

Madrasahs and Moravians. Muslim educational institutions in the Cape Colony, 1792 to 1910

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Abstract:

سنایفارومل اقدوع عم یوقلا یحیسمل ا یریشبتل طاشنل اکی رحت قداعل ناک نیمل سمل ایلعل لیئض ریثأت یریشبتل اندنل دی عم ج لوصو و (Moravians) ب قامسمل افسردملا تسسأت دق 1793 ماعلا لولحب. نوات بیاک یف نودج اوتمل انکسلانم "ریثک خسرا و نسحأ دق ذئنیج و. (Dorp Street) تیراتس برود ناک قمل سمل ا قمل عتملا فق بطل ا حاجن. مه مالس ا روکنذلا دیبعل و رارحالا دوسلا قمر عتسمل ان اواملا عیمج یف نومل عمل انیدل لاجر امسأ یثلا سرادمل اب اطونم لوح یمدکال ا تاشقانملا و. رشع عساتلا نرقلا ناب ا قیل خادل اندملا ضعب و ال امنیب طقف یمبوروال سرادمل ایلعل رصحنه دلبل ا یف قسردم مدقأ و اولو ا دیعی قلاقملا مده لالخنم. یمالسال سرادمل ا رکنذ مدعل لوق عم ببس دجوي نوات بیاک سرادم فاشن یف رظنلا فلؤملا

The vigorous revival of Christian missionary activity after 1792 with the return of the Moravians and the arrival of the London Missionary Society had little effect on Cape Town Muslims. By 1793 the Dorp Street school (madrasah) was established. By then, many of the males slaves and the free black population in Cape Town were securely Muslim. The success of the Cape Town Muslim clerisy owed much to the schools the imams established in all the colonial ports and some inland towns during the nineteenth century. In academic discussions of the "first" or "oldest" school in the country only European schools are mentioned. There is no reason for this omission. The author reviews the rise of the Cape *madrasahs*."

Introduction

In Cape Town both Islam and Christianity were spread in schools. Throughout mission history in Africa scholars have recognized that education provided a most powerful appeal for conversion, especially when secular features of

the missionary culture were mixed in with a religious message.¹ The vigorous revival of Christian missionary activity after 1792 with the return of the Moravians and the arrival of the London Missionary Society had only a slight effect on the Cape Town Muslims, however.

By then, many of the male slaves and the free black population in Cape Town were securely Muslim. By 1793 the Dorp Street *madrassa* was established. In 1800 Cape Town Muslims took advantage of the openness of the new British administration to petition Andrew Barnard (the husband of Lady Anne Barnard) for a mosque:

in which they may pay their Adoration to God, conformably to the principles of their Religion...They assume themselves your Excellency will admit that nothing conduces so much to the good order of Society as a due observance of Religious Worship. They therefore humbly implore your Excellency to grant them a little spot of unoccupied land, of the dimensions of one hundred and fifty feet square, whereon to erect, at their own Expense, a small Temple to be dedicated to the Worship of Almighty God. Your Excellency knows that the forms of their Religion require frequent ablutions, from whence it is indispensable that their Mosque should be erected contiguous to Water. A suitable Spot is situated at some distance above the premises of General Van de Leur, and they humbly conceive there will be found no objections to their little Temple being there placed.²

The Dutch settlers opposed the land grant for a mosque, but the British authorities did concede to a burial ground.³ While the British government was more tolerant of Islam than the Dutch had been, the new, energetic and ambitious British missionaries wished to convert as many Muslims as possible. However, this Christian offensive never worked in the Western Cape. Only among the Khoes, emancipated in 1828, did the Christian missions have some success. One Wesleyan Methodist reported in that year: “[o]ur greatest source of encouragement at this place [Cape Town] is from the Bastard Hottentots, who come from behind the mountains. These are regular in their attendance... both on the Lord’s day, and when we visit at their places of abode during

1 TO Beidelman, “Social Theory and the Study of Christian Missions in Africa,” *Africa*, 44 (3), July, 1974, p.245.

2 Cape Archives Depot, Cape Town, BO 155, Item 236, *Inkomende Brieven*, Petition enclosed in a letter to the “President and Members of the Burgher Senate” (1st February 1800), requesting them to depute two members to “examine the ground and report thereon if it may be granted without Injury to the Public or to any individual, [signed] A. Barnard, Secretary.”

3 CAD, RDG 2 (October, 1805), pp.5, 132, 149-150; BRD 9 (n.d.), folios 21-22.

the time we are on that side of the circuit. Those of them who have been baptised have begun to meet in Class.”⁴

Education and conversion

Not surprisingly this competition for souls between Christian and Muslims resulted in an array of syncretised beliefs. Most important in the process of conversion to Islam was education in the *madrasahs*, the Islamic schools that began in the years of slavery. Such schools taught more pupils of colour than all the other educational institutions in the Cape colony put together. They were often large institutions; for instance, an *imam* conducted a school in Cape Town in the 1820s “attended by some 370 slaves.” In an even larger *madrasah* in Cape Town the number of “Free Black Scholars and of Slaves instructed in the School of a Mahometan Priest at Cape Town in 1825 was 491.”⁵

Many smaller schools were run by elderly retired *imams*— each mosque had its own school— either in the *imams*’ homes, or in the mosques. Imam Ackmat, one such teacher, of the 1820s, had been “a fishmonger but being old, I confine myself to the instruction of children in the mosque every day.”⁶ By 1840, a staggering 2,451 scholars were enrolled with just ten *imams*.⁷

In the 1850s, John Schofield Mayson, an English Army officer, claimed there were “two large Malay schools in Cape Town, in which the reading of Al Koran in Arabic is taught.”⁸ These schools were advertised in the Court calendars, and street directories.

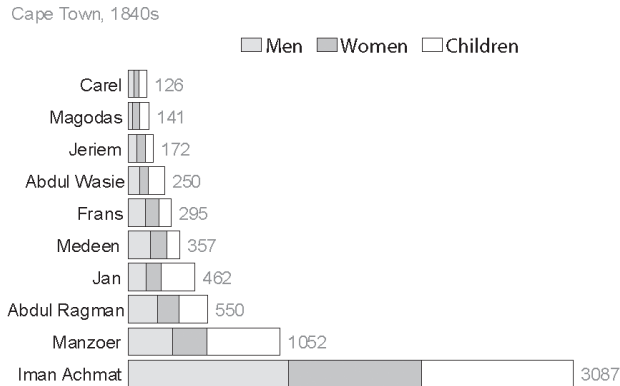
4 *The Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society, for the Year ending December 1828* (London, Mills, Jowet and Mills, [ca. 1828], pp. 55-56.

5 Papers relative to the condition and treatment of the native inhabitants of Southern Africa within the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, or beyond the frontier of that colony. Part 1, 18 March 1835, Native Inhabitants of the Cape Of Good Hope No. 30: Evidence of Two Mahometan Priests, Muding and Imaum Achmat, on Marriages, Education, &c., in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 13th December 1824, p.210 (hereafter “Evidence of Two priests. I am extremely grateful to Rodney Davenport for pointing out this document).

6 “Evidence of Two Mahometan Priests,” p.210.

7 CAD, CA 1116, CO 483, “Return of the number of persons professing the Mahomedan faith under the control of the undermentioned Priests, Pelgrims, Imauns & Hadschi.”

8 JS Mayson, *The Malays of Cape Town* (Manchester, John Galt, 1861), p.23.



Sources: Mayson, *The Malays of Cape Town*, p. 15; Cape Town Archives CA 1116 CD 483 "Return of the number of persons professing the Mahomedan faith under the control of the undermentioned Priests, Fellows, Imams & Hadachi."

Figure 1: Congregational size, sex and age structure

One can trace the rise of these imams on an individual basis as the following table shows:

Table 1: The rise of Imam Baderdien

Baderdien					
Source	Date	Page	Name	Occupation	Address
SAA&D	1833	n.p.	Badien	Chairseater	52 Long St.
SD'S	1834-35	n.p.	no data		
CC&DA	1836	n.p.	Bedien	Chairseater	1 Zee St.
CGHA R	1837	n.p.	Bedien van die Kaap	Malay schoolmaster	1 Zee St.
CGHA R	1838	n.p.	Bedien van die Kaap	Malay clerk	1 Zee St.
SD'S	1839- 1846	n.p.	no data		
CGHA	1847	n.p.	Abdol Mojie	Malay schoolmaster	39 Castle St.
CGHA	1848	320f	Abdol Majiet	Malay schoolmaster	39 Castle St.
CGHA	1849	316f	Abdol Majiet	Malay schoolmaster	39 Castle St.
CGHA	1850	380f	Abdol Majiet	Malay schoolmaster	39 Castle St.
CGHA	1851	308f	Abdol Majiet	Malay schoolmaster	39 Castle St.
CGHA	1852	290f	Abdol Majiet	Malay schoolmaster	39 Castle St.
CGHA	1853	356f	Abdol Majiet	Malay schoolmaster	39 Castle St.
CGHA	1854	310f	Abdol Majiet Bedien	Malay priest	39 Castle St.
CGHA	1855	346f	Abdol Majiet Bedien	Malay priest and mason	Bree St. and Strand St
CGHA	1856		no data		
CGHA	1857	304f	Abdol Majiet Bedien	Malay priest and mason	Castle St.
CGHA	1858		no data		
CGHA	1859	324f	Abdol Majiet Bedien	Malay priest.	59 Castle St.
CGHA	1860	332f	Abdol Majiet Bedien	Malay priest 59 Castle St'	59 Castle St.
CGHA	1861	262	Abdol Majiet Bedien	Malay priest	59 Castle St.
CGHA	1866	n.p.	Hadje Emam Abdol Majiet	no occupational data (probably retired)	

(In 1860 Abdol Moogit, a Tailor, was also living at 59 Castle Street, possibly a son).

The curriculum included reading and writing in Arabic.⁹ The Muslims used hand-written texts by among others, Tuan Guru, an exiled Muslim scholar from the island of Tidore (in modern Indonesia). These handwritten texts were passed around the community and became sanctified by tradition.¹⁰ Subsequent printed Christian texts and published pamphlets were summarily rejected. William Elliot pointed out that by 1829 “[t]here is a strong prejudice existing in the minds of Muhammedans against printing— they seem to think that a book loses all sacredness by passing through the press.”¹¹ The Muslims were probably also suspicious of printed Christian propaganda.¹²

State aid

The state almost intervened to help the Muslim education. The governor of the Cape, Sir Harry Smith, announced at a luncheon in 1848 that he was on the point of offering the *imams* financial aid for Muslim schools from the imperial coffers. The Anglican Archbishop Robert Gray was aghast:

The other day [Harry Smith] told me at a luncheon that he was going to send for the Mahometan Imams, and promise them schools. I could not say much, as there was a large party, but he frightened me. And thinking it might materially forward my schemes for the Mahometans, or impede them, I went before he could see them the next day to talk matters over with him, when he told me that if they wished for

9 AL Behr, “Three Centuries of Coloured Education: Historical and Comparative Studies of the Education of the Coloured People in the Cape and the Transvaal 1652-1952” (D.Ed. Thesis, PUvCHO, Potchefstroom: : 1952), p.175.

10 Many have now been deposited in the South African Library by the late Achmat Davids.

11 School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), Council for World Mission Archives, South African Correspondence, Box 11, Folder 3, C Jacket, Elliot to Arundel (6 June 1829).

12 *AB Yusuf: or the Story of a Malay as told by himself* (translated from the Dutch, Second Edition. Cape Town; Rose and Belinfante, 1295 A.H. 1877 AD). Copy in South African Public Library: South African Bound Pamphlets. Probably written by an Anglican priest. Samuel Abraham Rochlin incorrectly attributes the authorship of this pamphlet to Abdol Burns, the “Mahdi” of Cape Town, when it is quite clear from Rochlin’s own evidence that John M. Arnold—the Anglican Arabist—penned it for propaganda purposes; cf. S.A. Rochlin, “The First Cape Malay Author,” *Africana Notes and News*, 11 December 1954, p.146. Rochlin quotes the Rev. JA Hewitt, who in 1877 wrote: “In 1875, the Rev. Dr. Arnold, a priest of considerable experience among Mohammedans in India and Batavia, and the founder of the Moslem Missionary Society volunteered for work in the diocese of Cape Town among the Malays... He wrote and published a good deal on the subject, and a little pamphlet, which at one time created some stir among the Malays, Abdullah Ben Yusuf, or the Story of a Malay as told by Himself, may be traced to his influence.”

schools he would do nothing without me. They went in a body to him and nothing is yet done.¹³

So while the colonial state was somewhat tolerant of Islam, the Anglican Church was locked into a struggle over converts and attempted to influence, if not the state, at least the appointed colonial officials. Archbishop Gray confided to his diary:

The Attorney-General has received instruction to draw up an ordinance to... place all religious bodies on the same footing... I have vehemently remonstrated. If not withdrawn, I hope the bill will be thrown out... The principles laid down would include the support of Judaism, Mahometanism and Heathenism, and indeed the Attorney-General has given his opinion that the two former should be supported. Pray keep this to yourself. I scarce know what to do. It would be good policy to endeavour to enter into an alliance with the Dutch Church, and perhaps I may...¹⁴

That alliance did not materialize, but the Anglican “Mission to Moslems” did not end until 1960.

Muslim education at the Cape was extremely age- and sex-selective. Up to the 1850s parents sent young children of both sexes to attend Christian schools for a few years. Mayson elaborated: “Some of the very young [Muslim] children are sent to Dutch and to English schools where they excel in intelligence... At ten years of age and occasionally at a later date, they are removed to their own Malay schools, where they remain till they have attained the age of fifteen.”¹⁵

place Percentage of each congregation who were children about here>

Figure 2: Percentage of each congregation who were children in 1840

A few years later, in 1861, an anonymous commentator offered a glimpse of the sex-separation process in Muslim education:

If we look into two or three of the schools of the town we shall find a very fair proportion of Malay children present... [b]ut one peculiarity soon becomes apparent. In the infants’ school, boys and girls will be seen together. As they grow older, the boys are withdrawn, at an age too young to be capable of assisting their parents or doing anything for themselves [these boys went to the madrasahs]. The girls are

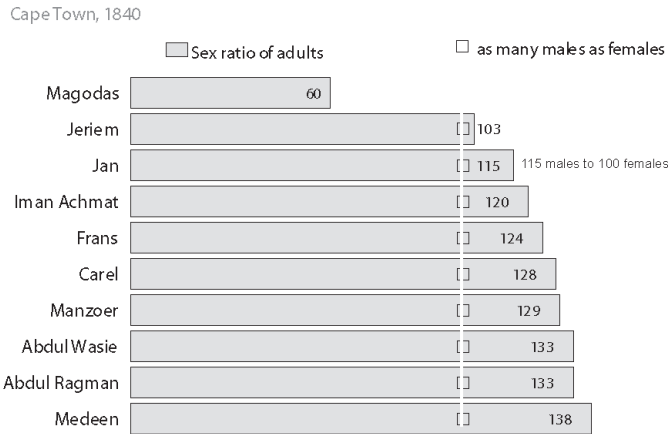
13 C Gray (ed.), *Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town...* (London, Rivington, 1866), 1, p.177.

14 C Gray (ed.), *Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town...* (London, Rivington, 1866), 2, p.232-233.

15 JS Mayson, *The Malays of Cape Town*, page 23.

allowed to remain at school, where they display great quickness and intelligence, and acquire as much as English children do under parallel circumstances.¹⁶

The reasons for this sex-specific and age-tiered education were partly economic and partly cultural. First, the colonial administration subsidized the Christian schools, whereas, according to Mayson, the fee for attending the unsubsidized Muslim school was steep: threepence per week per pupil.¹⁷ Muslim parents could therefore save some money by sending their children of both sexes to Christian schools for a part of their school careers. Second, since the Muslims viewed the education of their women as of minor importance they therefore could leave them in the inferior, but free, Christian schools. But the Cape Muslim congregations— each had its own school— varied widely in size, sex and age composition (see accompanying figure).



Sources: Mayson, *The Malays of Cape Town*, p. 15; CAD CA 1116 CO 483 "Return of the number of persons professing the Mahomedan faith under the control of the undermentioned Priests, Pelgrims, Imauns & Hadschi."

Figure 3: Adult sex composition of each congregation in 1840

It seems likely that the Muslim *imams* initially neglected the education of Muslim women. Although slim evidence, it is suggestive that none of the subjects of Angas’ madrasah (1852) was female.

16 Anon., "The Cape Malays," *Cape Monthly Magazine*, 10 July 1861, p.361.

17 John Schofield Mayson, *The Malays of Cape Town*, p.24.



Figure 4: Carel Pilgrim and his school, circa 1855, George French Angas, Library of Parliament

A few years later Mayson provided clearer evidence: “It is however indisputable that the number of [Muslim] females acquainted with the contents of the law is few, and little provision is made for their instruction.”¹⁸ Faced with the challenge of the free Christian schools and female reconversion to Christianity, the *imams* were not slow to remedy such neglect.

Muslim missionaries and education

By 1855, the *imams* felt confident enough of their place in the colonial society to complain that the British crown had not despatched any Muslim missionaries. They petitioned Queen Victoria to send out a Muslim missionary on the grounds that the Cape Muslims, too, were taxpayers. Astonishingly, the crown acceded to this request and approached the Sublime Porte who sent the Kurdish scholar Abu Bakr Effendi to Cape Town in the 1860s where he was listed in the street directories as “a Turkish professor.” Abu Bakr learnt Afrikaans, the language of the Cape Muslims, for missionary purposes and wrote the third accredited book in that language.

Being a *Hana’fite*, he met resistance. The Cape Muslims were *Shafa’ites*. Islam at the Cape initially had an Indonesian orientation. By 1880 the Effendi

18 JS Mayson, *The Malays of Cape Town* (Manchester: John Galt, 1861), p.23.

had succeeded in organizing a single *Hana'fite* congregation and one school, funded by a number of prominent men, including Barney Barnato, the Jewish mining magnate.¹⁹

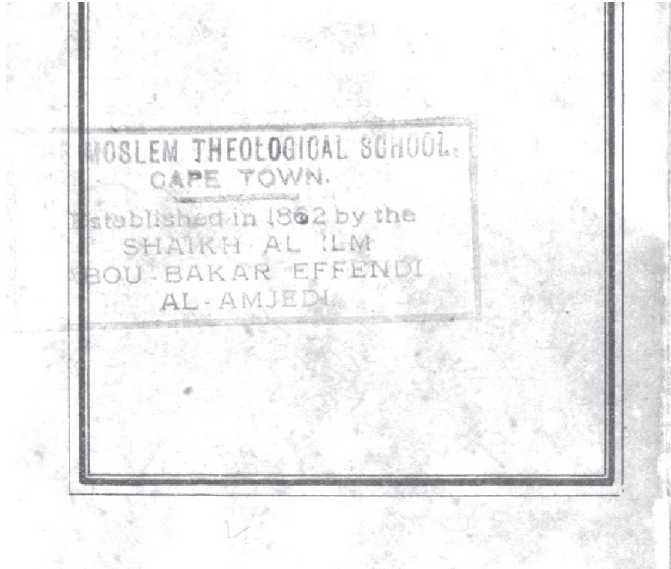


Figure 5: Flyleaf of 1862 textbook by Abu Bakr Effendi (in author's possession)

Abu Bakr's rigid orthodoxy, including his banning of the eating of crustaceans, especially the popular Cape crayfish (*kreef*), nearly doomed his mission. Nevertheless, his short-lived influence introduced Cape Muslims to the wider world of Islam outside of South Africa. He was responsible for the Ottoman *fez* replacing the turban, *toering* and the head handkerchief as the distinctive Cape Muslim garb. The Cape Muslims would also print their own books.²⁰ The secret texts would not be such a strong feature of Cape Islam.

In 1864, however, the Christian state did act on aid for Muslim schools. Perhaps Effendi had something to do with the law. A member of the Cape Legislative Council moved that the word "Christian" be removed from the clause in a bill on education that stated "instruction in the Christian religion may be given in aided schools." Since the government taxed schools, it was,

¹⁹ *Cape Argus*, 19 September 1888, p.4; "Abu Bakr Effendi as a duly qualified Elector of Kimberley petitioned with 150 others to have Barney Barnato stand for Parliament"; *Cape Argus*, 2 November, 1888, p.4.

²⁰ When a troopship of Australians *en route* to the Dardanelles during the First World War disembarked for some rest and recreation in Cape Town and encountered *fez*-wearing Muslims, they concluded that the Turkish allies of Kaiser Willhem II had landed to occupy the Cape. A *fracas* ensued in District Six. I am grateful to the late Eric Rosenthal for this anecdote.

he said, an “indignity” to deny them the right to perpetuate their religion in the schools, since they had “as much claim upon the revenue as any class of people.” According to Maxmillian Kollisch, a French orientalist, “the debate [in the Council] was a very spirited one.” At the vote, the amendment for expunging the word “Christian” was carried by three to one: twenty two for, seven against.²¹ This was, a significant, although secular, breakthrough in Christian/ Muslim relations.

Abu Bakr Effendi opened the first Muslim school for women in Cape Town sometime in the 1870s. An examination of one of the text-books, written in Arabic-Afrikaans by one of Abu Bakr’s wives, refers to duties expected of a Muslim woman, including dress, cooking codes, hygiene, and so on.²² Thus, sometime ahead of the rest of the Muslim world, Cape Muslim women were obtaining at least the rudiments of a Muslim education. Effendi also instructed all Muslims to take their children out of the Christian schools. But the Cape Town Muslims viewed the education of their women as of minor importance and felt no compunction about leaving them in the “infidel”, but free, Christian schools. Young Muslim girls, therefore, were more exposed to the Christian mission educational network than Muslim boys.

The sex-selective educational system of the Cape Muslims created some quiet domestic tensions and possibly a tendency toward increased religious syncretism within the Muslim home. In the 1890s, when competition was lively between the two faiths, Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot, taking over the floundering Anglican “Mission to Moslems,” noted that his missionary predecessors found the cultural residue of the Muslim women’s childhood Christian education an opening for further Christian evangelism in Muslim households.

[Muslim] women in some instances were found to be using Christian prayers with

21 M Kollisch, “The Mussulman Population at the Cape of Good Hope” (Constantinople, Levant Herald Press, 1867), p.35.

22 *Sub verbo* “Abu Bakr Effendi” *Dictionary South African Biography* 1(4), 1978, p.4. I interviewed the descendants of the Effendi family (the Parow and Athlone branches) and was allowed to look at, but not copy, the various manuscripts. See also JS Trimmingham, *The Influence of Islam upon Africa* (London, Longman, 2nd edition 1980), pp.46-47.

their children, and little children were repeating Christian hymns which they had learned from other children at school.²³

Lightfoot used Christian parochial services such as provision of clothing, medical care provided by Christian district nurses, and “similar institutions” to attract women converts. Finally in 1896, the “Mission to Moslems” acquired a certified doctor, who ministered both to the bodies and souls of Muslim women and children. A few female converts to Islam were won back to Christianity by such means.²⁴

All Cape Muslim women benefited from this competition between the *ulemma* (Muslim clerisy) and the Christian clergy of Cape Town, at least in literacy: the Cape census taker noted in 1891 that 15.4% of Malay females were literate, but only 8.7% of Malay males.²⁵ If we put this in global context, women in India only achieved this level of literacy in 1951.²⁶ This gendered educational mix led to a great deal of fluid syncretism. One twentieth century interviewee happily identified himself to the author as a “Moravian Muslim.” With this rich mixture of Christianity and Islam it was not surprising that by 1925 there was a small group of *Ahmadiyahs*.²⁷

After this modest, but very real, triumph of civil rights, local Muslims under the direction of Abu Bakr Effendi, began pressing for civil rights and state aid whenever they thought they stood a chance. In 1868 the Religious Disabilities Removal Act was passed in the Cape Legislative assembly.²⁸ Success did not always result: in February of 1877, Muslims in the Eastern Cape began pressing the visiting governor

23 TF Lightfoot, “The Cape Malays”, in AGS Gibson (ed.), *Sketches of Church Work and Life in the Diocese of Cape Town* (Cape Town, S.A. “Electric” Printing and Publishing Company, 1900), pages 30, 43.

24 Lightfoot, “The Cape Malays”, pp.30, 43.

25 G.6-92, *Results of a Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope as on the Night of Sunday the 5th of April, 1891* (Cape Town, Richardson, 1892), introduction, p. li [roman numerals].

26 Research, Reference and Training Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, *India 2002: a reference manual* (New Delhi, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 2002), Table 1.5.

27 A modern Islamic sect and the generic name for various Sufi (Muslim mystic) orders. The sect was founded in Qadian, the Punjab, India, in 1889 by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (circa 1839–1908), who claimed to be the *mahdi* (a figure expected by some Muslims at the end of the world), the Christian Messiah, an incarnation of the Hindu god Krishna, and a reappearance (*buruz*) of Muhammad. The sect’s doctrine, in some aspects, is unorthodox: for example, it is believed that Jesus feigned death and resurrection but in actuality escaped to India, where he died at the age of 120; also, *jihad* (“holy war”) is reinterpreted as a battle against unbelievers to be waged by peaceful methods rather than by violent military means.” See *Encyclopedia Britannica Library* (2004).

28 “To declare void certain laws imposing disabilities on certain persons and bodies on account of their religious persuasions, and to amend Ordinance No. 68.” Disabilities Removal Act, 1868. Act 11 of 1868 in the Cape of Good Hope, *Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1886*; 3 volumes (Cape Town, WA Richards, 1887), 1, pp.682-683. See also *Act no. 6 of 1869*: “For Limiting the Operation of the Disabilities Removal Act, 1868”, pp.683-684.

of the Cape Sir Bartle Frere for financial assistance for their schools. They pointed out that “we are rather a poor class in Port Elizabeth and cannot afford the necessary means.” Bartle Frere retorted apoplectically: “Poor! I have heard that some of the Malay population are among the wealthiest people of the Colony.”²⁹

In the late eighties, Effendi and his son, A’Toulah Effendi— who would later stand as “Malay” political candidate for the Legislative Assembly in 1894— began a school in the diamond fields at Kimberley entitled the “Imperial Ottoman School” to cater to the growing population, both Muslim and non-Muslim, lured there by diamonds and opportunity. The Effendis also began Muslim schools in the ports of Lourenço Marques (Maputo) and Port Elizabeth, two other growth points in the southern African economy.³⁰

Conclusions

An impressive new era for Muslim education began in the first decade of the twentieth century with the establishment in Cape Town of a seat of tertiary Islamic education. “There is,” noted H.K.W. Kumm, a Christian commentator, with solemn resignation, “a movement on foot to establish a college at Claremont which shall become a propagating centre of this faith.”³¹ This educational venture entailed obtaining advice from a great centre of Islam; as Gerdener recalled in 1915: “Zanzibar has been a source of inspiration on more than one occasion, as when a deputation visited that quarter some years ago on behalf of a Mohammedan College then in building at Claremont...”³²

From the vantage point of a nineteenth century Cape Muslim, facing the fierce colonial double-barrelled intolerance of race and religion, the establishment of a network of Islamic schools and finally, a college must have been culturally satisfying outcome, a quite unthinkable prospect under the Dutch East India Company. However, relics of those same intolerances, which seem to arise generation after generation, are probably responsible for the sad outcome that so little has been written to record those fundamental pioneering cultural achievements. Whenever debates arise about which was

29 SA Rochlin, “Origins of Islam in the Eastern Cape,” *Africana Notes and News*, 12, March, 1956, p.24.

30 “Abu Bakr Effendi”, *Dictionary of South African Biography*, 1, p.4. I learnt of the existence of the school of Kimberley from the flyleaves of several books of Arabic catechisms which were stamped “Imperial Ottoman School: Kimberley”. These books were in the possession of the late I.D. du Plessis in 1977.

31 HKW Kumm, *Kbont-Hon-Nofer: the lands of Ethiopia* (London, Marshall Brothers, 1910), p.233.

32 GBA Gerdener, “Mohammedanism in South Africa,” *South African Quarterly*, 11, January, 1915, p.55.

the first school in South Africa, argument circles around the South Africa College School (SACS) and “*Tot Nut van 't Algemeen*”: never do the giant madrasahs of the 1840s bathe in that same bright light of history.