

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS OF COLONIAL EDUCATION IN THE TRANSVAAL : 1839 - 1900.

1. INTRODUCTION.

Mention has already been made of the Great Trek, which led to the establishment of Boer communities across the Orange and Vaal Rivers.

The founders of the European settlement in the Transvaal were Andries Hendrik Potgieter and his party who settled at Potchefstroom about the beginning of 1839. Within the period of a few years, a number of European settlers was to be found spread over the vast territory now known as the Transvaal. These Boers constituted themselves into organised communities, resulting ultimately in the establishment of "De Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek".

The Voortrekkers lived a life of privation, requiring from every individual toil and blood. It was a life with but little rest or recreation but one brimful of opportunity. The Voortrekker had to apply all his resources, physical and mental, to the difficult and heart-breaking task of making a void and uncivilised territory arable as well as habitable for European civilisation.

The period 1836-1844 was a particularly difficult one. The Voortrekkers had to contend with the native hordes under Moselikatsi, British intrigue, the problem of obtaining food and ammunition, while poverty and disease threatened them.

Notwithstanding all the physical hardships which a pioneering people had to endure, the Voortrekkers throughout continued to give attention to the education of their children and to their religious well-being.¹⁾

1)(a) SS 2 R.193/50: (Transv. Archives) 6.2.1850, A.W.J. Pretorius to Murray.
(b) SS I R.74/41 : 6.3.1847.

A writer commented: "Er bestaat geen klasse van menschen, die meer hunne godsdienstige onderwyzers eerbiedigt, als deze boeren."¹⁾

While on trek, the education of the children was in essence "kernagtig en gezond."²⁾

As soon as regular settlements were established, immediate attention was given to the provision of regular schooling for the children. In fact, the first Voortrekker constitution of 1838 made provision for the education of the youth.

While the Great Trek was in essence a revolt against the British policy towards non-Europeans, by taking the Boers beyond the reach of British law, the Boers were able to establish such proper relations with the native population as they desired.^{3) 4)}

One would have expected that a people, who left the security of hearth, home and possessions, because it regarded the policy of placing non-Europeans on a footing of equality with Europeans "strijdig met de wetten van God en 't natuurlijk onderscheid van afkomst en geloof, zodat het onverdragelijk was voor elk fatsoenlijk Kristen onder zulk 'n last te bulgen, waarom wij dan ook ons liever verwijderen, om des te beter ons geloof en de leer in zuiver-

1) Gerdener, G.R.A: Eoustowe vir die Geskiedenis van die N.G. Kerk in die Transvaal, p.611.

2) Coetzee, J.C.: "Onderwys in Transvaal: 1838-1927" p.12.

3) De Kiewiet, G.W.: "A History of South Africa", p.56.

This author regards this reason as merely incidental.

4) Wyckema, A: "De Invloed van Nederland op Ontstaan en Ontwikkeling van de Staatsinstellingen der Z.A.Republiek tot 1881", p.212.

The British attitude towards non-Europeans was the reason for the Voortrekkers leaving Natal after its annexation.

heid te behouden"¹⁾ and who wished to migrate to such territory where "de heerschappij van Doctor Philip"²⁾ niet meer geëerbiedigd wordt"³⁾, would not interest themselves in the education and evangelisation of the non-European people.

But that was not the case. The Trekkers, though opposed to foreign missionaries⁴⁾, they themselves were not indifferent towards mission work.⁵⁾ While on trek they were served throughout by missionaries, in particular Daniel Lindley of the American Board for Foreign Missions, and also the Wesleyan Archbell.⁶⁾

The work of Archbell so impressed Piet Retief that he wrote from Sand River on 9th September 1837 that this missionary deserved the highest praise for the institution he had established amongst the natives, and that others might take a lead from Archbell.⁷⁾

It is self-evident that while on trek very little could be done with regard to systematic missionary work,⁸⁾ and as far as the Coloured People were concerned, very few accompanied the Voortrekkers on their journeys northwards;

1) Pretter, G.S.: "Voortrekkersense" II p.30 (Declaration by Anna Elizabeth Steenkamp, reproduced in this work).

2) Mr John Philip, head of the London Missionary Society.

3) De Zuid Afrikaan, 1.6.1838: Contribution by "Een Inwoner van Gradock."

4) Pretter, G.S.: "Voortrekkersense" I p.300. The Voortrekker Constitution drawn up on 6th June 1837 at the Vet River provides in its first article as follows: "Sij, die gereformeerde leedematen zijn begerig dat een eider, geeneen uitgezondert, zal moeten afwijken van alleen den zendelings genootskap van Engeland, en verder daarvoor onentlijk bedanken."

5) SS 2111, No.106/59 Copy Letter: M.W.Pretorius to Grey, 6.5.1859 (T.A.); in reply to SS15, No.R 2564/59: Grey to Pretorius, 27.1.1859 (T.A.)

6) SS 1 R 74a/41:(12.3.1841); also SS 7 R.1207/56 (29.9.1856) See also Letter R.Anderson to Landdrost J.Boshof; 18.6. 18 in Gerdener, Boustowke, p.3.

7) Pretter, G.S.: Piet Retief, p.104.

8) Gerdener, G.B.A.: "'n Reu van Genade, 1838-1938" p.16.

even the number of indentured labourers was small.¹⁾

2. THE VOORTREKKERS OF THE TRANSVAAL AND THE NATIVES AND COLOURED PEOPLE UNDER THEIR CONTROL.

When the Voortrekkers entered the Transvaal, they found the country occupied by the remnants of the Batlapin, Batlaro, Bakatla, Barolong, Bahurutai, Bangwaketse, Bakwena, Bamangwato, Batawana, Bavenda, Bapedi, Makaranga and Basuto tribes.²⁾ During the first quarter of the previous century, these native tribes were engaged in a bitter conflict leading almost to their eradication. Moselikatsi, chief of the Matabele-hordes, started this war of destruction and terrorised his compatriots, so that by 1837 he was the monarch of all the native tribes in the Transvaal.³⁾

When Andrew Geddes Baine travelled through the interior at the time, he found this territory to be "a great waste teeming with game, where a few Betschuana hunters might occasionally be seen always in terror that they might be discovered by the Matabelli soldiers. Cultivation of the ground had of course ceased and the survivors of the former inhabitants were eking out a miserable existence on the borders of the desert ready to retreat into it on the first report that a Matabela band, however small was in the neighbourhood."⁴⁾ Theal himself remarks:

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- 1) Voigt, J.C.: "Fifty Years of the History of the Republic" Part II p. 69.
 - 2) Theal, G.M.: "History of S.A. since 1793" Vol.I p.429-456
 - 3) Stow, G.W.: "The Native Races of South Africa" - This author gives a full account of the different races occupying the territory.
 - 4) Theal, G.M.: "History of S.A. since 1793"-Vol.IV p.472-478, quoted in this book.

"In the country of the Bahurutse, Bakwena, Bakatla, Bangwaketsi and Barolong..... there was no other master than Moselikatsi and the lions."¹⁾

The arrival of the Voortrekkers in the Transvaal was welcomed by the terrorised native tribes, for the Boers put an end to Moselikatsi's campaign of murder and terror upon his own people. Two English travellers, who journeyed through this country at the time, contended that "the tranquillity of the interior is only to be attributed to the fortunate appearance in that place of our late Fellow Colonists the Dutch Farmers."²⁾

The Voortrekkers were at all times prepared to live on friendly terms with the natives, while many tribes placed themselves under the protection of the Boers.^{3) 4)}

A.H. Potgieter, the Voortrekker leader, said of his contacts with certain native tribes: "Ten eersten hebben wy aangetroffen de Kapetijn Denser en het hem een vrede besluit en ten tweede de koning Maroka en ook met een vrede besluit, ten derde de bastaarts Kertyn Pieter Davids ook met een vrede besluit, ten vierde de koning Sikoniela ook het een vrede besluit, ten vyfde de koning Makwena ook met een vrede besluit..... wy hebben voor ons een strek lants gekogt van de kantyn Makwena die ook gerenneweerd is door Musielikaats omrede dat wy niemand will benadelen van de naatsies die hier zijn."⁵⁾

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- 1) (a) Theal, G.M.: "History of S.A. since 1793"-Vol. IV p.472-476, quoted in this work. (b) See also: "South African Journal", Part I Jan-Febr. 1824, p.76-77 and Part II p.173 for account of Mantatere invasion.
2) Tancred, Dr. A.J. "Letters to Sir Peregrine Maitland on the present Kafir War (1846)" Part I & II (S.A. Library, Cape Town, 575(e), 891(?) p.31-32.
3) "Voortrekker-Argiefstukke 1829-49, p.97, R.49/38.
4) "De Oude Emigrant"- 3 April 1860: De Republiek Lydenburg versus Het Evangelische Verbond te Port Elizabeth (T.A.).
5) Voortrekker-Argiefstukke, 1829-49, p.29-31.

On 9th April 1844, The "Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek" proclaimed its first constitution, and in it the relationship between European and non-European was clearly laid down.¹⁾

In the period prior to the different small republics uniting, treaties of peace were made with different native tribes. Thus treaties were made with Panda and Gotsaways.²⁾

In the constitution of the "Verenigde Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek", 1858, the relationship and policy of the Boers towards the non-Europeans was once again clearly reiterated. There would be no equality between Europeans and Coloureds,³⁾ in Church and State; no slave-trade nor slavery would be tolerated and furthermore, no Coloured person would be allowed to serve on any of the councils of the Republic.⁴⁾

With regard to the native races, it was further laid down that such native races as were living within the territory of the Republic would be protected in person and property.⁵⁾ The Republic also stipulated in its constitution that: "Het volk zoekt geen uitbreiding van grondgebied en wil die alleen volgens regtvaardige beginsels, wanneer het belang der Republiek die uitbreiding raadzaam maakt".⁶⁾

1) Jorissen, W.G.P.: Codex van de Locale Wetten der Z.A. Republiek - for all laws.

2) T.8/139 (T.A.)

3) "Gekleurden ingezetenen" is used to denote Coloured People as well as natives.

4) Grondwet van de Z.A. Republiek 1858: Staats Courant der Z.A. Republiek, 5.3.1858 No.21, Vol.I; Art.8,9,31.

5) Ibid, art.6.

6) Ibid.

These declarations of policy formed the pillars on which the Boer communities based their relationships with the natives and Coloured People. Again and again the Boers declared that they would not tolerate equality between White and Black. Thus in 1856 it was clearly stated that "de Synode moet geen gelykstelling van de gekleurde en blanken leden der kerk willen".¹⁾ In May 1898 the minister of the church at Johannesburg declared that he wanted "geen gelykstelling in de kerk", and he felt that "daar is geen gelykstelling als een gekleurde zendeling onder gekleurdes arbeid".²⁾

From 1860 the Z.A.R. started to build up a national native policy with the object of putting the relationship between European and non-European on a satisfactory and lasting basis. Dr P. van Biljon puts it thus:- "In Beleid van apartheid was reeds in 1860 deur die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek as sine qua non vir die voortbestaan van Blank en Swart in Suid-Afrika aanvaar."³⁾

But this policy met with obstruction. While the conventions of Sand River and Bloemfontein gave the Boer Republics political freedom, attempts were soon thereafter being made by British Imperial interests to have these treaties annulled, particularly after the discovery of the mineral wealth of the Transvaal. - The Z.A.R. was being

1) De Kerkbode, 1856 : p. 312.

2) 2de Algemene Kerkvergadering v.d. Ned. Herv. of Gereformeerde Kerk in de Republiek, Pretoria 14.5.1898. See also : Gerderer, Ronsdowpe..... p. 461.

3) van Biljon, P: "Grensakeens tussen Blank en Swart in Suid-Afrika" p.330 op.cit.

accused of unsatisfactory government; accusations of slave-trade were made; ammunition and rifles were being sold to native tribes; the natives were often instigated to open rebellion, while the unsavoury part played by some philanthropists has already been mentioned.

Thus Sir George Grey commented in 1856:- "when a great and powerful nation like England binds itself by a convention not to enter into treaties with numerous coloured races in the immediate vicinity of her own possessions and to act as a police for another nation, to prevent these coloured races from obtaining arms and ammunition with which to defend themselves, I think she should at least preserve such a control over the proceedings of the nations whom she thus benefits at the cost of others, that she might take care that they use these vast advantages justly and well for others, and in a manner which did not compromise the interests or safety of British territories."¹⁾

In 1867 Lord Carnarvon sent a confidential dispatch to Sir Philip Wodehouse in which he said:- "If it can be clearly proved that the Republics practically sanction slave trading and slavery and are therefore chargeable with a violation of the Convention of 1852, which as you remark, the British Government cannot overlook, I shall be glad if you will state to me in a confidential despatch whether you think that a suitable opportunity has occurred of giving notice to the President that Her Majesty's Government cannot regard the Convention of 1852 as any longer binding on them".

1) Grey to Labouchere : 27 Sept. 1856 : Further Papers, State of Kafir Tribes, Aug. 1857.

He also stated that "such a declaration would at all event enable her Majesty's Government to abrogate the one-sided provisions of the Convention which binds them to supply gunpowder and other ammunition to the Republic and to withhold it from the natives."¹⁾

Yet the Z.A.R. endeavoured at all times to secure friendly and satisfactory relations with the non-Europeans. The interest shown in native affairs was proved by the fact that the Volksraad appointed a Commission of Enquiry on 7th September 1871 "teneinde alle memorien betrekking hebbende op kaffer dienstboden en kaffervrenten te onderzoeken daer toe alle informatie dat zy nodig achten in te winnen en zoo spoedig mogelijk een rapport aan den Read uit te brengen."²⁾³⁾

Most of the recommendations of the commission of inquiry were subsequently approved of by the legislative council or Volksraad.

By 1874, however, the international situation in Europe had clarified itself, and British Imperialism, once again had ambitions of extending its control in South Africa. The architect of this scheme was Disraeli's Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon. "Carnarvon decided to obtain control of the Transvaal, by annexation, if necessary, because it was an unavoidable step towards the control of the whole of South Africa, with its now visible riches"⁴⁾.

1) Confidential Dispatch of Lord Carnarvon to Sir Philip Wodehouse, 9 Feb. 1867: Correspondence relative to the alleged kidnapping and enslaving of young Africans by People of the Transvaal Republic: Parliamentary Papers, Transvaal 1869-1896, p.15.

2) Den Kaffer Commissie 1871.

3) No distinction was made with regard to the Coloured People, for "Kleurlingen" included natives as well as Coloureds: Volksraad Besluit, 14.11.1871, art.346.

4) Vulliamy, C.E.: "Outlanders" (1936) p.28 op.cit.

In order to disguise its motives for the annexation of the Transvaal, British Imperialism again began to attack the native policy of the Voortrekkers.¹⁾ In contravention of the Sand River Convention, arms and ammunition were being supplied to the non-Europeans²⁾; the Anti-Slavery Society was again accusing the Boers of slave-trade. England was going to win back the Republic and introduce a more enlightened native policy!³⁾ Theophilus Shepstone was delegated to carry out this task, and in bidding him farewell and success in his mission, Lord Carnarvon is credited with saying that he hoped that Shepstone would have the honour of becoming the first British Governor of the Transvaal.⁴⁾

But the annexation should, if possible, be carried out without force of arms. In this connection, Sir Garnet Wolseley, Special High Commissioner in South Africa, advised Shepstone as follows:- "To conquer the Transvaal by force of arms with a view to expanding our territory would be far too drastic a measure for John Bull's stomach, but public opinion here always supports a policy that is evidently intended for the protection of the native races against white aggression, and thus has for its object the prevention of wars".⁵⁾

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- 1) Leyds, Dr W.J.: "De Eerste Annexatie van de Transvaal" 1876-78. p.162-163.
 - 2) Keene, Gen. J.C.G.: "Vir Vryheid en Reg", p.30.
 - 3) De Kiewiet, C.G.: "The Imperial Factor in South Africa" p.71
 - 4) Engelbrecht, Dr S.J.: "Thomas Francois Burgers" (1903) p.230.
 - 5) Sir Garnet Wolseley to Theophilus Shepstone: 11 Oct. 1877, in "The Shepstone Papers"; also quoted in Engelbrecht, Thomas Francois Burgers, p.254.

With regard to the false accusations against the Boers relative to their treatment of non-Europeans, the testimonies of Bishop Colenso, of J.J. Pratt,¹⁾ and others speak for themselves.

Pratt testified as follows:- "I do not deny that isolated cases of ill-treatment may have occurred in outlying districts, or that the Boers in the early days of trekking.....may have been driven to hostile measures to protect themselves from constant attack of natives.... but with reference to charges reflecting discredit on the Government and people alike, such as obtaining 6,000 children annually and the burning of children alive, I have every reason to believe that the former will, on investigation in the Republic prove to be a gross exaggeration and the latter, if it occurred at all, was not the act of the Boers, but of the Kaffirs themselves against Kaffirs."²⁾

The testimony of Bishop Colenso was to the effect that the indictment of the Aborigines Protection Society against the Republic of slavery and ill-treatment of non-Europeans was without foundation and grossly exaggerated. The fact that large numbers of non-Europeans continued to live under Boer-rule without making any attempt to flee into British controlled territory bore witness thereto

1) Special Consul of the British Government in the Z.A.R.

2) Correspondence relative to the alleged kidnapping and enslaving of young Africans by the People of the Transvaal Republic (1889), p.52.

that many preferred the Boers to the British.¹⁾

Sent under the cloak of enquiring into the causes of the disturbances between the Boers and the Bapedi-tribe under Sekukuni²⁾ and with the commission to adopt measures to prevent the recurrence of similar disturbances in the future,³⁾ Shepstone entered the Transvaal on 4th January 1877 and annexed the territory.⁴⁾ "He was there to annex the Transvaal to the British Crown. He had in fact been knighted for the purpose, and this was to be the first of his knightly acts," says a writer.⁵⁾

The result was the first clash between Boer and Briton, which took place only in 1880 and was known as the First Boer War of Independence.⁶⁾ After the British had been engaged in a few costly skirmishes in the Laings Nek Pass and elsewhere, and in the episode at Majuba, the Gladstone Government conceded internal independence to the Transvaal, save in native affairs.⁷⁾

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- 1) Quoted by Rathbone in the British House of Commons, 25th July 1891—Hansard Vol. CXLXIII, p.1793. Leyds, Dr W.J.: "De Eerste Annexatie van de Transvaal", p.163, quotes Colenso as saying:—"Ik ben in voortdurende korrespondentie geweest met den heer Chesson, Secretaris der Aborigines Protection Society en anderen en heb gedaan wat ik kon om de beschuldiging van slaven-houden en liever van slaven-maken te niet te doen, een beschuldiging die, welke grond er ook voor zope geweest zyn in het verledene, niet kan worden ingebracht tegen het tegenwoordige geslacht. Ik heb er juist op gewezen dat het blote feit dat 800,000 Kleurlingen onder de Transvaalsche Gouvernament woonden zonder te vluchten en om bescherming over te lopen naar Natal, voldoende is om aan te tonen dat de beschuldiging tegen de Boeren van slechte behandeling der naturellen onder hun gezag, ten zwareste overdreven moet zyn en dat zy zelfs naar allen schyn, zelfs de Boerenheerskappy boven de onzen verkiezen".
 - 2) C.1748: Lord Carnarvon to Sir H.F. Bulwer, 23 Dec. 1876. (British Blue Books, Transvaal) p.242.
 - 3) C.1776: Lord Carnarvon to Shepstone, 5 Oct. 1876 (British Blue Books, Transvaal) p.1.
 - 4) (a) Govt. Gazette: Annexation of Transvaal, 12th April 1877: 85, 1877; 14.4.1877 No.1. (b) See also: Engelbracht, Dr S.F.: "Thomas Francois Burgers" p.252-3.
 - 5) Villiamy, C.F.: "Outlanders" p.29 or cit.
 - 6) See (a) Kemp, Gen. J.C.G.: "Vir Vryheid en Vir Reg", p.41-58. (b) Leyds, Dr W.J.: "De Eerste Annexatie van de Transvaal." (c) Penning, L: "De Oorlog in Zuid-Afrika" Deel I (1889).
 - 7) Agar-Wharton, J.A.I.: "South Africa", p.30.

A Royal Commission was appointed on 5th April 1891 to investigate conditions in the Transvaal and to draw up a peace treaty with the Boers.¹⁾ Lord Kimberley, who directed the commission, was guided by a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Aborigines Protection Society on 31st March 1891. The resolution read as follows:-

"This meeting desires to express its conviction that no settlement of the Transvaal question will be satisfactory that does not secure the separation from the Transvaal of Native Territories, such as Lydenburg, Waterberg and Moutpansberg, and that it is equally essential that the natives inhabiting the territory governed by the Boers shall be secured the right to hold land, to receive religious and other instruction, and to enjoy personal freedom."²⁾

In his instructions to Sir Hercules Robinson, head of the above-mentioned Royal Commission, Lord Kimberley indicated that he wanted a policy to be evolved that would preserve the peace of the frontier and would maintain generally a state of tranquillity throughout the whole of South Africa. Stress had to be laid on a native policy that could be applicable to the whole of South Africa.³⁾

The outcome of this commission was the drafting of the Convention of Pretoria, which was adopted on 3rd August 1891. The "Transvaal State" was to remain under the suzerainty

1) Royal Commission appointed on 5th April 1891, consisting of Sir Hercules Robinson, Sir Evelyn Wood and Sir Henry de Villiers; See also C.3114, p.7.

2) C.2391: Resolution Aborigines Protection Society, 31 March 1891 (British Blue Books, Transvaal). This resolution was proposed by William Fowler, M.P. and seconded by Dr Moffat.

3) C.3114: Instructions to Sir Hercules Robinson, 31.3.1891 p.6 ff.

of the Queen, who had the right to appoint a British Resident for the territory. Article 3 of this convention stated "that no future enactment specially affecting the interests of natives shall have any force or effect in the said state without the consent of Her Majesty, Her Heirs and Successors, first had and obtained and signified to the Government of the said state through the British Resident."¹⁾

The Convention of Pretoria was not acceptable to the Boers and was, therefore, a failure. The British Resident at Pretoria was openly flouted, the State resumed the designation of "De Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek", and the new republics of Stellaland and Goshen appeared in Bechuanaland beyond the fixed western border and in contravention of the Pretoria Convention.²⁾

A delegation of Boers, consisting of Pres. J.S.P. Kruger, Gen. N.J. Smit and Dr S.J. du Toit was sent to England in 1883 with the object of getting the Pretoria Convention replaced by a new agreement based on international law and the principles of the Sand River Convention.³⁾

The result was the London Convention, which was agreed to on 27th February, 1884.⁴⁾

This convention relaxed to a great degree the conditions imposed upon the Boers. The Resident was removed, the title of Republic was conceded, the word "suzerainty"

1) C.3114: Convention of Pretoria, 3 Aug. 1881.

2) Agnew-Hamilton, J.A.I: "South Africa", p.30 - 31.

3) Potius, Dr F.R.: "Die Staatkundige Ontwikkeling van die Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek onder Kruger en Leyds.(1814-1893)" p.113.

4) C.3914: Convention of London. The terms of the London Convention are also to be found in : (a) Potius, F.R.: "Die Staatkundige Ontwikkeling..." App.C; (b) Leyds, Dr W.J.: "De Eerste Annexatie....." p.417-423.

was dropped, but the veto on foreign affairs and treaties remained.

Article IV of the Convention of London reads as follows:-

"De Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek zal geen verdrag of verbintenis aangaan met eenigen Staat of Natie, behalve met den Oranje Vrijestaat, noch met eenigen Inboorling Stam ten Oosten of ten Westen van de Republiek, voordat het zal zijn goedgekeurd door Hare Majesteit de Koningin.

Deze goedkeuring zal geacht worden verleend te zijn, als Harer Majesteits Regeering niet binnen zes maanden na de ontvangst van een afschrift van zoodanig verdrag (dat haar zal moeten overhandigd worden terstond na de voltooiing er van) zal hebben te kennen gegeven, dat de sluiting van zoodanig verdrag strijdig is met de belangen van Groot Brittanie" of van een van Harer Majesteits bezittingen in Zuid-Afrika".¹⁾

The Convention of London restricted the rights of the Boers in regard to their native policy.²⁾

Dr F. van Eiljon comments as follows on the Pretoria and London Conventions: " Die bepalinge van die Konvensies van 1881 en 1884 het die Republiek eerder verhinder om 'n gesonde beleid uit te werk, as wat dit gadien het om 'n beter beleidsrigting aan te wys. Die beskouings wat so dikwels nagepraat word, as sou die konvensies vir die eerste maal rigting gegee het aan die Naturellebeleid van die Republiek, is heelis van alle waarheid onthloot."³⁾

1) Leyds, Dr W.J.: "De Eerste Annexatie....." p.419 (Dutch wording of Art.IV).

2) C.3914: Convention of London 1884, Articles XVIII, XIX.

3) van Eiljon, F: Grensbaken tussen Blank en Swart in Zuid-Afrika," p.374, op.cit.

Whereas the period 1881-1894 was one of uncertainty for the Z.A.R., the following fifteen years brought to the Boer Republic problems of an almost insuperable nature. The British Government was making demands with regard to Stellaland and Goshen; the Republic had hardly recovered its poise from the troubles of the annexation and its retrocession, when a fresh upheaval began with the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886. A large number of people came to the Transvaal from overseas and soon the Government of the Z.A.R. had to contend with a large "uitlander" population that was exclusively alien to Voortrekker ideals and concepts. From then on the Z.A.R. had to contend with plotters and intriguers who at all times made demands to put the affairs and management of the Republic in a bad light.¹⁾

Commercial imperialism was on the march and as the year 1895 came to an end, the Jameson Raid took place²⁾ and four years later the Anglo-Boer War occurred.

While it is outside the scope of this treatise to discuss the machinations and political manoeuvres of the British capitalists and imperialism of the time, it is

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- 1) For an account of this period see, inter alia:-
(a) Ferris, C.R.: "Blood and Gold in South Africa"
(b) Van Corder, J.F.: "Paul Kruger en de Opkomst van de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek". (c) Garvin, J.L.: "The Life of J. Chamberlain", Vol. III (1895-1903).
(d) Nathan, Manfred: "Paul Kruger: His Life and Times"
(e) Statham, F.R.: "Paul Kruger and His Times" (T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1896).
- 2) (a) Z.A.R. Groenboek No. 3, 1896: Stukken betrekking hebbende op den Inval van de Troepen der British South Africa Company in de Z.A.R., 1896; (b) Correspondentie van de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek met betrekking tot de Teroeringen in den aanvang van 1896 (Z.A.R. 1896).

of interest to note what Sir William Butler¹⁾ had to say concerning the people of Johannesburg, with whom President Kruger and his government had to contend. He referred to them as "probably the most corrupt, immoral and untruthful assemblage of beings in the world", and he had not the slightest doubt that "all political questions in South Africa, and nearly all the information sent from Cape Town to England is now being worked by a colossal syndicate for the spread of systematic misrepresentation".²⁾

The Z.A.R. had now to contend also with a large non-European population that had been drafted to work on the mines. These natives and Coloureds were at times incited against the Boers, and whatever legislation was being considered by the government of the Z.A.R. with regard to non-Europeans, was the subject of interference on the part of the British.

The government of the Z.A.R., notwithstanding the tremendous and pressing problems that confronted it from all sides, continued to give constant attention to the non-Europeans under its jurisdiction. This is borne out by the numerous legislative acts and by the commissions that dealt with native affairs during the period 1884 to 1899.

True to its avowed policy of "geen gelykstelling", the Boers attempted to work out a policy that would enable

1) Sir William Butler, Lt. General, was appointed Acting High Commissioner in the Transvaal, 22.10.1898.

2) Headlam, C: "The Milner Papers" I, p. 292. Quotation from Sir William Butler's "Autobiography" written on 18.12.1898.

the non-European to develop along his own lines. The Squatters Act of 1887¹⁾ aimed at protecting the interests of the non-European community in the Republic; the Gold Laws had the object, inter alia, of protecting the non-Europeans from exploitation by unscrupulous speculators, while the Pass Laws aimed at maintaining law and order in the community.²⁾

It is of interest to review briefly some of the actions taken by the Z.A.R. during this final and turbulent period of its existence.

A commission consisting of S.J.P. Kruger, George Hudson, H. Schoeman and Fritz Stiemens as secretary, was appointed to consider the allocation of land to natives. This commission brought out its report in 1885 as a result of which certain areas were set aside as locations for natives.³⁾ In the same year, Law No.4 of 1885 of the Z.A.R.⁴⁾ was promulgated. In the preamble to this legislation it was stated that "de onkunde, gebruiken en gewoontes van de inboorlingbevolking dezen Republiek hen ongeschikt maken voor de plichten en de verantwoordelykheid van het beschaafde leven", and it was, therefore, necessary to place them under supervision until "zij behoorlik in staat gesteld zyn zoodanige plichten en verantwoordelykheid te begrypen en te waarden, welke zy redelykerwyse mogen geacht worden te kunnen volbrengen in gehoortzameid aan de algemene wetten bestaende in de Republiek."

In January 1886 a Superintendent of Native Affairs was appointed.⁵⁾ The annual reports of this officer make

1) Flakkers Wet No.11, 1887 - Z.A.R.

2) Van Miljon, P: Grensbakens..... p.391/2.

3) TL.1275, also R.523/95 (Transvaal Archives) Coloured People were included among the natives.

4) Wet No.4, 1885 - Z.A.R.

5) U.V.R.R. Art.1, 4 Jan.1886 (Decision of Executive Council)

interesting reading.¹⁾ The Volksraad concerned itself at all times with the housing of natives and their settlement in locations. Decisions of the Volksraad of 5th and 7th July 1888,²⁾ for example, bear witness thereto. The Government of the Z.A.R. was concerned with promoting the "arbeidszaamheid en de beschaving onder de naturellen" and was opposed to conditions by which "duizenden honger een lui, werkloos en vaak ook liederlijk leven leiden."³⁾

The Z.A.R. made no distinction between natives and Coloured People in the legislation which it enacted concerning non-Europeans. This led to further trouble between the Boers and the British.⁴⁾

It was Milner in particular and also Cecil John Rhodes who took up the cudgels on behalf of the Coloured People. Prior to Sir Alfred Milner's (later Lord Milner) arrival, a formal protest was lodged by the British Agent at Pretoria against the treatment of Coloured People, on the grounds that the Republic chose to treat as natives "Cape Boys" and Coloured British subjects, many of whom had a large percentage of European blood in their veins. These people were required to take out passes and to wear badges and were forbidden to walk on the pavements.⁵⁾

The British Agent at Pretoria, Conyngham Greene urged Milner to take action against the Government of the Z.A.R. and in a letter to Milner on 8th July 1897, he said:-

1) Jaar Rapporten der Superintendent van Naturellen, 1886-1898.

2) Volksraad Besluit, Art. 922, 924, 926, 6-7 July 1888.

3) Volksraad Besluit, Art 1010, 27.7.1886.

4) CD 2239, p.40; Ann. 1884; see also Chapter III above.

5) The Milner Papers, I (1897 - 1899) p.192.

" I fear we shall have a tremendous outcry soon unless we get something done, as the treatment these poor fellows are getting is insufferable."¹⁾ Milner replied on 16th July 1897, that he had threatened the government of the Z.A.R. that compensation would be exacted from it in cases where "Cape Boys" had been roughly handled.²⁾

The diplomatic pressure that Milner brought to bear on the Z.A.R. resulted in the drafting of new regulations, which made practically free men of the Coloured People.³⁾⁴⁾

This did not satisfy Milner, for some six months later, in a communication to Joseph Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary under Lord Salisbury, he maintained that among the several questions at issue with the Boers was one concerning the treatment of "Cape Boys", which he regarded as a breach of promise. He wanted permission from the Colonial Secretary for more incisive action.⁵⁾

In his reply, Chamberlain contended, however as follows:- " Most of the grievances of which we have to complain are of a character which would not excite great sympathy in this country and they would not be considered as sufficient to constitute a casus belli..... As regards

1) The Milner Papers I, p.192: Greene to Milner, 6.7.1897.

2) Ibid, I p.193: Milner to Greene, 16.7.1897.

3) Ibid : Letter from Conyngham Greene to Milner 13.6.1897.

4) Antwoord van de Onderstaatssekreteris Suidenlandsche Zaken, 22 Aug.1897: The Z.A.R. had decided to exempt all Coloured People falling under the jurisdiction of the Health Committee of Johannesburg from the provisions of Pass Law No.31 of 1896, and to refund the fines of such as were convicted under this Act, provided they could show that they were self dependant individuals employed in a trade or occupation. (Correspondentie van de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek met betrekking tot de Kaapse Kleurlingen in de Republiek: Z.A.R. No.8, 1899, p.5.

5) Letter from Milner to Chamberlain, 23.2.1898 reproduced in "Milner Papers" I, p.222.

the Cape Boys, I would avoid putting them forward too categorically. It rouses very little sympathy in the white afrikanders, whether English or Dutch.¹⁾

A year later, on 10th March 1899, Milner again complained of renewed persecution to which Cape Coloured persons and other British subjects were subjected at the hands of the Fieldcornet and Pass Officials at Johannesburg.²⁾ He complained of organised raids upon Coloured British subjects, who were subsequently arrested for not being in possession of monthly passes and identity badges. He further contended that Cape Coloured families had been evicted from their places of business in Pretoria and Johannesburg and that in other cases the threat of eviction was only averted by bribing the Town Inspector.³⁾

This led to a commission of enquiry being appointed by the government of the Z.A.R. on 28th December, with the assurance of the President, that officials found guilty of misconduct would be instantly dismissed.⁴⁾

Of interest is a letter dated 23rd March 1899 written by F.W. Reitz, the State Secretary of the Z.A.R. to the British Agent in Pretoria in reply to complaints of Sir Alfred Milner. He wrote in reply that the class to which these people belonged, i.e. the Coloured People, could seldom be relied upon to speak the truth; they were persons so impudent and provocative that no police in the world, no matter how long suffering and well-disciplined

1) J. Chamberlain to Milner, 16.3.1898 in "Milner Papers", I p.228.

2) Dispatch of Sir A. Milner to British Agent at Pretoria in "Milner Papers" I, p.306-308.

3) "Milner Papers", I p.306-308.

4) Ibid.

could put up with. They were, indeed, people "die doorgaans tot het laagst zedelijke peil in de maatschappij behooren."¹⁾ Furthermore, Cape Coloured persons who had complained of their removal to the locations at Johannesburg, were those, indeed, who were inhabiting and supporting brothels.²⁾

Beitz concluded his letter in the following terms:- "The greatest circumspection is always necessary in judging of such complaints and this Government regrets therefore, all the more that His Excellency, in discussing them, has not hesitated to accuse its officials of corruption or similar malpractices, without, however, acquainting the Government with particulars which might enable it to enquire into the foundations of the accusations." Finally he pleaded for "reciprocal forbearance in the treatment of these and similar cases that the Native or Coloured Person's question in South Africa can be solved."³⁾

This then was the background against which the first shots were fired in the Anglo-Boer War, which broke out in October 1899⁴⁾, and it is this background, too, that must be considered in the judgment of the provision of educational facilities for Coloured People during the rule of the Voortrekker Boer in the Transvaal.

This background may best be judged by recalling the very words of Lord Alfred Milner, immediately after the Anglo-Boer War, uttered in his famous "Watch Tower Speech" on 18th March 1903. He adopted the saying of Rhodes, that civilisation, and not colour, was to be the test of fitness for civil rights. Though he wished the

1) Correspondentie van de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek met betrekking tot de Kaapse Kleurlingen in de Republiek (S.A.R. No.8, 1899) Brief No.8, p.23.

2) Ibid.

3) "The Milner Papers" I p.312.

4) Amery, L.S. (Editor): "The Times History of the War in South Africa" (1909)

door to be kept open to the native, the feeling of the whole white community was so strongly opposed to extending the franchise to aliens and coloured persons, that Milner felt no justification for forcing upon the white population a principle repudiated no less by the British inhabitants than by the Dutch. Milner came to the conclusion that "the white man must rule, because he is elevated by many, many steps above the black man. One of the strongest arguments why the white man must rule is because that is the only possible means of gradually raising the black man, not to our level of civilisation - which it is doubtful whether he would ever attain - but up to a much higher level than that which he at present occupies."¹⁾

Here then was the vindication of the policy of the Boers towards non-Europeans!

3. THE TRANSVAAL VOORTREKKER POLICY IN REGARD TO MISSIONARY WORK.

The first Voortrekker Council or "Raad der Represen-tanten" in Natal on 7th September 1839 acceded to a request from the American missionary Dr Adams that a farm be given to him for the establishment of a mission institution; on 5th August 1840 it was further agreed that the missionaries Lindley, Adams and Grout be allowed to journey to Panda and "vermeer dat hun aldaar gevalt er eene Instituit op te rigten."²⁾

The attitude and policy of the Council of Representatives of the Voortrekkers of Natal were clearly enunciated in a reply to a request by Wallace Hewetson on 2nd February 1841 that he be permitted to start missionary

1) The Milner Papers, Part II, 1899-1906, p.466-467, op.cit.

2) N 1: Besluiten v.d.Raad der Represen-tanten van het Volk (originele Notulen, Besluiten, Wetten) 7.9.1839; 6.8.1840 (T.A.)

work afresh amongst the Zulus. The Raad was in no way opposed to the work of evangelisation amongst the heathen and was even prepared to encourage and support it within its means, but "dat echter de Hollandsche boeren van Suid-Afrika veel heef moeten lijden door verkeerde en gheime berichten van vele sendelingen, strekkende tot nadeel van onse Nasionale eer en caracter, welke sendelingen sich meer hebben laten gebruiken als politieke voorstanders of opperhoofden van de gecouleerde volkeren dan als vreedsame leeraars van het woord Gods; dat daar door noodwendiglijk een sterk gevoelen onder die Suid-africanen omtrend sendelingen is opgewekt geworden; dat deeze Raad dus ook besloten heef, om geene sendelingen binnen dit grondgebied toe te laten dan alle de zulke van wien zy reden hebben te geloven opregte dienaars te zyn van het woord der waarheid en des vredes, en die sich tevens genegen verklaren aan onse plaatselijke wetten en outoriteiten te onderwerpen."¹⁾

This declaration remained the foundation of the policy with regard to missionary work and evangelisation also in the Transvaal, where the emigrant Boers established their republics. Where the missionaries complied with the wishes of the Boers, they were left unhindered, but where they attempted to use the cloak of missionary work for political ends, their endeavours were soon halted. The Voortrekker attitude towards the missionaries Inglis and Edwards, the Moffats and Livingstone, was in no wise due

1) Pretter, G.S.: "Voortrekker Wetgeving", p.104.
(Reproduced in this work).

to hostility towards mission work, ^{but,} as has already been indicated in a previous chapter, due to unwarranted and unjustified attacks made by the missionaries on the bonafides of the Boers.¹⁾

The Boers of the Transvaal clearly defined their policy with regard to mission work in their constitutions. In 1860 the Volkeraad adopted "Maatregelen van Voorzorg tegen Bedrog en Misleiding by de Uitbreiding van het Evangelium onder de Heidenen."²⁾ In these regulations it was laid down that no person would be permitted to become a missionary amongst the heathen unless requested thereto by the Volksraad. It further decreed that "Niemand zal het regt hebben op eenigen grond binnen deze Republiek een Zendingstasie op te rigten zonder verlof der Regering verkregen te hebben," and the government had the right at any time to cause an established mission station to be abandoned or transferred to another site in the interests of the State.³⁾

One of the important provisions with regard to missionaries was the following:- "Ieder zendeling is verplicht om naauwkeurig toe te zien, indien er eenige plannen of ondernemingen tegen den Staat op zyne bewoners, door kleurlingen van hunne station of van de stas waaronder zy verblijven mogten gemaakte worden, hiervan onmiddellijk aan het Gouvernement of den naasten ambtenaar kennis te

1) SS2 R.208/50: 15.4.1850 (T.A.) Fieldcornets J.P.Snyman, J.W.v.d.Merwe and G.C.Snyman visited the institute of Inglis at Marico. They found the accusation that two missionaries had been taken prisoner by the Boers to be "leugenagtig."

2) Staats Courant, 26.10.1860, p.4.

3) Staats Courant, 26.10.1860, p.4, Art.3,4.

geven, zullende zij by verzuim als medepligtigen in de plannen of ondernemingen word beschouwd en behandeld.¹⁾

The Transvaal Boer attitude towards the mission endeavour in the Z.A.R. emerges further very clearly from a perusal of correspondence between Governor G. Grey and President M.W. Pretorius. In January 1859 Grey wrote that he had received reports that some persons residing in the Transvaal territory were determined to destroy the British mission stations at Kuruman and to injure the missionaries residing there.²⁾ To this Pretorius replied that the rumours were not true, and if there were citizens of the Republic with such intentions then they would be "gestrengelyk volgens de wet doen vervolgan". He further gave this assurance : "gelyk alle ander zendelingen in onzen staat, zoo ook de Zendingstatie te Kuruman warm door ons zal worden ondersteund en beschermd, wanneer wy de overtuigen erlangen, dat aldaar niet het zaad voor tweedragte word uitgestrooid, noch heidenen tot den oorlog tegen Christenen worden aangezet, maar in waerheid het Evangelie van Christus wordt verkondigd".³⁾

The first attempts at evangelisation of the non-Europeans of the Transvaal during the regime of the Boer administration was only of a sporadic nature. The Voortrekker communities, while in the process of

1) (a) StaatsCourant, 26.10.1860, p.4, art.7

(b) V.R.R. 26.9.1860, art.133.

2) SS 15, No.R 2564/59: Grey to Pretorius, Potchefstroom, 27.1.1859 (T.A.).

3) SS 2111, No.106/59: Pretorius to Grey : 6.5.1859 (T.A.)

settling down, were confronted with numerous pressing problems that required attention, so that they were not in any event in a position to give much attention to the education and evangelisation of the non-Europeans under their control.

The Boers themselves were in dire need of preachers and ministers¹⁾, a need which still persisted in 1874.²⁾ In March 1856 Dr S.N.H. van Zeeel wrote to Commandant-General Pretorius in the following terms: "Bedroevend is het, dat er onder Vlieden zoo weinige Leeraars en onderwyzers zyn, om in geestelyke en zedelyke kennis te onderrichten."³⁾

It is, however, noteworthy that there were from the beginning people in the Z.A.R. who interested themselves in the education and evangelisation of the natives and Coloured People. Thus we find that Dr. P. Huet of Natal visited the Lydenburg district in 1858 and preached to the black and Coloured People living there. Huet wrote regarding his visit that "enkelen zijn er die begonnen hebben hunne dienstboden onderwijs te geven."⁴⁾

The early interest taken in missionary work is shown by a decision of the Republic of Lydenburg in 1850, in which "besloten word dat eene Commissie zal afgevaardigd worden naar de Afdeling van Marico om een schikking te maken tussen de Emigranten Boeren/^{aldaar} en de Kafferstaten ook

1)(a) SS I R.74/41: 6.3.1847, Gen.A.W.J.Pretorius pointed out the need for having a minister, (T.A.); (b) Laubs Collection, Band 5, VII/1341: Bercep op de Christelyke Bulvaardigheid in Nederland (Febr.1853) also in Gerdener, Boustowe.....p.563.

2)(a) De Volkstem, 4.7.1874; (b) De Zuid-Afrikaan, 15.10.1873 Letter by M.N.C. Moltzek.

3) SS 7 R 1005/56: 20.3.1856 (T.A.)

4) (a) De Kerkbode 1858, p.402; (b) See also: Staats Courant 31.12.1858, p.2 (T.A.)

profisioneelik de plaats of Zending locaties te bepaalen.¹⁾

When Dr William Robertson and Ps P.E. Faure visited the Transvaal in 1848 they found the Boers desirous of having the Dutch Reformed Church undertake missionary work amongst the non-Europeans. Dr Robertson was thus able to write in "De Kerkbode" of 1853 as follows:- "De immigranten hebben immers betuigd, ja, aan den schrijver dezes en zijner reisgesel verklaard, dat zy volgaarne Zendingen uit den schoot der Gereformeerde Kerk onder de inboorlingen zou zien arbeiden. Is dit niet eene geopende deur voor de direktie van het zendingswerk onzer kerk?"²⁾

The Dutch Reformed Church was, however, not in a position to carry out mission work in the Transvaal at the time, but various foreign mission societies were permitted to carry on with the task of evangelisation.³⁾

The general attitude of the Volksraad and the burghers towards these foreign missions was that they wished to have complete control over the activities of any mission society working within the territory of the Z.A.R. Though restrictive legislation with regard to missions and their work was adopted, it was not enforced, except in the case of Edwards and Inglis of the London Missionary Society, who were convicted in 1852 for sedition and sentenced to banishment.⁴⁾

1) V.R.R. Art 7, 1850 (Soutter Collection, T.A.)

2) De Kerkbode 1853, p.185, dated 24.5.1853.

3) Transvaal Book Almanac and Directory for 1877 by F.Jeppe, p.41 (Johannesburg Africana Library, 19617).

4) Theal, G.M.: "History of the Emigrant Boers in South Africa," p.340-342.

President M.W. Pretorius in an address to the Volksraad in October 1858 made the following observations:-
"By deze gelegenheid zal het voor U.H.Ed. Heeren noodsaaklyk zyn om over een onderwerp te besluiten dat naauw met den vrede en de welvaart van ons beoind land verbonden is. Ik zingepel op de tegenwoordigheid der Agenten van het London-Zending Genootschap onder de barbaarsche stammen, die met ons in aanraking waren en in vyandschap zyn.

Het zal voor U Hoog Ed. Achtbare Heeren te besluiten zyn of het raadzaam is de zendelingen met dat Genootschap verbonden, langer op hunne statien aan deze zyde der Vaalrivier te gedogen of niet. Ik ben op geloofwaardige rapporten gedrongen, het als myn gevoelens te uiten dat hun voortdurend verolof binnen onzen grenspalen gevaarlyk en nadelig is voor de vrede en de welvaart van het land, welke ik ernstig verlang dat ongeschonden zullen blyven voortduren."¹⁾

On the whole, the relationships between missionaries and the burghers were friendly, while some men, like President S.J.P. Kruger, showed personal interest in mission work. The President, for example, donated a portion of his farm for the establishment of the Hermannsburg Mission Station at Phokeng.²⁾

The mission societies concerned themselves chiefly with the native people of the Transvaal.

A determined, purposeful and systematic attempt at educating the Coloured People of the Transvaal came into fruition only in later years,

1) Volksraadsnotulen, 8.10.1858, Art. 6 in Staats Courant, Z.A.R. No. 46, 1858, Vol.II.
2) U.G. 29/1936 - p.22.

4. THE EDUCATION OF THE COLOURED PEOPLE OF THE TRANSVAAL
IN THE PERIOD PRIOR TO THE ANGLO-BOER WAR.

The cause of educating the non-Europeans of the Transvaal was accelerated in the sixties of the previous century when the "Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk", then the official State Church of the Z.A.R.¹⁾ decided to undertake missionary work amongst the natives and Coloureds of the Transvaal.

Mention has already been made of the endeavours of P.D.W. Huut at Lydenburg and elsewhere. He was followed by the well-known Frans Lion Cachet, who presided at the synod in Natal in 1861 and was responsible for the establishment of a "Vereniging tot Uitbreiding van Gods Koninkryk".²⁾

Some missionary work of a sporadic nature was undertaken by this society in Natal and the Transvaal, but the work was hampered by disputes between the Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape and its sister institutions in the Transvaal. The Transvaal branches became independent from the Cape Synod in 1862.³⁾

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- 1) Coetzee, Prof. J.G.: "Die Gereformeerde Beginselen en die Opvoeding in die Transvaal: 1859 - 1937", p.15.
 - 2) Gerdener, G.B.A.: "'n Eeu van Genade: 1838-1938" p.24.
 - 3) For the history of the Dutch Churches in South Africa, see:
 - (a) Dreyer, A: "Boustouwe in die Geskiedenis van die Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika, 1804-1936.
 - (b) Dreyer, A: "Die Kaapse Kerk en die Groot Trek" (Van de Sandt de Villiers Drukpers Meatskerry, Kaapstad, 1929)
 - (c) Engelbrecht, S.D.: "Geskiedenis van die Nederduits Hervormde Kerk van Afrika" (2e Druk), De Bussy, Pta. 1936.
 - (d) Gedenkboek: Nederduits Hervormde of Gereformeerde Kerk van Suid-Afrika: Wonderdade van God: 1842-1942 (Voortrekkers, Johannesburg, 1943).
 - (e) Gerdener, G.B.A.: Boustouwe vir die Geskiedenis van die Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerk in die Transvaal.
 - (f) Moorrees, A: "Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in S.A. 1652-1873 (1937).

The Dutch Reformed Church of the Cape ("Die Kaapse Kerk") took the initiative as far as a sustained effort with regard to missionary work was concerned. It decided in 1857 to establish a mission station outside the borders of the Cape Colony and preferably at Lydenburg in the Transvaal.¹⁾ This scheme did not materialise at the time,²⁾ and only as a result of a church conference held at Worcester in April 1860,³⁾ Dr William Robertson was delegated to go to Europe to recruit ministers and missionaries. As a result the services of two outstanding men were obtained, i.e. Henry Conin of Switzerland and Alexander McKidd of Scotland.^{4) 5)}

In March 1856 a manifesto was issued by the "Gereformeerde Gemeente" of Lydenburg, in which it was stated that the Boers were not opposed to the evangelisation of the non-Europeans, but would, indeed, welcome it.⁶⁾ The community desired, however, that such religious services as were to be arranged for the non-Europeans, were to be conducted in a separate church building erected for that purpose, and "niet in onze kerkgebouwen", ⁷⁾ The manifesto declared: "En indien er een gemeente van naturellen of bastaarden, enz.

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- 1) Du Plessis, Prof. J.: "Die Eutelandse Sending van die Kaapse Kerk (Populair-Wetenskaplike Leesboek II) p.227. A mission commission was appointed consisting of P.K. Albertyn of Galedon, N.J. Hofmeyer of Calvinia, H.J. Neethling of Prins Albert and Andrew Murray of Bloemfontein.
 - 2) The Colonial Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church of the Cape was unable to commence work at Lydenburg as a German Missionary Society had already entered the field there.
 - 3) De Kerkbode, 3 Dec. 1859: An article by Prof. Hofmeyer and in a subsequent issue one by Prof. John Murray of Stellenbosch gave rise to this conference.
 - 4) De Kerkbode 1865, p.327: Will of A. McKidd: 24.3.1865.
 - 5) Transvaal Book Almanac and Directory for 1877 (Jenne) p.51-52.
 - 6) SS 7 R 998/56: 8.3.1856 (T.A.)
 - 7) SS 7 R 998/56 : 8.3.1856.

bestaat of opgericht wordt dat dan op hun eigen kosten, of door collecte-gelden voor hunne godsdienst oefening eene afzonderlyke Kerk of huis gebouwt worden.

"Er is onze wensch en begeerte dat deze wet vastgesteld zal worden voor alle gemeenten in dez. Republ. nu reeds bestaende en welke na dezen dag noch onder ons opgericht mogen worden, onverschillig welke Godsdienst die gemeente ook belyden mogt."¹⁾

When Dr P. Huet visited the Transvaal in 1858 he suggested that if the "Commissie van het Zendingswazen" wanted to do missionary work, it had better do it amongst "de kaffers van Maleeuw en van Sequati, zynde Matatees, en woonachtig beide aan de grenzen van de Lydenburgsche gemeente."²⁾ Here the missionaries would not be hampered in their work.³⁾

In December 1859, Huet wrote to the President of the Z.A.R., M.W. Pretorius in which he stated: "De toestand der zwarten vooral ook in Transvaal gaat my zeer ter harte".⁴⁾ Even at Potchefstroom nobody had been attracted to this work. He suggested that the President of the Z.A.R. should sanction authority for the importation from Holland of "een godzalig man, geschikt en bereid om, in verband met de Gereformeerde Kerk in Overvaal, als godsdienstonderwyzer en Zending onder de gekleurde bevolking te Mooi-rivier werkzaam te zyn."⁵⁾

1) SS 70 993/55 : 8.3.1856.

2) Staats Courant, Z.A.R. 31.12.1858, p.2. Also in "De Kerkbode" 1858, p.402.

3) Ibid.

4) SS 16 No.R 3364/59: Huet to Pretorius, 21.12.1859.

5) SS 16 No.R 3364/59: 21.12.1859 (Huet to Pretorius).

The outcome was that a measure of missionary endeavour was commenced in the Transvaal by the Dutch Church in the sixties of the previous century. Rev. H. Conin went in 1861 to Saulspoort in the Rustenburg District and there he continued to do outstanding work with devotion and energy amongst the Bakhatla until his death in December 1910. In 1906 Conin received a valuable assistant in the person of Geo. Stegman,¹⁾ who eventually succeeded him. Stegman died in 1941. Saulspoort still exists today and is at present being maintained by the Sunday School Organisation of the Dutch Reformed Church.^{2) 3)}

In 1863 Alexander McKidd accompanied by his wife, HESSIE BOSMAN of Stellenbosch, established a mission station at Goedgedacht in the Soutpansberg District of the Northern Transvaal, where they worked among the Buysclan. Unfortunately their work was of short duration for Mrs. McKidd died of fever a few years after their arrival and McKidd himself entered the eternal rest in 1865.⁴⁾ When McKidd died he left the farms Kranspoort and Goedgedacht to be used "als een Zendingstasie ter verspreiding van het heerlyk Evangelie van Jezus Christus onder de arme heidenen".⁵⁾

McKidd's work at Soutpansberg was continued by

1) The writer met Stegman in 1932.

2) Die Transvaler, 16.3.1942: "Sendingstasie in Transvaal met erns aangedurf", p.14.

3) Du Plessis, J: "Die Binnelandse Sending van die Kaapse Kerk" (Dop. Wet. Leesboek II, 1919 - p.230-231) A portion of the Bakhatla eventually transferred themselves across the Marico River and settled at a place called Mochudi. Here Pieter Brink worked as missionary.

4) (a) De Kerkbode, 1865, p.327: 24.3.1865. ; (b) Hofmeyr, S: "Twintig Jaren in Soutpansberg" p.29, 37.

5) De Kerkbode 1865, p.327: Testament Herw. A. Mackidd: 24.3.1865.

the missionary Stefanus Hofmeyr, who laboured at Goedgedacht for more than a quarter of a century, and his work was continued by his son-in-law, Dr J.W. Danciel¹⁾. Stefanus Hofmeyer was the first Afrikaner who devoted himself to the Colonial Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church.²⁾ In 1862 he decided to become a missionary and after doing some missionary work at Franschoek, he joined McKidd at Goedgedacht on 6th February 1865.³⁾ Hofmeyr found the station in a very unsatisfactory condition and he described it on his arrival in the following terms:- "Wy vonden de statie in zeer primitieven toestand. Er was, slechts een ordentlyk gebouw, het woonhuis van Dr. McKidd, 'n kerkgebouwtje dat tevens voor school dienst deed, was een hartebeest-huisje..... De tuinen zagen er niet te ordenlijk uit; zy werden meest door de kaffers, die onder de Bujsen waren beëikt."⁴⁾ Hofmeyr laboured amongst the half-caste de Buys clan, headed by Michael De Buys (also called Bujs). The latter was the son of Coenrad de Buys, a European farmer of the Beaufort West district. This Coenrad had married a bastard woman, and on her death he went to Kaffirland, where he took unto himself as wife a sister (or niece) of Moselikatsi, the Matabele chief.⁵⁾ The De Buys clan was very interested in education and religion, but "met hunne eigen handen te arbeiden dat niet."⁶⁾

1) Die Transvaler, 16.3.1942, p.14.

2) Du Plessis, J: "Die Eutelandse Sending v.d.Kampse Kerk" (Pop. Wet. Leesboek II) p.228.

3) Hofmeyer, S: "Twintig Jaren in Zoutpansberg", p.30,35.

4) Ibid p.35.

5) Ibid p.6.

6) Ibid, p.35.

The farmers in the district were much opposed to missionary work in the beginning and Hofmeyr found a measure of hostility towards missionaries, but this was gradually overcome.¹⁾ The esteem with which Stefanus Hofmeyr was held in the circles of the Dutch Reformed Church is reflected in the proceedings and minutes of the meetings of the Synods of 1875 and 1881. In 1886 President Kruger visited Coedgedacht.²⁾

Not only did Stefanus Hofmeyr make a lasting contribution to missionary work in the Northern Transvaal, but his son Hendrik Hofmeyr followed in his footsteps and was for years engaged in the evangelisation and education of the natives and Coloureds at Bethal and Pietersburg.³⁾

In 1871 Dr J.H. Neethling visited the Transvaal and found that missionary endeavour in the territory was shared principally by the Hermannsburg Mission Society and the Berlin Mission Society. The former was engaged in territory west of the Crocodile River, while the latter was operating to the east of this river. Neethling expressed regret that the "Nederduitsch Gereformeerde Kerk" had not yet commenced missionary work in the area of Potchefstroom and Hartbeestfontein. Dr Neethling found that members of the Dutch Church were not opposed to missionary work. He commented: "In onderscheidene dingen hebben de leden hunne liefde aan Zendingen bewezen, en het woord over de Zending is hun welkom."⁴⁾ He was thus of the opinion that "het niet veel moete kosten (zou)

1) Hofmeyr, S : "Twaantig Jaren....." p.24-26; 330.

2) Ibid, p.306.

3) "Die Transvaal", 16.3.1942, p.14.

4) De Kerkbode, 1871, p.387; Dr J.H. Neethling - Zending Commissie Stellenbosch, Dec. 1871.

om haar ook voor de Zending naar vermogen te doen arbeiden." 1)

The interest in missionary work was further evinced by a decision of the "Algemene Kerkvergadering" of the Dutch Church in the Z.A.R. in 1872 to promote "de prediking van het Evangelie onder de heidenen." 2)

The Transvaal Branch of the Dutch Reformed Church began to take a lasting interest in the work of evangelisation only as a result of resolutions adopted at sittings of its General Council in 1875. 3) It was decided that collections should be made for missionary work and that, in collaboration with the Dutch Church in Natal, a mission station be established at a suitable place and that in addition a "Zending-commissie voor de Transvaal" be brought into being. 4) 5)

It is of interest to read the report on the extent of mission work in the Transvaal submitted to this historic convention. It reads as follows:- "Het Zendingswerk in de gemeenten laat helaas zeer veel te wenschen over. Sommige gemeenten hebben er niets aan gedaan, omdat men nog niet geleerd heeft, met verloochenen van zich zelve, de hand te reiken aan verlorengangende natuurgelovigen. In sommige gemeenten worden er tekenen van leven bespeurd in deze heerlijke zaak. Vooraan staan Lijdenburg, Hartebeestfontein en vooral Zoutpansberg, waar enige jongelieden begonnen zijn de kaffers te onderwijzen." 6)

1) De Kerkbode, 1871 p.387.

2) Handelingen, 5de Algemene Kerkvergadering te Nazareth, 1.4.1872; also in Gerdener, Roustowne.....p.356.

3) 7de Algemene Vergadering Ned. Geref. Kerk, 11.10.1875 te Nazareth.

4) Ibid.

5) This "Zending Commissie" became a permanent institution and in 1888 the commission was re-constituted: Handelingen 2de Algemene Kerkvergadering van de Ned. Herv. of Gereformeerde Kerk in de Z.A.R. gehou te Pretoria, 14.5.1888.

6) 7de Algemene Kerkvergadering, Ned. Geref.Kerk, Z.A.R. te Nazareth, 11.10.1875.

The first mission institution of this convention was established in 1831 at Jakhalsdams in the Pretoria district. This was one of the milestones in the endeavours of the Dutch Church in the Transvaal. The first missionary to work there was T.J.A. Mare.¹⁾ At one time a serious problem arose at this mission station, because the owner of the farm Jakhalsdams did not want to have the mission station any longer on his farm. Mare thereupon purchased that portion on which the mission station was situated and renamed it Elim.²⁾

By 1877 we find that the instruction of the native and Coloured population of the Transvaal was still left entirely to the numerous missionaries of different denominations spread all over the country.³⁾ In 1881 the missionary societies had 61 stations and 59 missionaries assisted by 21 natives belonging to six different societies, namely The Berlin, Hermannsburg, Cape Dutch Reformed Church, Free Evangelical Church of the Canton de Vaud of Switzerland, English Church Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society. The latter Society was operating on the Western boundaries of the Transvaal.⁴⁾ Most of these stations were established on farms purchased by the societies or on private property, but some were situated on government land occupied by the natives.⁵⁾ At these various mission stations

1) 13de Buitengewone Vergadering Ned. Ger. Kerk :26.1.1885: Ordening van T.J.A. Mare als zendeling.

2) Die Transvaler, 16.3.1942, p.14.

3) Jeppe, F: Transvaal Book Almanac and Directory for 1877, p.41, 51-2.

4) Jeppe, F: Transvaal Book Almanac and Directory for 1881, p. 135, 138, 193-'4.

5) *Ibid.*, p. 135.

only a small portion of the non-European population, about 2,500 souls, were receiving school tuition.¹⁾ The schools attached to the mission stations did not receive any financial support from the government, though a grant of £30 per annum was made available to each of these schools during the regime of the first British occupation of the Transvaal, as a result of the endeavours of Dr Lyle.²⁾

In 1881 the Berlin Missionary Society was operating at Middelburg and at Botsabelo in the district of Middelburg. It was also operating at Mosego, Sekukuni's Kraal and Khatatlou in the Lydenburg district. It had stations furthermore also in the districts of Heidelberg, Potchefstroom, Zoutpansberg, Waterberg and Pretoria.³⁾

The Hermannsburg Missionary Society was engaged in mission work in the districts of Pretoria, Rustenburg and Marico.⁴⁾ The Cape Dutch Reformed Church had at the time (1881) the Rev. S.J.G. Hofmeyr at Coedgedacht, H. Gonin at Saulspoort, P.S.J. Brink at Mochudi and J.R. Roux at Mableskraal. The mission of the Free Evangelical Church of the Canton de Vaud of Switzerland had Rev. E. Croux and P. Berthould at the Valdezia and Waterfall stations near Spelonken in the Zoutpansberg district. The English Church Missionary Society had Rev. J. Jackson at Fuhlozana in Swasi country and G.F. Carlson at Komati in the Lydenburg district. The London Missionary Society was operating

1) Jeppe, F: Transvaal Book Almanac and Directory for 1881 p. 138.

2) Government Gazette, 4 March 1879; see also Wet 4, 1874.

3) Jeppe, F: Transvaal Book Almanac and Directory for 1881, p.193 - '4.

4) Jeppe, F. : Transvaal Book Almanac and Directory for 1881 p. 193 - 194.

on the western boundaries of the Transvaal. The Rev. J. McKenzie and J. Brown were at Kuruman, working amongst the Bamangwato and the Matabeli.¹⁾

By 1889 the Berlin Missionary Society had 27 missionaries in the Transvaal; the Hermannsburg Society had 34 missionaries, the English Church Mission had 2, the Wesleyan mission had 5, the Swiss Mission 3 and the Dutch Reformed Church had 4.²⁾ The English Church Mission had extended its activities to Pretoria and Johannesburg, while the Wesleyan Native Missions had entered the field at Kilberton, Pretoria and also at Johannesburg and Zoutpansberg.³⁾

At the Second General Church Council Meeting of the "Ned. Herv. of Gereformeerde Kerk" in the Z.A.R. held at Pretoria on 14th May 1888, the whole question of missions was discussed and it was resolved that "men niet tegen de zending zelve is, maar dat men is tegen het collekteren daarvoor binnen de muren van het kerkgebouw".⁴⁾ The problem of employing Coloured missionaries was also discussed and the minister for Johannesburg said: "(Ik) wil geen gelijkstelling in de kerk terwille van anderen, maar wel dat gekleurde zendelingen toegelaten worden, omdat als God zoo een Zending in ons midden zou zenden, wij hem het werk niet durven weigeren."⁵⁾ The result was that Coloured persons were employed as teachers and missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church.

1) Jeppe, F: "Transvaal Book Almanac and Directory for 1891" p.193-194.

2) Jeppe's Transvaal Almanac and Directory, 1889, p.58.

3) Ibid, p.126.

4) Ede Algemene Kerkvergadering v.d. Ned. Herv. of Geref. Kerk in de Z.A.R., Pretoria: 14.5.1888; also in Gerdener, Boustowwe..... p. 460.

5) Ibid; also Gerdener, Boustowwe,....p.461.

In 1889 a start was made with missionary work at Wakkerstroom. This mission was controlled by a committee consisting of H.E. Kloppers, C. Stokes and C.J. Pringle under the leadership of Ds P.P. Ackerman. In 1893 a permanent missionary in the person of P.L. Le Roux was appointed. It is of interest to note that General Piet Joubert donated a plot of ground at Wakkerstroom to the mission and a mission church was erected on the site.¹⁾

In 1889 the missionary T.J.A. Maré established missionary work amongst the Cape Coloured People living at Pretoria. For a time W. Goch, who had previously been a missionary of the Wesleyan Church, was in charge of this undertaking of the Dutch Reformed Church.²⁾

Of interest is a report of T.J.A. Maré in 1892 on some aspects of the mission work of the Dutch Reformed Church of the Z.A.R. in the Transvaal. At his chief station Klim, the non-European community consisted of some 200 souls; of whom 96 were members of the church. There were 29 children receiving schooling. At least double that number of children was not receiving instruction, "wegens gebrek aan huisvesting, enz." Maré complained that the parents usually took the children away from school during periods when "er geploegd of geoogst word."³⁾ He conducted all the religious services and also the school. His wife conducted "het vrouwen-biduur en Zondagschool"⁴⁾. He required additional assistance.

1) Die Transvaler, 16.3.1948, p.14; also letter to writer, from Minister at Wakkerstroom - 18.7.47.

2) T.J.A. Maré aan Zending Commissie der Ned. Herv. of Geref. Kerk in de Z.A.R. thans te Pretoria 9.5.1892 (Sinodale Argief, Pretoria).

3) Ibid.

4) Ibid.

Mare was also in charge of the non-European community at Middelburg. Of this community he wrote: "Deeze gemeente wordt door mij nu en dan bezocht. Ik ben er nu reeds drie malen geweest, en moest elke maal op eene andere plaats kerk houden, waarom ik den Wel. Ed. Heer G. du Toit, Landdrost te Middelburg verzocht, ons twee erven af te staan in de locatie om voor dat doel te worden gebruikt.

Er is een weinig geestelijke leven in genoemde gemeente te bespeuren. Zy is echter geheel herderloos, omdat er nog geene kerkplaats is."¹⁾

At Komati a Coloured teacher was in charge. This teacher had served the community loyally for three years and Maré requested the Mission Commission "hem den titel van Evangelist toe te kennen, daar hy den titel waardig is."²⁾ The community consisted of 260 souls and 60 members. Some 15 to 30 children were being taught from time to time by the teacher-preacher. Maré was of the opinion that the mission effort at Komati was making progress.³⁾ Of the work at Waterberg, Maré wrote: "Het getal zielen is my onbekend, doch er arbeidt een Evangelist (ik geloof) op rekening van den Wel. Ed. Heer P. Potgieter, Naturellen Commisaris. De Evangelist schreef my onlangs dat er een Evangelist der Wesleyaansche Kerk met gemeente in Waterberg danken om over te gaan naar onze Kerk."⁴⁾

In 1894 missionary work was started at Potchefstroom under D.P. Terburgh, who laboured there for many years and

1) Eerw. T.J.A. Mare - Zending Commissie der Ned. Herv. of Ceref. Kerk in de Z.A.R.: 9.5.1892 (Sinodale Argief, Pret)

2) Ibid.

3) Ibid.

4) Ibid.

profoundly influenced the natives and Coloured People of the Western Transvaal.¹⁾

With the discovery of gold in the Eastern Transvaal and on the Witwatersrand there was an influx of natives and Coloureds to the Transvaal, although the number of Coloured People who came was not as large as might have been expected.²⁾

The result was that during the eighties and nineties of the previous century several missionary societies established themselves on the gold mines and began to work amongst the non-Europeans employed there. Not only did they spread the Gospel, but they also provided the natives and Coloured People with Schools. The Anglican Church and the Wesleyan Church in particular devoted themselves to this task.³⁾

The Anglican Church concerned itself primarily with the education and evangelisation of the thousands of natives employed on the gold mines of the Witwatersrand on the ground that "the only possible cure was that these natives, brought into contact with the worst side of European civilisation should have some opportunity of seeing its only constructive product-religion."⁴⁾ From 1898 the Anglican Mission devoted itself in increasing measure to his task, and provided educational facilities for natives and Coloureds in the form of day schools for children and night schools for

1) Die Transvaler, 16.3.1942, p.14. Also information given writer by Terburgh's son, who was Vice-Principal of the Krause Street Coloured School, Johannesburg.

2) See Chapter III above.

3) The Wesleyan Church made an attempt at mission work in 1822, but had to relinquish this work because of the inter-tribal wars. The Anglican Church also made some interrupted and unsuccessful attempts, before it finally established itself in the early eighties. (U.G.29 - 1936, p.23).

4) Agar-Hamilton, J.A.I.: "A Transvaal Jubilee, being a History of the Church of the Province of South Africa in the Transvaal" (1928) p.119 op.cit.

for adults. The school buildings, situated mostly in the locations, have in the majority of cases been ramshackle iron constructions, while in one instance, a discarded stable was used as a school and church hall!¹⁾

The main architect of the Anglican missionary work on the Witwatersrand was John Thomas Darragh, who was educated at Trinity College, Dublin and came to Johannesburg in 1887. He was an active worker and a great idealist. "He was a very spiritual man, a priest to his fingertips". He got a number of men to assist him and was responsible for the establishment of a number of institutions, not only for Europeans, but also for natives and Coloureds. Of him it has been said: "He came a poor man. He lived among us as a poor man. He left us as a poor man. He came to us as a simple parish priest. He lived amongst us as a simple parish priest!"^{2) 3)}

As a result of his endeavours the following institutions were established on the Witwatersrand, viz:- St. Mary's Church, St. Cyrian's Church for the Bantu, St. Alban's Church for Coloureds, St. Saviour's Church, St. Margaret's House, St. Monica's Home, St. Mary's Orphanage and St. George's Home. By 1890 Darragh had already established five schools in Johannesburg.⁴⁾

As a result of Darragh's endeavours and of others, several private schools for Coloureds were established in

1) Agar-Hamilton, J.A.I.: "A Transvaal Jubilee", p.123-125.

2) Gray Centenary Pamphlets, Second Series: "Great S.A. Churchmen", No.1: "Three Parish Priests"; No.2: "What God Has Wrought" (Africana Museum, Johannesburg).

3) The Diamond Jubilee, St. Mary's Church, Johannesburg 1887-1947": John Darragh, p.15. (Africana Museum, Johannesburg).

4) (a) O.D.7 (no number): Darragh to Superintendent of Education, 24.4.1890.

(b) O.D.4 (no number): Darragh to Education Department 3.10.1887, and Superintendent of Education to Darragh, 8.10.1887.

in Johannesburg during the nineties of the previous century; while Coloured children were also admitted to several of the private schools for Europeans. By 1896 there were in Johannesburg Central seven private schools for Coloureds and four other schools at which European and Coloured children sat side by side on the same desks.¹⁾

On 6th May 1889 William C. Goch opened a school at the Undenominational Gospel Hall in Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.²⁾ The enrolment at this school, in July 1889, comprised thirty-four European children and sixty-eight "Afrikaansche of Gekleurde kinderen".³⁾ The school was ill-equipped,⁴⁾ the standard of instruction poor and a government subsidy was refused.⁵⁾ Goch could, however, not continue with the school because of insufficient funds,⁶⁾ and the school was taken over by W.M. Fourie.⁷⁾ He too could not continue and the school was closed on 1st April, 1892.⁸⁾

It was Darragh, however, who brought the problem of the education of non-Europeans on the gold fields of the Witwatersrand to the fore-front.

In October 1891 Darragh informed the Education Department of the Z.A.R. that he was establishing a school for poor children only.⁹⁾ This school was to be known as

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- 1) Z.A.R.151 : Johannesburg Gezondheidscomite': Rapport van den Directeur van Census, 1896, Dl. IV p.29.
 - 2) Inspeksie-verslag 1889, p.56.
 - 3) O.D.7: Schoolverslag van de Onsectarische School, 9.7.1889.
 - 4) O.D.7: W.C.Goch - Sup.of Educ. 3 July 1889.
 - 5) Inspeksie-verslag 1889, p.56.
See also: (a) O.D.7, W.C.Goch - H. Stiemens, 23.4.1890.
(b) O.D.7, W.C.Goch - H. Stiemens, 16.6.1890.
 - 6) O.D.7, W.C.Goch - Sup. of Educ. 21.10.1890.
 - 7) O.D.7, W.M.Fourie) Act.Supt. of Educ. 10.3.1891.
 - 8) O.D.13, W.M.Fourie - Supt.of Educ. 1.4.1892.
 - 9) O.D.8, J.T.Darragh- Supt.of Educ. 24.10.1891.

the "Perseverance School". After further correspondence with the Education Department¹⁾, the school was approved of and opened on 2nd November 1891.²⁾ Miss E. Ham was appointed as the principal and the school was to receive a subsidy until the first inspection.³⁾ The school was intended primarily for European children only, since it was specifically stated in its regulations that "Deze school is bestemd voor de armste klasse van Hollandsch of Engelsch sprekende kinderen, slechts inboorlingen of naturellen uitsluitende."⁴⁾

When Inspector F.P.Crots undertook an inspection tour in 1892 he found that only Coloured children were attending the Perseverance School.⁵⁾ Crots wrote to Mansvelt, the Superintendent of Education on this matter in the following terms:- "Heel toevallig hoorde ik van eene school voor kleurlingen in Ferreiraskamp die Regeerings-toelage krijgt. Ik wist natuurlijk dat dit met de Wet in strijd was. Op mijn lijst van gesubsidieerde scholen staat de naam van Mej. E. Ham. Gisteren (Vrijdag) zocht ik voor de school, en tot mijne verbasing kwam ik op die doelde school kleurlingen school af. De school draegt den naam van Perserverance School - leerlingen op het register 68, tegenwoordig 38. Moet ook deze school geïnspekteerd worden? Sedert wanneer krijgt deze school subsidie?"⁶⁾

The information from Crots was most disturbing to the Superintendent of Education, for the law did not provide

1) O.D.221, G.A.Ode - J.T.Darragh, 26.10.1891.

2) O.D.13, Huishoudelijke Bevelinge voor het Perseverance School, 26.10.1891, para.9.

3) (a) O.D.221, N. Mansvelt - J.T.Darragh, 30.11.1891.
(b) Ibid, undated.

4) O.D.13: Huishoudelijke Bevelings voor het Perseverance School, 26.10.1891, para. 1(b).

5) O.D.13: F.P.Crots - N. Mansvelt, 20.2.1892.

6) O.D.13, F.P.Crots to N.Mansvelt, 20.2.1892.

for state subsidies to be paid to Coloured schools, and Darragh had on previous occasions permitted Coloureds to attend his schools.¹⁾ A letter was immediately directed to Darragh in the following terms: "Het is voor den Superintendent van Onderwijs een pijnlike ervaring te moeten vernemen dat een school die ook onder uwe leiding staat, uit kleurling leerlingen is samgesteld, terwijl gij goed als ieder Schoolbestuurder weet dat deze Staat sich in het geen enkele opzicht bemoeit met het onderwijs ander dan aan kinderen van blanken gegeven. Reeds kreeg die kleurlingen school 'De Perseverance School' over de maanden November en Desember op onwettige wijze £21.2.0 voor subsidie. In de huishoudelijke bepalingen dien school belooft gij nadrukkelijk 'slechts inboorlingen of naturellen te zullen uitsluiten van die school'. Wie gij aan deze belofte beantwoordt het, laat ik gaarne ter mededeling aan u over. Bovendien kunt gij stellig geen onwetendheid op 't punt in kwestie voorgeven, aangesien reeds voor ruim een jaar de heer de Jonge, Inspecteur van Scholen, kleurlingen vind in een uwer scholen en u daaronr wees."²⁾

The subsidy of the Perseverance School was discontinued as the Education Laws of the Z.A.R. made no provision for the payment of subsidies to Coloured Schools.³⁾ The Education Department was dissatisfied with what had happened and instructed the State Attorney to take further action.⁴⁾

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- 1) (a) O.D.223, 226/92 : G.A. Ode to J.T.Darragh, 23.2.1892.
(b) O.D.7, C.G.de Jonge to H. Stienens, 25.1.1890.
2) O.D.223, 226/92: G.A. Ode to J.T.Darragh, 23.2.1892.
3) (a) O.D.223, 213/92 : Educ. Dept. to Darragh, 15.2.1892.
(b) Also Telegram: Mansvelt to Darragh, 23.2.1892.
4) O.D.223, 267/92: G.A. Ode to Staatsprocureur, 2.3.1892.

The State Attorney advised the Education Department that it should pay no subsidy to any of the schools under the control of Darragh, unless it could be proved that these schools were being attended by European children only.¹⁾

Another school established by Darragh for non-Europeans was the St. Cyprians School. This school was situated west of Brickstands and Burghersdorp in Johannesburg and was opened in 1890. The school was under the control of Father Shaw of the Anglican Church and was attended by Coloureds, Indians, Bantu and Europeans, who all sat side by side on the same desks and received instruction together from the same teacher.²⁾ The principal was Miss Emma Shaw and she was assisted by a Miss Soemers. Inspector de Jonge visited this school in 1890 and reported as follows:- Heden, na eene school alhier geinspecteerd te hebben, hoorde ik van twee onderwijzers, van de 'St. Cyprians Mission School' ook subsidie van het gouvernement ontvangt. Ik ben de onderwijzers gaan onzoeken en zij heeft mij verteld, en daar zijn getuigen voor, dat zij alreeds subsidie ontvangt heeft: en wat is nu het geval? Al de leerlingen zijn kleurlingen. Sinds wanneer geef de Regeering ondersteuning aan de Zendingsscholen voor bastaards en kaffers? Mijn gedacht is, dat John Darragh bedrog heeft gepleegd".³⁾

This school did, however, not receive a government subsidy and was discontinued for a period during the war years, but later re-opened by the sisters of St. Margaret.

1) O.D.223, 378/92: G.A. Ode - J.T. Darragh (undated).

2) Newspaper clipping: Letter of A.S. Vil-Nkomo re St. Cyprians, File 968, in 221 Strange Collection, Johannesburg Public Library.

3) O.D.7; C.G. de Jonge - H.Stiemens, 25.4.1890.

of East Grinstead. 1) 2)

When Crots undertook his inspection tour in 1892, he also visited the True Templars' School. This was a private school for Coloured children only and it was under the supervision of M. Wakeham. 3) This school received no subsidy. 4)

Darragh continued with the establishment of schools and churches for Coloured People in spite of no subsidy being forthcoming from the state. His work received some appreciation from the Education Department of the Z.A.R. 5)

In 1898 he acquired a piece of land on the very site which Col. Ferreira had chosen for his outspan on the Reef. Here a wood and iron church, known as St. Alban's Mission of Ferreirastown, was built and on 18th September 1898 the first services were held. 6) The Rev. W. Griffiths, who had been a curate at St. Mary's Church, Jeppe, and who had been in a large measure responsible for the establishment of the St. John Parish in Belgravia, Johannesburg became the first priest in charge. The St. Alban's Church has ever since served the Coloured and Asiatic community of Johannesburg and from it has largely grown the present Anglican Mission to the Coloured People of the Transvaal. 7) The importance attached to the St. Alban's Mission Church was shown by the fact that it became a daughter church of St. Mary's Cathedral,

1) Newspaper clipping.....A.S.Vil-Nkomo, File 968 in 231, Strange Collection, Johannesburg Public Library.

2) (a) Standard and Diggers News, 25.12.1899 re St. Cyriacs School, ; (b) Ibid, 22.10.1896.

3) O.D.13, F.P.Crots - N. Mansvelt, 20.2.1892.

4) O.D.13, F.P.Crots - N. Mansvelt, 20.3.1892.

5) O.D.221, No.32: Superintendent of Educ. to Darragh, 22.10.1892

6) "The Watchman", The Official Organ of the Diocese of Johannesburg, Vol.IX, No.344, April 1950, p.6.

7) Ibid.

and in 1907 Father G.H. Ridout, then a young curate was sent to take charge. Father Ridout gave all he had to this work, and "he had much to give, for he was scholar, musician and expert parish priest."¹⁾ He laboured for thirty-four years at this mission until his death in 1941, and he was responsible for the erection of the present St. Alban's Church building in 1927. He was also responsible for establishing the St. Martha's Church in Newclare, St. Athanasius Church²⁾ in Sophiatown and the St. Joseph's Home for Coloured children. This latter institution, a home for destitute Coloured children, was opened in 1923.³⁾

The work at St. Alban's Mission was further strengthened by the arrival in May 1898 of the East Grinstead sisters of St. Margaret. They came at the invitation of Darragh "to visit and relieve the poor and suffering in their own homes."⁴⁾ They are maintaining today the St. Joseph's Home for Coloured children.

It was, however, the Congregational Union that devoted its energies almost exclusively during the nineties of the previous century to the education and evangelisation of the Burafrican or Coloured People of the Witwatersrand. In particular, it was the endeavours of the Rev. Charles Phillips.

1) The Watchman, Vol. XX No. 344p April 1950, p.6.

2) Ibid.

3) Lewis, C and Edwards, G.E.: "Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa", p.594.

4) (a) File 968, Strange Collection 221, A.S. Vil N'koma's letter.

(b) Lewis and Edwards, "Historical Records..... p.593.

In the work of evangelisation of the Coloured People, Congregationalism has done a valiant share.¹⁾ The Congregational Union of South Africa came into being in October 1859 at Grahamstown with the objects to "uphold and extend Evangelical religion" and "to assist in establishing churches, mission stations and training institutions."²⁾ The Union commenced as an outcome of discussions held by Revs. Solomon, T.D. Philip and R.B. Taylor of Cradock in 1857 or 1858. As a result of the discussions it was felt that it would be "a good thing if the Churches, European and native, could form themselves into a Union and have yearly meetings, when the ministers could talk over their work together."³⁾ Its first work was begun at Port Elizabeth where it established the Union Church. This remained a centre for the spreading of the gospel amongst the Europeans and Coloureds until 1909, when the European element withdrew and the church was left to the Coloured People and "remains (to this day) the strong centre of vigorous work".⁴⁾

When the great rush of the gold fields of the Transvaal came about, the Congregational Union followed the crowd and sent the Rev. David Russell to work amongst the goldseekers of Barberton. When the Rand became the centre of attraction and the multitudes flocked thither the Colonial Missionary Society sent Rev. F.G. Ecclestone to start a Congregational Church there. Later on the Rev. Dewdney Drew

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- 1) Heath, The Rev. Alban F.: "Congregationalism in South Africa" - A souvenir of the Congregational Union, 1859-1909, p.1. (Published by order of the Executive of the Congregational Union of S.A.) (Africana Library, Johannesburg)
 - 2) Constitution and Bye-Laws of the Congregational Union, Church Aid and Missionary Society of South Africa (Printed by Rowell & Sons, Durban): Articles 1,8.
 - 3) Heath, A.F.: "Congregationalism....." p.13, op.cit.
 - 4) Ibid, p.28.

settled in Johannesburg and the Bree Street Church was built in 1889. In 1897 the Rev. T.C. Harris succeeded to the pastorate of Bree Street to be followed in 1905 by the Rev. G. Willoughby.¹⁾

It was under the auspices of the Congregational Union that the Rev. Charles Phillips came to work amongst the Coloured People of the Witwatersrand.²⁾

Charles Phillips devoted a life-time of service to the education of the Coloured People in the Transvaal and his name is indissolubly linked with their education.³⁾

Born near Bristol in England in 1852, he was keenly interested in missionary work from his earliest years. He was a student of the London Missionary Society and studied for six years at the Lancashire Independent College at Whalley Range, Manchester. In 1874 he was appointed to preach at St. Besses of the Barn Congregational Church, England, where he met and married Miss Miriam Shirley. After having been ordained at St. Helens Congregational Church in 1877, he left England with his wife to undertake missionary work on behalf of the London Missionary Society in the South Seas. For eight years he laboured amongst the aborigines of Tutuila, one of the Samoan group of islands in the South Seas, until ill-health compelled him to return to England.⁴⁾

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- 1) The Story of a Church, 1889-1949: Brochure issued by the Central Congregational Church, Bree Str., Johannesburg in August 1949 to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee. (Africana Museum, Johannesburg).
 - 2) Heath, A.E.: "Congregationalism....." p.34.
 - 3) "The Star", 7.6.1938 : Death of the Rev. Charles Phillips, p.24.
 - 4) (a) The Star, 9.8.1927 : Golden Wedding of City Minister-the Rev. Charles and Mrs Phillips, p.5.
(b) "The Life Story of Miriam Phillips, 1850-1929" (Brochure published at her death, S.Tinsley & Co., Ltd., London, E.C.2) p. 3-8. (Archives, Central Congregational Church, Johannesburg.)

In 1889 he came to South Africa as a minister of the self-supporting Congregational Coloured Church at Graaff-Reinet, and after seven years of unceasing effort had greatly enlarged the church work there.

In 1896, at the request of the Colonial Missionary Society, which had taken over the work of the London Missionary Society and the Congregational Union of South Africa, he proceeded to Johannesburg to undertake missionary work amongst the Coloured People of the Witwatersrand. He took up his post in February 1896, soon after the Jameson Raid and the great dynamite explosion, as "Superintendent of the Colonial Missionary Society on the Reef and Senior Pastor, Ebenezer Church, the Central Congregational Church, Ferreiratown."¹⁾

For forty-two years he laboured unselfishly and with devotion to the cause of evangelisation, education and upliftment of the Coloured People on the Witwatersrand. During the Anglo-Boer War, he spent two years in England and America lecturing and interesting large audiences in the Coloured People of South Africa.²⁾

On his return he helped to bring about a new arrangement concerning the educational requirements of the Coloured People of the Transvaal. He erected churches wherever large numbers of Coloured People justified the venture and persuaded Lord Milner, then Administrator of the Transvaal Colony, to get the Education Department to provide teachers.

1) (a) The Star, 9.8.1927, p.5.

(b) The Story of Miriam Phillips, 1850-1929, p.9.

2) The Star, 7.6.1938, p.24.

and to hire his church premises as school buildings.¹⁾ With the money obtained as rent and with donations from interested Europeans, he had more churches built, which in turn became schools too. His churches and congregations were eventually spread over a large part of the Witwatersrand and were as far afield as Potchefstroom, Vereeniging, Randfontein and Springs.²⁾ In all, over sixty churches, school rooms and parsonages were erected; more than twenty-five schools were established, also a Manual Training and Domestic Science Institute as well as a Normal School for Burafricans.³⁾ All these institutions were eventually taken over by the government and supported by the Transvaal Education Department.⁴⁾ The Rev. Charles Phillips was thus responsible for the establishment of the first government schools for Coloured children in the Transvaal, and it was he who initiated the system of Coloured education now in practice in the Transvaal, as well as the principle of free state education for Coloureds.

Charles Phillips concerned himself also with the improvement of the living conditions of the Coloured People; he concerned himself with the establishment of an Old Age Home for Coloured People, he tried to encourage reading amongst the Coloureds and established organisations for the spread of christian literature; he also initiated Temperance Societies among the Coloured People on the Witwatersrand.⁵⁾

1) One such building was let to H.J. de Wit for a European School in 1897.

OR 12, 115/97: H.J. de Wit to Supt. Educ. 21.9.1897.

OR 13829/97: H.J. de Wit to Supt. Educ. 18.10.1897.

LA 691 : H.J. de Wit to Supt. Educ. 4.10.1897.

2) The Star, 7.6.1938, p.24.

3) By 1909 the church property owned by the Coloured People of the Congregational Union was valued at £10,000 according to Heath, A.E. "Congregationalism in S.A." p.34.

4) The Life Story of Miriam Phillips, p.10.

5) The Life story of Miriam Phillips, p.11.

He had succeeded to such a degree that he was able to remark with pride on 9th August 1927 that "there has been a remarkable improvement in the living conditions of the Burafrican of the Transvaal". "Their homes are clean and bright and you can sit down to a meal or to tea in their houses with as much comfort and pleasure as you can in any white man's house," was his contention.¹⁾

It was largely due to the Rev. Charles Phillips that the sympathies of Lord Milner, Lord Selborne and Lord Buxton were enlisted for the cause of the Coloured People of the Transvaal immediately after the Anglo-Boer War. Lord Milner was even induced to visit the mission church of Rev. Charles Phillips and address the people.²⁾ Phillips opposed the re-imposition of the pass laws after the Anglo-Boer War and told Sir G. Lagden, that he would organise passive resistance and cheerfully go to prison on behalf of the Coloured People, if the pass laws were again imposed upon the Coloureds of the Transvaal.³⁾ In an address delivered to the Native Affairs Society in Johannesburg in 1909, Charles Phillips said:-"The only remedy I know adequate for the cure of the Coloured People is likewise the vote. Redress of the ills of which they complain will come in no other way."⁴⁾

The name of Charles Phillips is revered by the whole of the Coloured People of the Transvaal. In his great work he was ably and loyally assisted by his spouse, Miriam Shirley

1) The Star, 9.8.1927, p.5.

2) The Star, 9.8.1927, p.5.

3) Phillips, Rev. Charles: "The Coloured Problem of South Africa":

A lecture before the Native Affairs Society, Johannesburg 1909 (Africana Library, Johannesburg).

4) *Ibid.*

and his life-long friend and colleague, Rev. John A. Rogers.¹⁾

The Dutch churches also concerned themselves in the nineties of the previous century with the education and evangelisation of the Coloured People on the Witwatersrand and Pretoria. In 1894 a mission, known as the "Zion Zending Gemeente" for Coloured People, was in existence in Pretoria.²⁾ The missionary who undertook this work was W. Goch.³⁾

In 1896 the Cape Church ("Kaapse Sendingkerk") commenced mission activities amongst the Cape Coloured People on the Witwatersrand, with P. Tseke as missionary. For many years the work of this mission was restricted to Johannesburg and its environs, but in later years its activities were enlarged to encompass the whole of Witwatersrand.³⁾

Mention must also be made of the Ethiopian Movement,⁴⁾ which may be traced back to the eighties of the previous century,⁵⁾ when an ordained native minister of the Wesleyan Church in Pretoria, Mangena Mokoni, left his church to found an independent native church. About the same time another ordained native minister, Konyane, left his church in Pretoria to found an independent "African Congregation". This latter congregation became in 1890 the Free Lutheran Bapedi Church under the missionary Johannes Winter from the Berlin Mission. Pretoria became the nursery of Ethiopianism and a number of independent native churches were established at Marabastad, the native township of Pretoria. In 1895 a native Wesleyan pastor, James Dlane, broke away from his church and went to

1) The Star, 7.6.1938, p.34.

2) Almanak van de Ned. Herv. of Geref.Kerk van Z.A.R. 1894.

3) Information from Ferv. T.G. Esterhuysen, who has been associated with this mission on the Rand for many years.

4) The name is derived from references to Ethiopia (Africa) in Psalm LXVIII, 31 and Acts VIII, 37.

5) "United Empire", Sept.1910, p.641: Article by Archdeacon. Wirgman.

America to return in 1897 as General-Superintendent of the Ethiopian Church in South Africa and began to organise the African Methodist Episcopal Church as a branch of the American institution. In 1900 he made overtures to the Anglican Church and was accepted into that church with his following and appointed Provincial of the Order of Ethiopia.¹⁾ This organisation has developed into a caricature of mission endeavour, through its laxity and open proselytism. Rev. W.Y. Stead said in 1907 that "a good deal might be written about the folly and peril of the order of Ethiopia".²⁾ It did, however, show a desire on the part of the non-European to develop along his own lines separate from and independent of Europeans even in matters of the church.

Very few Coloured People, however, associated themselves with the Ethiopian movement, but it had far reaching consequences in so far as being in some measure responsible for the awakening in the native and Coloured People of a national consciousness, which led to the formation of the A.P.O. or African Political (later People's) Organisation in 1902.³⁾ This organisation was formed to champion the rights of the Coloured and native people in all parts of British South Africa.⁴⁾ This organisation, in which the Coloureds predominated, had always adopted a militant attitude and its tone had at times been very bitter, and its language often exceedingly impolitic. In its official organ it expressed the view: "It is time that the black man showed the

1) (a) The African Monthly, Vol.III, 1907, p.312-313.

(b) S.P.G. Report 1901, re Dwane.

2) The African Monthly, Vol.III, 1907, p.316.

3) The A.P.O. was originally formed in Cape Town in 1902.

4) Marais, J.S.: "The Cape Coloured People", p.276.

white that his boasted christianity is contrary to the teaching of Christ..... The professed desire of the white to protect and uplift the Coloured races, their talk of fulfilling their great trust, is purely humbug and vile quackery."¹⁾

During the whole period of the Boer Republics in the Transvaal, the education of non-Europeans was exclusively a mission venture, being carried on without any financial aid from the state.

Indeed, the government of "De Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek" had, in addition to its many other problems, to contend with numerous issues involving the education of the European children under its jurisdiction. Thus we find that in April 1895 the Witwatersrand Council for Education was established at Johannesburg under the chairmanship of H.C. Caldecott and with J. Robinson as secretary, in order to provide better educational facilities for the "Uitlander"-children on the Witwatersrand. The Council contended that on the mining area of the Witwatersrand, there were some 2,000 English-speaking children of school-going age, whilst there was not throughout the whole area a single school that might have been described as efficient. "A common type was a collection of children numbering from twenty to forty and of varied attainments, crowded into a single room of a dwelling-house and presided over by a lady whose qualifications would hardly have enabled her to pass a fifth standard examination."²⁾

1) (a) A.P.O. 1st January 1909, p.5.

(b) See also : The African Monthly, Vol.III 1907, p.317.

2) Robinson, John: "Sketch of the History of Educational Work in the late South African Republic" (Reproduced in Appendix XV: Transvaal and Orange River Colony, Public Education Report of the Director of Education for the period Nov. 1900 to Feb.1904) p.60.

By the establishment of the Witwatersrand Council of Education a dual system of education was established resulting in what Prof. J.C. Coetzee calls an "imperium in imperio" in the educational system of the Transvaal.¹⁾

This Council and others were constantly subjecting the educational policy of the Z.A.R. on the Witwatersrand to ridicule and severe criticism.²⁾

It was true that conditions at the majority of the private schools were not satisfactory. In 1896, for example, there were no fewer than sixty-six schools within a radius of three miles from the Johannesburg market square. Of these, twenty-four were housed in suitable buildings, eighteen were in church buildings and twenty-four in houses.³⁾ There was thus a large number of very small and badly equipped private schools. In the Fordsburg and City and Suburban districts there were over one thousand children attending private schools that were held in either sheds or rooms of dwelling-houses under the supervision of teachers who had no qualifications at all.⁴⁾

Dr N. Mansvelt, the Superintendent of Education, stated in his report on the condition of state education in the Z.A.R. for the year 1898 that : "Het reeds lang be-

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- 1) Coetzee, J.C.: "Sestig Jaar Transvaalse Onderwys" (Koers, Potchefstroom, Deel 4, No.4, Febr.1937, p.16.
 - 2) (a) "The Star" 28.7.1898: Leading article on Mansvelt's educational policy. (b) "The Johannesburg Times", 16.4.1898: Mansvelt's educational policy discussed.; (c) "The Standard and Diggers' News", 14.10.1895: Director General's Report.
 - 3) Z.A.R.151: Johannesburg Gezondheidscomité :Rapport van den Directeur van Census, 1896, :15.7.'96, p.29.
 - 4) Memorandum re opvoeding op de Goudvelden van de Witwatersrand opgesteld door "Council of Education" (Leyds Collection 691, No.1); See also: (a) O.D.13 (no number): Rev.Fr.Dr.Lacy to G.A.Ode, 19.7.1892; (b) O.D.16, O.R.6969/94 in OR 6477/94: Rev.C. Baumgarten to G.A. Educ. Dept. 13.12.1894; (c) L.A.693 Council of Education, Supplementary Report, 7.4.1896. (d) Johannesburg Times, 23.5.1896 (Cuttings in OD 144).

staande gebrek aan bekwame en bevoegde onderwijzers, nog verergerd door de groote vermeerdering van het aantal scholen en leerlingen, is mede oorzaak van een steeds toenemende briefwisseling, daar de meeste burgers der Buitensyken zich rechtstreeks tot myn Departement wenden en verwachten door my aan een onderwyzer geholpen te worden.*¹⁾

5. CONCLUSION:

The administration of the Z.A.R. thus came to an end with the state of Coloured Education still in its infancy and all provision for it left entirely in the hands of missionary endeavour. This is not at all surprising, if one considers the numerous problems with which the Z.A.R. government had to contend, and if one bears cognisance of the state of and difficulties confronting European education at the time. The missionary societies did not differentiate much between natives and Coloureds, except on the Witwatersrand, where specific churches and schools were established exclusively for the use of Coloureds or Eurafrikan People. Nevertheless, the foundations for the subsequent growth and development of Coloured Education in the Transvaal were laid in the Republic days.

After 1900 the education of the Coloured People became a state-undertaking, while the education of the native population remained largely in the hands of the missionary societies, with the state providing grants-in-aid. A distinction was thus drawn between Coloured and native pupils on two completely different systems.²⁾

This development will emerge from a study of the next chapter.

1) Verslagen van den Staat van het Gesubsidieerde en van het Staats-onderwys in de Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek, over het dienstjaar 1898, p.4, op.cit.

2) T.E.D.Report, 1908 (T.G.5-'09) p.28 -'9.