: "For without introducing clothing I doubt whether civilisation can progress"; this has become true in South Africa. He was also using ~~some~~ senior boys to teach the younger. "During the last two months we have had an European carpenter, engaged in teaching some 10 or 12 of the elder boarders. They can all of them use the saw and the plane with great ability. We have also procured Bats, Balls, etc and amused their leisure hours teaching them to play cricket. They seem very fond of the game and some of them already play very well". An exclamation mark seems to be the only comment necessary.

By 1860 Mr. Waters' time table showed provision for in the School for Apprentices for:- Geography, Arithmetic, Mapping, Music, Writing, Singing, Reading, Catechism. By 1861 with the help of the S.P.C.K. Mr. Waters had established a Library for the Mission. The reports which were sent to the Secretary of the S.P.C. at least once a year are mines of information about the beginnings of new work among the Bantu, and occupy 31 pages of extractions, on closely written foolscap, dealing with matters relevant to education, and it is impossible to do full justice to them. They illuminate the period as nothing else can, but obviously cannot be reproduced. The only other extract of interest is ^{that} as well as cricket the boys at St. Mark's were taught marbles by Mr. Waters himself!

So the work of founding stations, supplying teachers, visiting those far away, went on. Mr. Waters complained once of being really fatigued! His programme for that day had been: Early school at St. Barnabas (49 present), morning prayers (31 present), School at St. Michael's (97 present), at St. Stephen's (19 present), at St. Barnabas (7 present), evening prayers (45 present), first night school (23 present), second night school (6 present) (15.2.1859).

There were gaps and upsets: absenteeism for work on the lands, quarrels among ^{or} boarders, drought, deaths among scholars, buildings

to be erected, buildings destroyed by fire, weariness and sickness, workers moved to start new endeavours elsewhere, the contrast of cultures, the criticism of others, the difficulties of language. Yet, amid the 1,000 lives saved (according to a contemporary witness) by Mr. & Mrs. Waters, there grew up a chain of stations and schools where hope for this life and of one beyond the grave was kindled, fanned and left burning bright.

Mr. Waters was, however, at the head of one mission. There were many working at the same time, engaged in the same work. From those who reported to the S.P.C. in 1860, there were: the Revd. C. Lange, a German Anglican (if such a term is permissible) at St. Luke's, Newlands, with four day schools, the Revd. W.H. Turpin at Grahamstown with 60 children in one school, the Revd. W. Greenstock, at St. Matthews with 18 boarders and three schools; the Revd. P. Syree had a Kafir school at Port Alfred; and of the workers who began with Mr. Waters, Mr. Woodroffe had 42 children in school at St. Barnabas, Mr. Aldred had three schools at Kabusi, Mr. Nutt 134 pupils at Belotw, Mr. Mullins 27 boarders out of 97 pupils, and Mr. Gordon at All Saints, Bashee River, one school of 25 boys. In that year the Bishop placed Mr. Woodroffe at the head of the Kafir Institute, which was next to, though not part of, St. Andrew's College in Grahamstown. In his report, dated 29.7.1861, he said that all these senior boys made their own clothes and shoes, and did carpentry. Their behaviour was better than he had expected. Their English was improving, as was the Arithmetic. They learnt sixhose and drawing also. He was greatly assisted by Mr. Liefeldt, who was helping him translate the Prayer Book into the native language. Three months later he had eleven more scholars sent to him.

The Institute was taken over by Mr. Mullins (now ordained) in 1864, and after him by Canon Esplin in 1875, by which time it had grown into a theological tutership, through the aid of the S.P.C.K. Here both European and natives were trained for the ministry. (While he and Mrs. Esplin were on sick leave in Grahamstown they managed to start the Diocesan School for Girls in 1874! This School grew into a flourishing institution and enjoys steady support, to provide for the Eastern Province what St. Cyprian's gives in Cape Town). The Institute was transferred to Keiskama Hoek in 1903, whence three of its original pupils had been drawn.

As Keiskama Hoek in Church circles is synonymous with St. Matthew's College, a brief history of this place would fittingly end this section. It was started in 1855 by Mr. Dacre on 693 acres of ground, four miles from Keiskama Hoek. Mr. Dacre was the military chaplain at the Hoek, and in his spare time raised buildings, brought water by means of a mile-long furrow to the site, in the district where Fingoes had been settled by the Government. Bishop Armstrong visited the place in 1856 and found 91



scholars on the books with a staff which included a native school-master and interpreter. By this time the Revd. H.B. Smith was in charge, being succeeded in 1857 by the Revd. W.H.L. Johnson. The after-effects of the cattle-killing caused much movement of clergy; Mr. Johnson was followed by the Revd. J.R. Rowe, and then in 1859 by the Revd. W. Greenstock.

"I was about ... 12 or 13 ... when the wish (to be a missionary) first entered my heart", he wrote on 21.6.1858, from East London. He had been in charge of St. Luke's, Newlands, from 1856, and had followed his flock to the port where many of them worked on the harbour. He came to St. Matthew's fluent in siXhosa and with the conviction that his escape from damage and death through drinking water poisoned by the paint on the canvas which had stored it meant further usefulness in his Master's service. "The Boarding School", he wrote on 31.3.1859, "at this Mission is in a flourishing condition. It consists of 22 scholars. Before I came there were 13. At present there are with us Fingoe boys 13, Fingoe girls 1, Kafir boys 4, Kafir girls 4. Four of these are supported by myself. The following is the time-table: a.m. 7.30 Morning Chapel, 8 Breakfast, 9 School, 11.30 Industrial Work; p.m. 1.30 Dinner, 2.45 School, 4 Recreation, 5 Supper, 6.30 Evening Service, 7 - 7.30 Reading and Singing Lesson. Five are engaged in shoemaking, five in tailoring, and the rest of the boys work in the garden. The girls are taught sewing and household work, and two of them under Mrs. Sedgeley's (the Matron's) admirable training, have become very proficient..... There are two native teachers Paul teaches a school at Tontela's (seven miles distant) which is very flourishing".

In 1861 he married Bishop Cotterill's daughter, and also succeeded in printing a number of siXhosa works, while one of his pupils was going to ^{translate} ~~the~~ one of Bishop Colenso's scientific works from Zulu into siXhosa. In 1862 his catechist, Mr. Green, left, and was replaced by Mr. Taberer, who wrote at the end of that year: "Our school on the station is a mixed school of about 30 scholars. I have the entire charge of that ^{is;} and the children are divided into three classes; all of them read and write English at least once, every day; some of the scholars in the first class read very nicely, especially one of the girls, who is advanced beyond the others; also the first class write essays every day, on slates, in their own language, upon any subject they like; which after inspection they write in their composition books; they then translate it into English, which, after being corrected, is also written in their books. This improves the children in their knowledge of English and also assists me in the study of Kaffir. Besides these lessons they have Arithmetic and writing in copy-books daily. I have also stated times of the day for Scripture, History, Geography, etc. After morning school, which closes at half past eleven, the scholars are all employed in ~~school~~

industrial work for two hours. We commence school in the afternoon at a quarter to three, and the last quarter of an hour ... is always spent in singing. I teach them the Tonic Sol Fa method; they take to it quickly and have made considerable progress. We gave a Concert to our English neighbours at the Hoek, on the 17th of this month (Decr) which I think may safely say astonished as well as delighted them; I think it is the first time a Tonic Sol Fa concert has been given in the country and the first time a Concert has been given all by Kaffirs. The choir consists of 6 treble, 3 Alto, 4 Tenor and 3 Bass. The way in which they performed the National Anthem surprised even myself*.

So the work of education went on under Mr. Greenstock, who gave ten years to St. Matthew's, new schools being opened in the villages around as teachers became available. Mr. Taberer, now the Revd. Charles, in priest's orders, became the superintendent in 1870 and under him the work was consolidated. Besides the schools, a church, boys' dormitories, an industrial school which embraced carpentry, a tinsmithy, building, ^{and printing,} a large girls' house, staff quarters, a farm irrigated from the furrow came in due course. The Training of Teachers was the summit of the work. By 1900 there were 28 boys and 38 girls in the Training School. The Sisters of the Community of the Resurrection took charge of both the Training School and the large Elementary School in 1895, and were also responsible for the girls' boarding house. They relinquished this work in 1913.

In 1954 the Government took over all schools for natives, and St. Matthew's was made ^{an institution} where only girls were to attend the High and Training Schools. It was strange that the Government was unable to take over the Girls' Hostel as well. (32)

d) Schools for Freed Slaves. Only a few slaves and a few Free "Hottentots" had the advantage of any schooling at the Cape in 1848. The Government maintained a school for the children of Government slaves in the Slave Lodge (see p. 32), and Mr. Fry's Schools and that of the Colonial Church Society have been noticed (pp. 26 and 30). It is a necessary part of the Christian faith that legal ownership of other human beings was degrading to both owner and owned, and all honour is due to William Wilberforce for making this a part of the British way of life. But the effects of turning out large numbers to fend for themselves, with^{out} lead, without guide, without spiritual and mental training, received little provision from the British Government. Their education, for instance, had not been any part of the reasons for appointing a Superintendent-General of Education. The actual manner of emancipation was as defective in this respect as it was in others. Without money, without work and without homes the freed slaves must have found freedom a little strange. Support for those who were trying to help was the only means available, and the Government backed Mr. Rose-Innes' scheme to assist mission schools in 1841. He had visited Lovedale soon

after his appointment and learnt of missionary difficulties.

The Anglican Church, before Bishop Gray's arrival, had not debarred coloured children from the elementary schools founded for European children. But the Anglican share in all the work which scarcely touched the fringe of what in effect was a new race was negligible.

But it braced itself for the task that lay before it. In 1849 the Dean of Cape Town, the Very Revd. W.A. Newman, opened a mission in Papendorp, which made the usual demands for education on behalf of both adults and the children. The missionary was the Revd. J. Quinn who reported in 1854 that out of a population of 926 in the village 12 English, 5 Scotch, 7 Irish, 10 Dutch, 33 Africanders and 87 Negroes were attending a Day School and a Night School. The Negroes could not be other than freed slaves. In 1855 he expanded his report with further details: "The schools, considering the class of children and adults under instruction are in a fair state of discipline and the proficiency of some of the scholars highly creditable..... The scholars are instructed in the principles of our Church, together with reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and geography ... The Schoolmaster's wife has established classes for teaching mothers and children sewing and knitting ... she is not engaged as a ^{School} mistress but gives her services gratuitously. If funds could be raised for the apprenticing of pupil teachers and changing this into an Industrial School an immense amount of good might be accomplished ... The people here are so extremely poor that they are utterly unable to do anything themselves. For the first two years of the existence of this Mission the School was exclusively supported from the offertory of St. George's Church, but since the expiration of that time the local Government has made an annual grant towards the schoolmaster's salary; the other incidental expenses are paid out of the offerings of the people in the place and St. George's". The schoolmaster also visited the people and prayed with them.

This was the first wave of a mighty stream that poured in at Cape Town. At the same time as Mr. Quinn made his report to the S.P.G. there were also a day school at Lower Paarl, two night and three day schools at Claremont, two evening schools at Swellendam (where the Revd. J. Baker had also attempted a Grammar School), one night school for adults at Beaufort West (33), one at Oliphantskraal in the Malmesbury district, and three in Caledon and district. The pupils were in the main coloured. Their medium of instruction was generally English. In one of the hiati above Mr. Quinn said: "When they were first established scarcely a word of English was spoken by the natives, but now the whole business of the School is carried out in English, and many read and speak it fluently". In 1858 more were noted. Thus the Revd. J. Inglis at Paarl reported

one at Upper Paarl and one at Wellington Mr. Baker then definitely had one mission school as well as the Grammar School; one school under Mr. Niepoth at George with 35 pupils, two more (Bredasdorp and Grabouw) in the Caledon district, one at Kalk Bay, one at Eerste River (falling under Stellenbosch), one "coloured" at Mossel Bay as well as one white, one day and one night school at D'Urban(ville) were all reported.

In 1862 new schools were at St. John's, Cape Town (two), one at Stellenbosch, two in Heidelberg and district, one at Bellville, one at Kulls River, three at Oudtshoorn (termed day, mission and evening under an ex-Zonnebloem student), one more in the George district, one at Villiersdorp, and two at Ceres. (It is interesting to note that at St. Mark's under Mr. Waters another school for Hottentots was ~~noted~~^{listed}). At Worcester the Revd. J. Maynard reported that the Rhenish Missionary Society were providing schooling for the coloured population so there was no need for him to begin one. This respect for an older missionary body is noteworthy.

What may be involved in the vocation to take the love of God in Christ to others who know nothing of it ~~may~~^{has} been abundantly illustrated. And this section ends with a shortened account of one who came to the Cape with an Oxford M.A. at the age of 27, and in priest's orders. He was William Eveleigh Belson. His first station as an honorary missionary of the S.P.G. was Riversdale. His successor, the Revd. W.F. Taylor, wrote: "He had already begun work not only among the few scattered English but also among the long neglected coloured folk, the first attempt to bring them into the fold of Christ. At Heidelberg and at Ladismith also work had been begun by him.... A mission school had already been established in Riversdale by Mr. Belson, which included white and coloured; and, under a good teacher, was doing good work". Mr. Belson was there from 1854 to 1857.

His next post was Malmesbury. What boundaries, if any, he was given as the sphere of his labours we are not told. If any, he must have stretched them! Under his care ~~came~~^{came} people living in Abbotsdale, Drooge Vley, Bridgetown, Hopefield, Steenberg's Cove, Stompneus Cove, Hoetjies Byg, Langebaan (called Lange Boom in 1867), Massenbergh, Bottelary, Geelbek, Boer Plein and Darling. Most of the people lived in hamlets and eked out an existence from fishing in St. Helena and Saldanha Bays. In his 1857 Report to the S.P.G. Mr. Belson gave these as the average attendance in schools: Malmesbury 40, Oliphant's Fontein 60, Geelbek 20, Bottelary 16, Steenberg's Cove 21, and Berg River 23. ~~THEY~~ He gave the following information in 1867: "During the past ten years fourteen district stations belonging to our Church have been established, and at each a catechist or schoolmaster has been placed, with two exceptions; and at most of them Churches or Chapel-schools have

been ~~antakkkkkkk~~ erected[†] I shall ever feel grateful for the kindness and hospitality from the Dutch as well as English". He left on sick leave for England in that year, and the Europeans' parting address mentioned five school-chapels and 1,500 members of the Church(34).

Mr. Taylor, his successor at Riversdale, gave two requisites for a missionary's work at the Cape - ability to master the Dutch language, and to ride a horse. The following extracts show that Mr. Belson had them both. In his Journal, dated 24.10.1857, he said: "At midday stopped at my station on the Berg River for a short time and heard the children sing. I was quite surprised and delighted to hear the correctness with which they sang in Dutch several short anthems 'Glory to God in the highest' and 'Lift up your heads'". Three years later he wrote: "The evening school in the village is another pleasing feature of the congregation there. It is held twice a week; there are upwards of 40 names on the books . . . Some are learning English, others Dutch . . I am residing $\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the village. It is not very convenient for me to attend, but I do so regularly as no one else is able to give instruction in Dutch, and when the School is over and I start for home after 9 o'clock P.M. my heart is always cheered with the prospect of success attending that particular work".

Space and time do not allow the history of other clergymen and their work ~~in~~ in the education of white, coloured and native children to be followed up. Mr. Belson, whose work ended in 1870, must be their representative of the following: The Revd. G.W. Anderson, C.F. Atkinson, W. Bebb, T. Blair, W. Bramley, J.F. Curlewis, T. Browning, J.C. Samuels, T. Sheard and his son R. Sheard, one of the first M.A.'s of the University of the Cape of Good Hope, E.W. Barker, M. Every, R.I. Green, A. Maggs, A.J. Newton, M. Norton, G. Gething (in 1867 part-time lecturer at the S.A. College), A. Morris, E. Gibbs, W.J.R. Morris, W.H. Rogers, J. Widdicombe, W. Llewellyn, W. Meaden, E. Pain, W.C. Wallis, J.R. Wilson, T.L. Hancock, G. Lawrence, G.H.R. Fisk, C. Ratten, H.M.M. Wilshere and his brother E.S., and Samuel Wyld.⁽³⁵⁾ Some founded schools, some taught in schools, some never advanced beyond deacon's orders so that their teaching in schools might not be made impossible; most entered at some time into the labours of others and left them enhanced. To all of them had come the call to strike out into fresh unploughed fields, sow the seed of God's Word, and entrust the harvest to Him. Part of that harvest we shall see in statistics; but the full corn in the ear is known to God alone.

THE CAPE'S DEBT TO GREAT BRITAIN

This refers only to the education and is an inadequate attempt to assess and acknowledge the facts of the past. So far they have been described, as far as they have affected education in connection with the Church; the influence of the Church and its schools flowed out into the whole land, and though the effect may not be considered a good one, especially by those who regard the native as being far much happier than if he had not had contact with the European, yet there was some effect, which changed the course of the history of the Cape.

The greatest gift enjoyed by South Africa was the work of men and women who came to the country, and enough mention of these has been made. But there is one aspect which has received ^{notice} ~~only~~ only incidentally, but should be brought to more prominence. At the Reformation one of the changes made was that clergy might marry if they wished to and felt that they were called to it. Not only their wives but their families shared in the work of the paterfamilias in South Africa. We have seen how Mrs. Boardman would have been in charge of the boarding of the scholars in isolated Bathurst, if she had lived, and also how her daughters were prepared to undertake this necessary part of a school (see p. 13). Miss Gething was teacher in the Mission School at Beaufort West (see n. 33), where her father was Rector. She represents the help that was given in education by clerical families. A very early contributor was Mr. McLeland's son, who was "usher" at the Port Elizabeth "Free" School, and resigned to become a subaltern in the 1846 War (he gave up schoolmastering for soldiering after his return). ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ (1) There is no record of his four sisters ⁵⁶ ~~having~~ teaching, however. The Bakers arrived in Swellendam in 1856, having lost all their possessions in the hold of the ship that was wrecked. After much demand, Mrs. Baker started a school for girls in the house they were renting for £45 per annum. At Bredasdorp, where a school began in 1858 with 29 pupils, and where a permanent priest was appointed eventually in 1900, the Revd. R. M. Clark's daughters all had turns at being teachers in the Mission School. (2) These few instances that come to light point to a contribution by clerical families which can never be traced in full to the education of the young of all races at the Cape.

Money was the support of all expansion. The Colony as a British possession was, like the South African Railways, run on business lines, and but any deficit had to be made good by Britain. Education too ~~often~~ ^{of} suffered because there was no money. The Church in its work to educate supplemented the work begun by Mr. Rose-Innes, and in turn the Government subsidised it. The Church drew from Britain

financial support in two ways. Special appeals were made to the Church in England generally when there was any project that was urgent. Thus Mr. McLeland reported that he had received ~~a~~ replies from the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel to his appeal for help in building the Church at Port Elizabeth (3), and Mr. Heavyside had written to Lord Stanley in England in 1842 (4). Bishop Grey visited England "to effect ... the complete establishment of a College" (5). His presence in England brought to the Church many gifts which otherwise would not have been made. The personal friends of those working in South Africa gave much help of which there is little public notice. In these ways the Cape was indebted to Britain.

The S.P.C.K. (see p. 5 of Introduction)

The Church in South Africa and the early Cape benefitted most through the two great Societies founded by Dr. Bray. Already we have seen some of the books published by the S.P.C.K. and imported into the country. It is of interest to hear that the Revd. J.W. Saunders at Stellenbosch in 1839 received 100 Dutch Prayer Books from the S.P.C.K. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is mainly a publishing house for Christian literature, ranging from elementary school books to such works as "Essays Catholic and Critical", which can be sold at prices within the range of the intended reader's pocket, owing to the gifts which come to ^{the Society} it. The successor, for instance, to the Dutch Prayer Book is the Afrikaans Prayer Book, selling at a price which is far below cost. ~~It~~

In addition the Society sometimes has the power to make grants to purposes which fit in with its Constitution, and of these ~~the~~ the Cape has had a goodly share. They began with £2,000 in May, 1830, for the building of Churches and School, and this amount is difficult to analyse between what was actually spent on Church buildings and school purposes. The view taken here is that by its very existence the Church is educational in the strict sense. Though there are many who come to worship God without being able to read, yet behind the best worship is the Book, and the message is its interpretation, and its primary function is the use of words to express a relationship between man and God. The Church of England could well be called the people of Two Books - the Bible and the Prayer Book. Exercise in the use of language is an educational activity, and every activity within a Church building promotes this. To go further, it is a function of a School to teach music and to encourage singing; but the Church uses both in worship, and what the School has taught receives that expression of what has been learnt in worship. Where a School fails to provide this part of its allotted duty, it has not been unknown for music lessons of some sort to be given in Church. Yet the great separation that has taken place between religion and education in South Africa means that the content of the word "education" as at

present held is confined only to what concerns a school and the activities connected with it. So, in appreciating the grants of the S.P.C.K. to education in the Cape, an attempt will be made to distinguish between purely religious purposes and purely educational ones, though the fact that the S.P.C.K. draws no such distinction should be the background against which they are viewed.

Since that first magnificent gift the S.P.C.K. has altogether (including the £2,000) given to the Church in the Cape alone just ^{over} ~~at~~ £66,000, up to March, 1947. Of this amount the following were devoted to ^{education} ~~the following~~:

Building of school and school-chapels in general	£7417
Schools mentioned above: 1) The Bishop's College	3250
(for building purposes 2) Zonnebloem College	2512
mainly) 3) St. Andrew's College	3000
4) St. Matthew's College	3990
5) Grahamstown Training College	890
6) The D.S.G., Grahamstown	150
Scholarships: 1) Grahamstown Training College	5400
2) St. Matthew's College	10255
Salaries of teachers (discontinued after 1838)	170
	<u>37034</u>

N.B. The £2,000 has not been included, as it was distributed by the Governor, and no exact record is possible (see p. 26 on Wynberg Church and School). Also many grants were made for "General Designs", among which scholarly needs might probably have been found. The Training College Scholarships were not continued after 1931, while those after 1947 to St. Matthew's College continued at £225 annually. These grants do not include any assistance made to the Diocese of St. John's, also part of the Cape Province.

Educational institutions, falling under "general", which received encouragement number at least eighty-six, through the 127 years to 1947. Some of them, like Brandwacht, Uitvlucht, Blue Lilies Bush, ~~aljah, Yellowwoods and Walaga's Kraal/see~~ ^{are off the beaten track} ~~to have been lost to sight to-day,~~ and there are many where the Anglican Church has lost any school that it helped to found, like Kariega Mouth, Seymour, Committees and Manley's Flats. The lowest grant was £5 which Bathurst School in 1845, Gumakala School-Chapel, ^{Lady Frere} in 1915 and Qibira School Chapel, Herschel, in 1919, received. Of those assisted, many grants were renewed in the years that followed the first; thus the Schools at Salt River received amounts of £40, £100 and £30, though they were ~~not for the same~~ ^{different} School, and both Indwe and Alice received help for the building of a Church and School separately. Among the Q's are Qanti and Queenstown, and both Somersets are included as recipients of grants. To visit all the places owing some of their progress to the S.P.C.K. would take a motorist at least a year, for they range from Gwaru to Claremont, from Herschel to Numamedorp.

Both the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. draw on the whole of the Church of England for their support. To them many bequests have been made, but the main source of their income is the interest displayed by parishes in their work. It is a reasonable conjecture to make that where the National School Society built a school in the 1800's there would be still a tradition of support for the S.P.C.K. The wealth of the Church in England caused the habit of weekly offertories to be neglected for the payment of the clergy and the maintenance of the Church's work; but the Societies were able to make an appeal to the congregation in the pews - the chemist, the grocer, the labourer, the clerk, the librarian, the postmistress for example - for missionary work and education. Their gifts have supported countless enterprises, and the lands which received them are those to which the English-speaking people have emigrated. Not only the Cape, but the whole of South Africa and the Rhodesias have been beneficiaries of the people of God in the parish Churches of England, as well as the whole of India. Missionaries on leave have, in their turn, kept the interest in the extension of Christ's Kingdom alive by visiting places which made their work possible. (5)

The S.P.G.

Dr. Bray was the Bishop of London's Commissary to the West Indies, and followed the forming of the S.P.C.K. in 1698 by founding the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel three years later. The saga of its history could well be used as a text-book of geography. Its work was to preach the "good news" of God's Love in Christ, as distinct from the aim of the S.P.C.K. which was to consolidate conversion by learning. The contributions of the second Society are more difficult to assess in educational benefits. Already the work of its missionaries have been briefly mentioned, beginning with William Wright in 1821 and continuing through the cattle-killing. The prosecution of the work opened out to the Church went increasing aid for its stipends were paid, schools assisted, Churches founded, and special works promoted. The Society itself has made some calculations of the monetary gifts. In 1889 preparations were made to celebrate the 200th anniversary (16.6.1900), and its Secretary, the Revd. H.W. Tucker, wrote to the Archbishop of Cape Town in that year: "The Society has expended on South Africa about £800,000, and the Standing Committee hope that in every parish or Mission, which the Society has at any time helped the year of Jubilee will be observed and Offertory and Collections sent to the Bicentenary Fund both in 1900 and 1901". But the Cape did not receive all this, as by 1889 the Church of the Province had expanded to Natal, St. Helena, the C.F.S., Kimberley, the Transvaal and Zululand. Gifts made to the Fund ear-marked for S. Africa amounted to £30,000. At the celebrations in London Archbishop West Jones reckoned that the amount

received by the Diocese of Cape Town alone lay between £150,000 and £200,000. If grants made to the Dioceses of Grahamstown, St. John's, and George were added, they would make the second limit a very conservative estimate. The S.P.G. did not after its Jubilee cease to be the handmaiden of the Church, for besides handling the Marditt grant for the Diocesan College, Cape Town, it resolved on 4.12.1902: "£900 to the Diocese of St. John's for completion of the Native Girls' School at Cala, with power to the Bishop to use £150 of it, if he desires, for any other school or schools". (6)

Though both the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. still foster enterprises for which their aid is solicited, the demand in providing educational facilities has largely fallen off for the Government, whether Union or Provincial, now controls and pays for it all. The rent grant paid on school buildings has enabled money to be borrowed and repaid where there has been need. But the benefits which the educational work of the Church in the Cape received from Great Britain are not in the sphere of arithmetic, for who can assess the spiritual value of a gift made just when the need for it arose? The knowledge that the Anglican Church is one body, whether in Trincomalee or Tristan d'Acunha, brought by a tangible token, has revived many weary hearts and minds, perplexed as to how the children were to be educated - a knowledge which the founder of the S.P.C.K. ^{and S.P.G.} never dreamed would be promoted.

CHAPTER VI

STATISTICS

The Cape Education Department published Quarterly Returns of all Schools in the Education Gazette for a number of years. In 1922, owing to the need to economise in the depression that followed the first World War, these Returns ceased to appear quarterly, but were included in the annual Report of the Superintendent-General of Education. They provide figures which are of great value in assessing the results of the pioneers and founders of schools. But they do not record the work of Churches in education at the Cape in full, but only the schools which are aided by the Government. Thus there must have been many schools which owed their origin to the Anglican Church, and which were then taken over by the local School Board, and so ceased to be deemed Schools under the management of the Church. Of these St. Paul's, Port Elizabeth, is one, which continued to be called by its original name though its connection with the Church ceased even before the Union of South Africa came into being. Another in Port Elizabeth was re-classified: in 1910 St. Peter's School, South End, was deemed an A3 School (i.e. for children of European parentage), but by 1921 it was confined to Coloured children. Of others which were started by the Church in the villages of the Cape nothing is left. The Revd. J. Baker had a Grammar School of 28 pupils at Swellendam in 1858, which was forced to close as another school with better public support drew its pupils away, while ~~the Revd. W.G. Wallis~~ the Revd. W.G. Wallis had 12 pupils in a Grammar School "which closes at 3 p.m." at Burghersdorp (S.P.G. Report, 7.2.1859).

The control of education by the State accelerated this process everywhere and only determined efforts have resulted in any European children being educated in schools under the management of the Church, whether they were aided or not by the Department of Education. In addition, as James Baker remarked, the salary of the teacher is important, as it determines the quality of the teacher. But the Department of Education has a colossal task in providing schools wherever the need is felt and among the coloured and native population it cannot provide the competition which would raise the quality and the standard of education without the missionary bodies. The Cape had a very early example of this, illustrated in the Report of Mr. Justice J.P. Fruter in 1823 on his tour where he instanced the effect of the Schools under the six teachers imported by Lord Charles Somerset upon those that were already in existence; Mr. J. Rose-Innes had succeeded in attracting all children (76) to his school, which had six in an advanced class "excelling in Latin". It is highly doubtful that he followed the Governor's desire that all instruction should be through the medium of English only. So, until the wish and the funds are available for extending compulsory education to all in the Cape Province, the Churches in their missionary work are filling a gap in educational provisions. But it does mean that the quality of the education provided cannot be assessed by the number of schools and scholars, though it is hoped that the high ideals of Mr. Judge permeate all the schools which are under Anglican control.

It must not be forgotten that in all instances of schools started by Churches and aided by the State there was, and is, a large body of parish and mission clergy, who combine their daily work with that of being Managers of schools, posts which have always been recognised by the Provincial Education Department, but only in recent years with any grant to see that it was possible to finance it. Some of them had almost as much work as the Secretary of a School Board to-day, and had to find what help they could in dealing with the clerical work involved. Moreover, one of them, Canon Woodroffe was accepted as an Inspector of Schools in the Transkei, and he acted from 1885 to 1897, making a contribution to education entirely due to the work he undertook in the Church's service (See pp. 49 and 51) (2).

For purposes of comparison the statistics for the second quarter of 1910 (the month after the Union of S.A. came into being) and the last quarter of 1921 are chosen as yardsticks to measure the share of the Anglican Church in the education of the inhabitants of the Cape.

SCHOOL DISTRICT	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS		NUMBER ANGLICAN SCHOOLS		TOTAL AVERAGE ATTENDANCE		AVERAGE ATTENDANCE AT ANGLICAN SCHOOLS		DIFFERENCES IN 11 YEARS			
	1910	1921	1910	1921	1910	1921	1910	1921	SCHOOLS	TOTAL PUPILS	ANGELICAN SCHOOLS	PUPILS
ABERDEEN	18	23	-	-	435	869	-	-	+5	+434		
ALBANY (Grahamstown)		19		8		2180		884				
(Divisional)		26		2		643		54				1
Combined in 1910	52	45	8	10	2365	3792	795	938	-7	+1427	+2	+143
ALBERT	42	46	1	1	777	1540	44	81	+4	+763	0	+37
ALEXANDRIA	232	28	1	2	442	669	832	48	+85	+227	+1	+2516
ALIWAL NORTH	46	40	-	-	1178	1958	-	-	-6	+780	-	-
BARKLY EAST	472	28	2	1	695	650	51	43	-14	-48	-1	-8
BARKLY WEST	22	63	-	2	1034	2667	-	71	+41	+1663	+2	+71
BATHURST	19	22	3	1	444	536	106	17	+3	+81	-2	-89
BEHU FORT WEST	29	43	1	2	761	1532	34	88	+14	+771	+1	+24
BEDFORD	20	20	-	-	592	671	-	-	0	+79		
BRIDASSDORP	41	44	4	5	1005	1663	163	274	+3	+658	+1	+111
BRITSTOWN	16	17	1	1	592	543	66	25	+1	-49	0	-41
CALEDON	64	80	7	7	1806	3353	369	385	+16	+1547	0	+15
CALLEDORP (not in 1910)	-	20	-	-	-	1102	-	-				
CALVINIA	31	63	1	1	539	1551	30	83	+32	+1023	0	+52
CAPE: No. 1	118	62	23	13	11616	13308	1951	2492				
No. 2	48	53	10	11	7416	11608	2063	1619				
No. 3	88	93	-	17	-	35782	-	1715				
	1866	208	33	41	19632	60696	4014	5626	+42	+41664	+8	+1812
CARNARVON	21	30	-	-	500	909	-	-	+9	+409		
CATHCART	23	16	-	-	470	568	-	-	-7	+98		
CHES	34	24	1	2	610	806	76	125	-10	+196	+1	+89
CLANWILLIAM	40	53	1	1	790	1311	38	27	+13	+521	0	-11
COLSBURG	21	17	-	-	626	990	-	-	-4	+364		
CRADOCK	548	33	1	2	1426	1608	648	130	-1521	+282	+1	+7582
DE AAR	-	8	-	1	-	713	-	87	+8	+713	+1	+87
EAST LONDON	44	62	6	5	2787	5712	229	386	+18	+2925	-1	+157
ELLIOT	-	30	-	-	-	766	-	-	+30	+766		
FORT BRAU FORT	38	28	1	1	1628	1933	70	79	-10	+305	0	+9
FRASERBURG	26	35	1	-	274	431	12	-	+9	+157	-1	-12
GEORGE	32	51	2	3	1386	2980	76	180	+19	+1594	+1	+104
GLENN GREY	54	73	17	24	2478	2721	641	836	+19	+243	+7	+195
GORDONIA	10	17	-	-	644	1063	-	-	+7	+419		
GRAAF-REINHET	47	36	1	1	1810	2327	76	96	-11	+517	0	+20
HANOVER	14	6	2	-	316	354	2428	-	-8	+38	-1	-128
HAY	18	37	-	1	297	1093	-	41	+19	+789	+1	+41
HERBERT	12	42	-	3	257	1246	-	118	+30	+989	+3	+118
HERSCHEL	44	54	11	12	2240	2506	828	526	+10	+678		

SCHOOL DISTRICT	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS		NUMBER ANGLICAN SCHOOLS		TOTAL AVERAGE ATTENDANCE		AVERAGE ATTENDANCE AT ANGLICAN SCHOOLS		DIFFERENCES IN 11 YEARS			
	1910	1921	1910	1921	1910	1921	1910	1921	TOTAL SCHOOLS PUPILS		ANGLICAN SCHOOLS PUPILS	
HOPETOWN	22	24	1	1	377	791	38	52	+2	+414	0	+14
HUMANSDORP	53	75	1	2	1176	2339	75	95	+22	+1163	+1	+20
JANSENVILLE	38	50	2	2	787	1186	86	121	+12	+399	0	+35
KENHARDT	28	58	-	-	526	1761	-	-	+30	+1235	-	-
KIMBERLEY	36	51	2	7	3789	6514	316	776	+15	+2725	+5	+458
KINGWILLIAMSTOWN	142	150	16	15	6592	8698	799	1031	+8	+2106	-1	+232
KWYNA	36	41	4	6	1096	1584	149	249	+5	+488	+2	+100
KONGHA	14	15	2	2	319	432	69	39	+1	+113	0	-30
KURMIAN	2	34	-	3	130	1151	-	123	+27	+1021	+3	+123
LADISMITH	34	41	-	1	1042	1644	-	29	+7	+602	+1	+29
LAINGSBURG	17	25	-	-	409	711	-	-	+8	+302	-	-
MACLEAR	-	17	-	-	-	697	-	-	+17	+697	-	-
MAPEKENG	16	38	1	1	632	1859	50	133	+22	+1227	0	+83
MAINESBURY	65	75	9	10	2696	4319	546	625	+10	+1623	+1	+79
MARAISBURG	-	7	-	-	-	275	-	-	+7	+275	-	-
MIDDELBURG	30	16	1	1	772	1101	40	86	-14	+329	0	+46
MOLTENO	19	19	-	-	479	662	-	-	0	+183	-	-
MONTAG U	15	21	-	-	575	1203	-	-	+6	+628	-	-
MOSSEL BAY	31	37	2	3	1000	2002	162	348	+6	+1002	+1	+186
MURRAYSBURG	13	6	-	-	286	309	-	-	-7	+23	-	-
NAMAQUALAND	30	55	3	2	1324	1606	200	106	+25	+282	-1	-94
ODTSHOORN	82	70	2	2	3163	4079	77	108	-12	+916	0	+31
PAARL	48	62	6	6	3872	6080	339	567	+14	+2208	0	+228
PEARSTON	-	15	-	-	-	414	-	-	+15	+414	-	-
PEDDIE	43	47	2	3	1102	1608	38	93	+4	+506	+1	+55
PHILLIPSTOWN	14	17	1	-	458	625	27	-	+3	+170	-1	-27
PIQUETBERG	52	76	1	1	1444	2981	65	79	+24	+1537	0	+14
PORT ELIZABETH	40	53	2	8	3613	7420	332	1161	+13	+3807	+6	+829
PRIESKA	24	36	-	-	305	788	-	-	+12	+483	-	-
PRINCE ALBERT	15	26	-	1	449	764	-	33	+11	+315	+1	+33
QUEENSTOWN	64	54	2	3	2495	3112	139	224	-10	+617	+1	+85
RICHMOND	10	12	-	2	302	445	-	78	+2	+143	+2	+78
RIVERSDALE	74	75	4	4	1703	2559	237	318	+1	+856	0	+81
ROBERTSON	27	29	-	-	1256	1770	-	-	+2	+524	-	-
SOMERSET EAST	65	51	2	2	1528	1864	118	5196	-14	+236	0	+71
STILLENBOSCH	31	38	3	6	2418	3951	212	307	+7	+1533	+3	+95
STERKSTROOM	-	14	-	-	-	538	-	-	+14	+538	-	-
STYNSBURG	12	18	1	1	284	589	38	49	+6	+305	0	+11

SCHOOL DISTRICT	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS		NUMBER ANGLICAN SCHOOLS		TOTAL AVERAGE ATTENDANCE		AVERAGE ATTENDANCE AT ANGLICAN SCHOOLS		DIFFERENCES IN 11 YEARS			
	1910	1921	1910	1921	1910	1921	1910	1921	TOTAL SCHOOLS	TOTAL PUPILS	ANGLICAN SCHOOLS	ANGLICAN PUPILS
ST. MARK'S	42	47	13	14	1826	2017	740	729	+5	+191	+ 1	-11
TSOLO	52	55	28	29	2564	2907	1304	1437	+3	+343	+ 1	+133
TSOMO	35	45	16	19	2004	2920	937	1271	+10	+916	+ 3	+334
UMTATA	53	63	14	17	2298	3162	703	792	+10	+864	+ 3	+89
UMZINKULU	50	66	9	15	2167	4043	449	897	+16	+1876	+ 6	+448
WILLOWVALE	50	60	5	5	2065	2987	289	437	+10	+322	0	+148
XALANGA	27	29	5	5	1255	1508	187	299	+2	+253	0	+112
TOTALS	3892	4687	376	490*	155568	253492	20800	30274*	+795	+97924	+116	+9474

*St. Paul's School, Port Elizabeth, inadvertently included, now omitted.

NOTE 1. The average attendance, and not the total roll, has been chosen as a more exact gauge of pedagogic effectiveness; this is the nearest conception that can be made of the unit "pupil" in a school.

NOTE 2. The share of the Church in the expenses of any school is confined to providing suitable buildings, including, if necessary, hostels for pupils and housing for teachers. It has also a varying influence in the choice and the inspiration of teachers to make their schools of the Church in the best sense, consistent with the achievement of departmental standards. The Government's share in these Church schools, through the Department of Public Education in the Cape Province, is by far the more costly, as it pays a rent grant for suitable buildings, provides the teachers' salaries, supplies all school furniture and school equipment, and is the source of literature and stationery at the lowest possible cost. In a year previous to 1910 one Anglican School (Banzi, in the St. Mark's District) was described as an aided, but had qualified for assistance by that year.

NOTE 3. In the figures for 1910 the average number of pupils in some districts is very low; e.g. Alexandria 14, Calvinia 15, Fraserburg 10.5, Hay 16, Kenhardt 19, Kuruman 18, Prieska 13, and Sutherland 11 children per school. This is accounted for by the number of Farm Schools established for European children, rarely with

more than one teacher. The means of transport were limited, so a central farm provided a schoolroom. There were 890 of these with an average attendance of 6788 in 1910, allowing 7.6 pupils to each; without them the average attendance for the whole of the Cape would have been 49.5 and not 39.2. They tended to disappear when communications improved and hostels, provided in the main by the Dutch Reformed Church, were established; in no School District where a loss in the number of schools by 1921 appears, is there any diminution in the number of pupils.

NOTE 4. No distinctions have been made in the types of schools listed, nor in the races which attend them. The view^{taken} that education of the young proceeds in a school, and each pupil, in the Kindergarten or in a Training College, is developing inherited potentialities under the guidance of others who have undertaken this special work. But a perusal of the figures will make it plain that the Anglican Church has far more native children in her schools, than coloured, and far more coloured than European.

Of the schools listed only nine were for children of European descent, five of them, the Douglas, St. Bartholomew's, St. Peter's, and Woodville Primary Schools, and the Training College being in Grahamstown, St. Hilda's and St. Michael's Primary in Cape Town, St. Peter's Primary in Port Elizabeth, and a School in connection with St. Jude's Church Outshoorn. Between the m they had an average attendance of 22 932 in 1910. By 1921 the numbers had dropped to 8 schools and 687 pupils. Another had been absorbed by the Department of Education by 1925, and another by 1930, leaving an average attendance for that year of 489. In 1940 there were three of the original nine still under the control of the Church, and all three were in Grahamstown, ~~which~~ two, St. Peter's and the Training College under the Community of the Resurrection, and St. Bartholomew's, and continued through the 1950 Returns. In Outshoorn, while there were 21 pupils in 1930 and no school in 1940, the assisted Primary School of the Roman Catholic Church increased from 129 to 147. It was quite plain, from an administrative point of view, that there was no need for another primary school to provide primary education for children from homes where English was the medium of daily life.

Thus the partnership between the Anglican Church and the State in education has been reduced to a very thin stream of European children. But the Schools which were started and exist without help from the Department of Education are now required to send in returns to that body and they are printed in the Report of the Superintendent-General of Education. From the 1958 edition we learn that their contribution to education continues to develop and expand, and their tally is as follows:

	<u>Enrolment in 1958</u>
The Diocesan School for Girls, Grahamstown	225
St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown	446
St. Andrew's Preparatory School, Grahamstown	172
The Diocesan College, Cape Town	600
Herschel School, Cape Town (for girls)	307
St. Cyprian's School, Cape Town (for girls)	382
St. George's Grammar School, Cape Town	285
	<u>2415</u>

In view of what will be said later, it is interesting, and somewhat startling, to know that in 1959 the four Cape Town Schools launched appeals for contributions to a Consolidation Fund, which has £150,000 as its goal, to ensure that expansion, when needed, will not be handicapped.

The course through the years of providing educational opportunities to the coloured inhabitants of the Cape Province shows a progress that is phenomenal when it is considered that it has not been possible to make attendance at school compulsory for coloured children as it is for white. In 1925 there were 135,955 European pupils enrolled, and 52,634 coloured. In 1953 the figures were 179,601 and 196,166 and the schools were 1213 and 1219 in number respectively. The part taken by the Anglican Church in this great advance also increased but not at the same rate as the general expansion. The position will be made clear by the following table:

YEAR	EDUCATION OF COLOURED CHILDREN					
	TOTAL	SCHOOLS ANGLICAN	ANGLICAN %	AVERAGE ATTENDANCE TOTAL	ATTENDANCE ANGLICAN	ANGLICAN %
1925	482	127	26.3	45,116	11,927	26.4
1930	628	145	23.1	63,721	14,538	22.8
1940	972	164	16.9	105,535	19,938	19.0
1950	1143	182	15.8	158,280	25,981	16.4
1958	1369	178	13.0	207,928	26,876	12.9

The Church has maintained its contribution to the general total, but its share has steadily declined. Though the number of pupils increased, the Church lost four schools between 1950 and 1958, and the process already noted in the case of schools for European children under the Department of Education seems likely to be repeated through the course of the years.

The figures for the education of the native people in the Cape afford the same inevitable conclusions, but the assumption of all control over Nantu Education by the Union Government, without any reference to the Provincial Councils in 1958⁴ came as a complete surprise to the whole of South Africa (see p.53). What was taken over in the Cape, built up by the labours of so many, already inadequately described, of so many who came to South Africa to serve God in the mission field, among them many Anglican men and women, can be represented only by figures, and it has been possible to draw up a table like the one immediately above to illustrate it.

YEAR	EDUCATION OF NATIVE CHILDREN					
	TOTAL	SCHOOLS ANGLICAN	ANGLICAN %	AVERAGE ATTENDANCE TOTAL	ATTENDANCE ANGLICAN	ANGLICAN %
1925	1601	339	21.2	97,878	20,080	20.5
1930	1738	370	21.3	110,031	21,800	19.8
1940	1894	393	20.7	164,093	32,195	19.6
1950	2254	437	19.3	230,700	41,666	18.1
1953	2472	454	^{18.3} 18.8	261,162	45,983	17.6

This study can then well end with a similar sort of summary, as far as it is possible to go, of all education inaugurated by, and with the co-operation of, the Department of Public Education of the Cape Province.

YEAR	CONSOLIDATED SUMMARY OF ALL EDUCATION					
	TOTAL	SCHOOLS ANGLICAN	ANGLICAN %	AVERAGE ATTENDANCE TOTAL	ATTENDANCE ANGLICAN	ANGLICAN %
1910	3892	374	9.6	155,568	21,200	13.6
1921	4687	490	10.4	253,4 ⁹ 52	30,284	11.2
1928	4509	473	10.3	267,778	32,570	12.2
1930	4760	520	11.1	305,680	36,827	12.0
1940	4750	560	10.8	416,010	52,553	12.6
1950	4672	622	13.3	545,787	67,979	12.5

Speculation as to the curious fluctuations in this table would be profitless; the Anglican Church figures for the years after 1921 have been mostly, and kindly, supplied by Mr. A. Rabone, Principal of the Plumstead Primary School.

CONCLUSION

The end of the enquiry has been reached. The attempt has been made to show something of the wealth of experience and tradition of the Church in England through the centuries of the process of education, and to link it with what took place at the Cape. Something of the process by which education has been assumed as a Department of Government and not of the Church has been noticed, as also the conviction that the Church still has a contribution to offer in education quite apart from the organisation and control of the Government. Where the State has taken over existing work it has done so by virtue of the expenses borne by it. The islands left are recognised as the relics of the view that education is more than following a prescribed course of instruction and study, but is a mingling of spirits aiming, each according to ability and opportunity, at seeking and fulfilling the will of God. This is a view to which the State, in its concern for its citizens, cannot rise and cannot promote without men who hold it, for it is the ideal of the Church to which it has been committed. The goals are slightly different, but not so different that there is no common ground. The full view of education through the State is the complete control, from birth to adulthood, of all citizens, but where the State allows control to private individuals, there they are fulfilling part of the State's duty and should be encouraged by financial aid without control - a practice of Southern Rhodesia where private schools are given grants by the Government in recognition of the work they are doing for the State.

What is it that a Church School should be able to offer which cannot be attempted by a Government School? In its simplest description it is training and instruction in worship, with all that is implied in that, and for that a Church is necessary, according to Canon Wirgman, D.D., (S.A. Church Quarterly Review, July, 1911) and Spenser Leeson in "Christian Education" (1903). He says "No school can be in the truest sense a worshipping community unless it has a building set apart for the special purpose of worship", but both he and Dr. Wirgman have in mind a School Chapel, as the place where the School can gather for this purpose. The

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weight of these authorities and the practice of the Church of England in its Schools has led to the erection of school-chapels as part of the schools equipment. To the mind of the writer this has been an unnecessary addition to the School and further, that it has defeated the objects and aims of the Church itself.

These assertions need expanding. The Church is a much bigger organisation than the school chapel, and what has happened is that pupils at Church Schools never obtain, in practice, the conception of a world wide organisation, each separate building of which is an expression of it for the whole of the community, and not for a small part of it as confined in the precincts of a School. That this danger has been noticed is made plain by the practice of taking the School to the Sunday Services of the parish Church, which is used by other Schools and by the congregation which maintains it. It has not been unknown for past pupils to return to be married in the School chapel, and to bring their offspring to be baptised in it.

The life-blood of the Church is a numerous, intelligent and trained ministry, recruited from its own youths. One of the purposes Bishop Gray had in mind for the Diocesan College was an atmosphere where vocations to the ministry could be realised, as well as the necessary knowledge for this purpose being provided. One of the Church establishments of which no mention has been made is St. Paul's College, Grahamstown. It started as a Hostel in 1902, preceding Rhodes University College, the phoenix arising from the ashes of the University Department of St. Andrew's College, by two years. A study of the antecedents of students who have passed through there is instructive. (No apology is made for classing it as an educational establishment, for the Dutch Reformed Church Seminary at Stellenbosch receives an honourable mention from Dr. P.S. du Toit in "Onderwys in Kaapland").

The following table has been possible through the courtesy of the present Warden of St. Paul's College, the Revd. Canon N. Blamires. It is not possible to bring the analysis up to date, for the College acts also as a place where the testing of a vocation continues and accordingly the students who attended it from 1902 to 1957 only can be used to determine the chief sources of the ministry of the Church of the

Province of South Africa. It is not an exhaustive list by any means, for priests come out from England still to work in South Africa, as did all the early pioneers, and also many South African youths are still able to proceed, as did so many of Mr. Judge's pupils, to Universities and Colleges in Europe for their training. But it represents the texture of the 'clerus Anglicanus' as found in the Union.

ST. PAUL'S THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE, GRAHAMSTOWN: SCHOOLING OF STUDENTS

From Schools in Great Britain, Holland, Hirc, Bermuda, the U.S.A., Jersey and New Zealand	93
From S.A. Schools under Provincial Education Departments other than the Cape	43
From S.A. Schools under the Cape Education Department	40
From S.A. Church Schools, excluding the Cape	18
From St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown	15
From the Diocesan College, Rondebosch	11
From Roman Catholic Schools in South Africa	10
From St. George's Grammar School, Cape Town	4
Killed in action, due to interruption in training	1
Course not completed	4
Left without subsequent ordination	<u>16</u>
	<u>255</u>

Many of the above were pupils at more than one school in South Africa, but preference has been given to attendance at a Church School and no student is listed twice. Many of them also attended courses at a South African University, but however desirable this preliminary training is, it does not form part of the enquiry.

Of the 30 who came from the Church Schools in the Cape, at least nine were sons of clergymen, so the desire for ordination was fostered by another influence. ^{record} This does bear out to a certain extent the view that the sources of the Church's ministry in South Africa are not the Church Schools. To this view Spencer Leeson (op.cit. p.162) gives his experience in England when he says, "The Schools of the Churches have in recent years contributed no more than a trickle to the ordained ministry of any of the Churches". The reasons are the same in both England and South Africa.

study of religion is taken seriously by some professors and may be worthy of a little attention on their part, if they are to be the heirs of ^{the} world's knowledge.

THE FUTURE

Already two lines of possible progress have been indicated in the consideration of the usefulness of Church Schools. Attempts to establish others ^{Private Church Schools} have failed. For instance, in 1950 the Bishop of George endeavoured to raise £10,000 to revive St. Mark's College, with appeals made mainly to those who had already passed through a Church School. The need for it was pressing at that time, as it was difficult to find schools which used the medium of English for instructing English-speaking children. The attempt failed to evoke sufficient response among the thousands of South Africans who had passed through the other Church Schools, and it is difficult to understand the lack of enthusiasm displayed. But it is a sign that without heavy endowment it would be risky to set up another Church School in the Cape.

When the so-called "Coloured Mission Schools" of the Cape Department of Education will be taken over from the missionary bodies cannot be predicted, but the day will inevitably come. The loss in property will be immense, but it should still be available for purposes of education if needed, so that the intention of the builders will not be wholly frustrated, even if it will no longer be possible for the Managers to take prayers and give religious instruction in the buildings which they were, in very ^{many} cases, instrumental in ~~building~~ erecting. But it will have its advantages in releasing the parish priest from some of his obligatory work and allow him to do more of that to which he was pledged at his ordination. The results will not be disastrous to the Church, as has been shown in the number of priests (83) who have come from Provincial Public Schools for Europeans to be trained at St. Paul's College.

The experience of missionaries in the Eastern Cape, where the Department of Bantu Education has superseded the Provincial Education Department and the Churches should bear out these prognostications. But it does behoove every parish priest to know what is being taught

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by the schools in his parish, and to use and implement whatever syllabus is being followed to explore the fullness of truth, the greatest exposition of which is found within the covers of the Church's Books, and which the Church tries to teach and express in its daily round of work and worship.

NOTES

Introduction

1. Arthur Bryant in one of his histories of the Napoleonic period, in which he quotes the Duke of Wellington saying that education without religion would mean that schools would turn out "clever devils".
2. "The Church of England, by the Most Revd. Cyril Garbett,, 1st page,
3. The title of Lecture IV, by the Revd. Spencer Leeson, in the 1944 Bampton Lectures, entitled "Christian Education" (Longman's).
4. At Grahamstown, for instance, Mr. Ireland found that parts of the Church Catechism were not acceptable to Baptist parents (C.O. 303. 37, dated 20.2.1827).
5. S.A. Church Quarterly Review, October, 1908.
6. "William Temple and his Message", A.E. Bethune Baker, Pelican Books, 1946.
7. An Army Medical Officer, trained at the University of Cape Town wryly told how he had horrified his Superintendent by his plans to experiment on the patients in the Hospital to which he went as house-man.
8. An example of ^{the} type of reasoning adopted by scientists occurred in Sir Julian Huxley's address to a conference held in Chicago recently. He dogmatically stated, "The world was not created. It evolved". (Cape Argus, 19 November, 1959). It is quite pertinent to ask, "From what did it evolve?" On this exact point the late Archbishop of Cape Town, Dr. G. Clayton, stated that there was nothing inconsistent with the Christian religion and the theory of evolution.
9. The Revd. J. Keble's Assize Sermon at Oxford, in 1832, began it.

CHAPTER I

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|---|------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. B.O. 29.235. | 2. B.O. 29.271. | 3. B.O. 29.483-5. |
| 4. Hewitt, "Sketches of Early Church History". Lewis and Edwards, "Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa". | | |
| 5. S.P.G., 1827. | 6. C.O. 37.41. | 7. C.O. 73. |
| 8. C.O. 73. | 9. C.O. 45.49. | 10. C.O. 55.21. |
| 11. Lewis & Edwards, op. cit. p. 10. | 12. C.O. 74.83. | |
| 12a. C.O. 80.109. | 13. C.O. 91.106. | 14. C.O. 101.106. |
| 15. C.O. 101.106. 16. C.O. 101.106. 17. C.O. 101.106. | | |

CHAPTER II

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| 1. C.O. 120.60. | 2. C.O. 120.51. | 3. C.O. 120.51; 142.1. |
| 4. C.O. 137.8,9,12. | 5. C.O. 142.33. | 6. C.O. 137.6. |
| 7. C.O. 142.33; 10.5.1821. | 8. C.O. 137.4. | |
| 9. C.O. 142.52. | 10. C.O. 208.122. | 11. C.O. 163.18 & 89. |
| 12. C.O. 163.90, 184. 84. | 13. C.O. 163.42; 8.7.1822. | |
| 14. C.O. 184.26. | 15. C.O. 208.35, 128, 150. | 16. C.O. 230.48; 1st April, 1825. |
| 17. C.O. 230.63. | 18. C.O. 163.101, 230.63. | |
| 19. Lewis & Edwards, op. cit. 1, p. 255. | | |
| 20. W. Ritchie, "History of the S.A. College", p. 20. | | |
| 21. C.O. 230.95. | 22. C.O. 303.35. | 23. C.O. 303.38. |
| 24. C.O. 303.38. | 25. C.O. 338.113. | |
| 26. C.O. 303.57. | 27. C.O. 338. | 28. C.O. 225.19, 303.54, 338.48, 139, 52, 124, 141. |
| 29. C.O. 369.48. | 30. C.O. 338.40; 27.11.1828. | |
| 31. C.O. 230.93. | 32. C.O. 208.130, 230.81, 338.63. | |
| 33. C.O. 230.144, 149; S.P.G. 14.2.1821. | 34. C.O. 230.144, 283.59. | |
| 35. Lewis & Edwards, op. cit. p.26. | 36. C.O. 433.6. | |
| 37. C.O. 303.38. | 38. C.O. 319.33. | |
| 39. C.O. 303.38. | 39a. C.O. 319.61. | 40. E.G. Malherbe, "Education in South Africa, 1652-1922", p. 85. |

CHAPTER III

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| 1. W. Ritchie, op. cit. pp. 43, 49. | 2. C.O. 369.47. |
| 3. C.O. 354.26, 36, 66, 76, 77, 86, 89. | 4. C.O. 283.23, 41. |
| 5. W. Ritchie, op. cit. p. 44. | 6. ib. p. 55. |
| 7. C.O. 381.71. | 7. Ritchie, p.74. |
| 8. Ritchie, p.74. | 9. ib, p. 75. |
| 10. C.O. 398.39, 411.29. | 10. C.O. 454.32, 34. |
| 11. C.O. 454.32, 34. | 11. C.O. 454.32, 34. |
| 12. C.O. 411.68, 90. | 12. C.O. 433.13. |
| 13. C.O. 433.13. | 13. C.O. 433.13. |
| 14. C.O. 398.104. | 14. C.O. 398.100 |
| 15. C.O. 398.104. | 15. C.O. 421.112, 111. |
| 16. C.O. 411.43. | 16. C.O. 411.43. |
| 17. C.O. 421.112, 111. | 17. C.O. 421.112, 111. |
| 18. C.O. 454.66, 88. | 18. C.O. 475.10. |
| 19. C.O. 475.10. | 19. C.O. 475.10. |
| 20. C.O. 501.44. | 20. C.O. 501.44. |
| 20a. Mr. J. Inglis, Secretary of this Society, was later ordained by Bishop Gray, and worked at Paarl. | |
| 21. C.O. 518.117. | 21. C.O. 518.117. |
| 22. S.P.G. | 22. S.P.G. |
| 23. C.O. 540. | 23. C.O. 540. |

Notes (2)

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| 24. C.O. 417.50. | 25. S.P.G. | 26. S.P.G. |
| 27. C.O. 369.25. | 28. C.O. 369.32. | 29. C.O. 378.28. |
| 30. C.O. 398.22; 9.3.1831. | 31. C.O. 421.75, 76. | 32. C.O. 378 421.102. |
| 33. C.O. 433.7. | 34. C.O. 433.28. | 35. C.O. 433.97. |
| 36. C.O. 443.37. | 37. C.O. 443.109. | 38. C.O. 447.94. |
| 39. C.O. 454.52. | 40. C.O. 475.23; 19.7.1838. | 41. C.O. 485.14. |
| 42. C.O. 485.77. | 43. C.O. 492.55. | 44. C.O. 511.27. |
| 45. C.O. 529; 2.12.1844. | 46. C.O. 540; | 24.10.1845. |
| 47. C.O. 511.67. | 48. C.O. 540; 24.10.1845. | |
| 49. C.O. 519.71. | 50. C.O. 540; 21.9.1846. | |
| 51. S.A. Archives, C.O. for 27.10.1849. | 52. ib. 8.11.1849. | |
| 53. Church News, 1.2.1875. | 54. C.O. 137.3; du Toit, "Onderwys in die Kaapland", p. 53 et seq. | 55. C.O. 137.3. |
| 56. C.O. 163.82, 80; 184.84, 96. | 57. C.O. 225.1 ; 280.8 179.7. | |
| 58. C.O. 225.1; 280.8; 203.8. | 59. S.P.G. | |
| 60. C.O. 378.61. | 61. C.O. 378.5. | 62. C.O. 429.10, 30. |
| 63. C.O. 437.21. | 64. C.O. 499.53. | 65. Ephesians 3.18, 19. |
| 66. C.O. 137.3. | 67. C.O. 283.23. | 68. C.O. 283.41. |
| 69. C.O. 319.12. | 70. C.O. 378.6. | 71. C.O. 378.51. |
| 72. C.O. 378.107. | 73. C.O. 407.8. | 74. C.O. 407.43. |
| 75. C.O. 417.10. | 76. C.O. 417.15. | 77. C.O. 429.15. |
| 78. C.O. 454.52. | 79. C.O. 447.103. | 80. C.O. 230; 17.12.1825. |
| 81. K She was Mistress of the Wynberg Sewing School; C.O. 208.109. | | |

CHAPTER IV

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| 1. pp. 93, 113. | 2. C.O. 574; 23.3.1848. | 3. S.P.G. |
| 4. Lewis & Edwards, op. cit. p.111. | 5. S.P.G.; 7.9.1849. | |
| 6. Malherbe, op. cit. p.105. | 7. Ritchie, op. cit. pp. 474, 478, and 558. | |
| 8. "The Life and Times of Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot", by H.P. Barnett-Clarke; 17.4.1858, 20.4.1858. | | |
| 9. I am indebted to Miss MK. Jeffreys, late of the S.A. Archives for this information. | 10. Bishops court Archives. | |
| 11. "Life of Bishop Gray", by his son. | 12. Church News, 5.6.1875. | |
| 13. Barnett-Clarke, op. cit. | 14. " " " " , 3.4.1876. | |
| 15. p. 235. | 16. "Life of Bishop Armstrong", by the Revd. T.T. Carter, (Oxford, 1858), p. 229. | |
| 17. p. 893. | 18. Carter, op. cit. p. 361. | |
| 19. ib. p. 381. | 20. S.A. Church Magazine, April - June, 1858. | |
| 21. S.P.G. | 22. C.O. 540; 13.6.1845. | |
| 23. C.O. 540. | 24. C.O. 574. | 25. Sent by the S.P.G. in 1857 to take charge of St. George's School. 25 th He later became Headmaster of the Bishop's College, was a member of the S.A. College Council, and gave several special prizes to the College, being its Vice-Chancellor from 1893 to 1897. Ritchie, op. cit. p. 640. |
| 26. I am indebted to Mrs. Bishop, of Bellville, C.P., for much of the information in this section. | 27. C.O. 574. | |
| 28. S.P.G. | 29. The war of 1846 had cost the British Government £1,000,000. S.A. Commercial Advertiser, 1849. | |
| 30. S.P.G. 30.9.1857. | 31. S.P.G. Dec., 1857. | 32. Most of this information comes from "Keiskama Hoek" (1900), by the Revd. C.J. Weyke as well as the missionary reports. |
| 33. This School grew and was attended by Europeans also. I have recently seen a prize won by a lad whose parents sent him from the farm to be Confirmed, after preparation. The inscription reads: "John Smith. Prize for good conduct Class II. English Mission School, June 28th, 1895. Miss Gething" (the Rector's daughter). John was 17 years old at the time. | | |
| 34. Church News, July and August, 1867. | | |
| 35. These names have been taken from "S.P.G. 1701 - 1900", and necessarily omit many who carried out with them the task of providing education for growing South Africans. | | |

CHAPTER IV

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| 1. C.O. 540; 11.1.48 | 2. He had been a teacher on the staff of the disastrous Nyassaland Mission of 1862, survived, returned to Cape Town, taught and was ordained there. The people of Bredasdorp remember the family and the daughters in the School. | |
| 3. C.O. 369.72. | 4. C.O. 511.81. | 5. Pastoral Letter, dated 15.11.1851. |
| | 5a. Figures obtained through the kindness | |

Notes (3)

of the Revd. Mr. Davies, Secretary of the S.P.C.K., from the records then kept at the Headquarters in Northumberland Avenue, London.

6. S.P.C.K.; Bishopscourt Archives.

CHAPTER VI

1. C.O. 203.2.

2. Church Chronicle, 16.10.1913.

CONCLUSION

1. "Christian Education"; by the Revd. Spencer Leeson, p. 132x 162.

