

CHAPTER IV.

THE BEGINNINGS OF COLOURED EDUCATION IN THE CAPE UNDER THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

1. INTRODUCTION:

When van Riebeeck and his party founded the first European settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, attempts were immediately made to convert some of the Hottentots to Christianity. In his prayer at the sitting of the Political Council on 8th April, 1652, while still on board of the vessel *Dromedaris*, van Riebeeck expressed the hope that the true reformed christian religion might be propagated and spread among the wild and brutal people.¹⁾

Soon after the landing repeated attempts were made by the Sick Comforter Wylant and by van Riebeeck himself to teach some of the Hottentots the art of reading and writing with a view to converting them to Christianity. Wylant found these "Strandloper-Hottentots" "een seer arm elendich volck na siel ende na lichaem, beroft van alle kennisse Goets".²⁾ His attempts at teaching them were, however, unsuccessful because they were unaccustomed to a settled life and could not be subjected to discipline. He held out very little hope for these people, for in his own words: "maar het wilde nyet luken overmits sie dat lopen uit wilde so gewent sijn datse (haer) nyet en konnen begeven onder subjectie van ons sodatter luttick hoop schint te wesen van diese natie".³⁾ But Wylant persevered in his work of trying to teach and convert the aborigines.⁴⁾ Van Riebeeck too, interested himself in the evangelisation and education of the aborigines, as is evidenced in a report submitted by him to his superiors in 1659.⁵⁾ In this report he related how Eva, a Hottentot

1) Dagverhaal, Part I : Note on p. 9-10.

2) Wylant to Classis Amsterdam, 20.4.1655, in Spoelstra, "Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederduitsch-Gereformeerde Kerken in Zuid-Afrika" I p.4.

3) Ibid, p.4.

4) Spoelstra, "Bouwstoffen....I, p. 4.

5) C.493, Uitg. Brieven 1652 -'61: van Riebeeck - Here XVII, 5.3.1659.

woman, of whom mention has already been made and who later married ¹⁾ van Meerhoff, had begun to speak the Netherlands tongue fluently, and was being instructed in reading and "in de gebeden ende manieren ²⁾ van onses Godts dienst". ³⁾

When in 1658 the Cochoqua tribe under Gedasoon visited the environs of the fort to barter with the Dutch settlers, Eva in her turn tried to teach her people "hoe dat men onse lieven Heer ³⁾ bidden moete", and this pleased van Riebeeck immensely. ⁴⁾

On 1st January 1659 a celebration was arranged for a party of the Cochoqua Hottentots who visited the fort. These Hottentots were impressed by the sermon that was preached and by the entertainment that followed. In the Journal of van Riebeeck of that date appears the following comment: "De voorsz. Hottentoots van de Chochoquas wyt den oversten Gedasooni leger, waeren des voormiddags met Eva de tolcauine mede onder 't sermoen geweest, ende te verstaan gegeven synke, wat daer geleert wierde, hadden daerinne na 't scheen goet behagen genomen, en des voornamelijk in 't goede tractement dat men haer liet sandoen." ⁵⁾

This interest in religion and the spreading of the gospel by van Riebeeck and his followers is not surprising for the Hollanders had just concluded in 1648 a long and arduous conflict with Spain, which had been largely a struggle for religious liberty.

Universal education had been a cardinal principle of the Reformation and the Protestants aimed at giving every child elementary religious instruction. In Holland especially there was ⁶⁾ deep interest in the propagation of this religious education..

1) C.586, Dagregister, 1662-1666: (26.4.1664) p. 426.

2) C.493, Uitg. Brieven 1652-'61: van Riebeeck - Here XVII (5.3.1659) pp.854, 915.

3) Dagverhaal II, 29.10.1658, p.820.

4) Theol. Hist. and Ethnography of Africa South of the Zambesi before 1795 II, p.86.

5) Dagverhaal III, 1.1.1659, p.1.

6) Kuiper, J.: "Geschiedenis der wording en ontwikkeling van het Christelijk Lager Onderwijs in Nederland, p.17.

Indeed, every teacher was required to comply with the Articles of Faith as laid down by the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618/9.¹⁾

The Dutch East India Company, though a commercial concern and interested in the first place in profits, was, nevertheless concerned with the religious well-being of its employees.²⁾

In its overseas possessions the Dutch gave much attention to education and religious instruction.³⁾

Though van Riebeeck had to contend with hostile attacks from the Hottentots,⁴⁾ his interest in them never waned and when his maidservant Eva became converted to christianity on 3rd May 1662, a few days before his departure, it must have been a great day in his life!⁵⁾

When the founder of South Africa left its shores on 7th May 1662, after ten years of toil and labour, he was proud of his achievements, and particularly too of his good relationships with the aborigines. Not only had he built a fort "sterck, met stene woningh", but he also managed to cultivate "goede intelligentie met doze lands natie."⁶⁾

3. THE FIRST SCHOOL AND SLAVES:

The first public school to be started in South Africa was opened on 17th April 1658 in Cape Town.⁷⁾ It was a school for the slaves of the Dutch East India Company, and there appears to have been no restriction on the ages of the pupils, for a register was to be kept of all scholars "soewel gepaerde als ongepaerde jongh en out."⁸⁾

1) See also De Planque, P.A. "Valcooch's Regel der Duijtsche Schoolmeesters", p. 72.

2) Leibbrandt, H.C.V. "Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope", Part II, p. 413 - 415.

3) De Bruin G.A.L. van Troostenburg: "De Hervormde Kerk in Nederlandsch Oost Indië", p. 529-529.

4) Dagverhaal III (7 Junie A 1659) p.97; also ibid, 5 and 6 April 1660, p.301-302.

5) Spoelstra, Bouwstoffen I.....p.23.

6) Molsbergen, Dr. H.C. Codeé: "De Stichter van Hollands Zuid-Afrika, Jan van Riebeeck" p.162-163.

7) C.584, Dagregister 1655-1658: 17.4.1659: p.439.

8) Ibid.

The purpose of the school was to enable the Company's slaves to learn the Dutch language and to receive religious instruction. Pieter van der Stael, a brother-in-law of van Riebeeck and the man who succeeded Wylant on 4th March 1686 as Comforter-of-the-sick or "sieckentrooster"¹⁾, was appointed as the first School-master.²⁾

In order to encourage the pupils to be diligent in their studies, the Political Council recommended that every pupil be given daily "een crossjen brandewijn ende 2 duijn tabacq".³⁾ The procedure adopted at this school was in conformity with that in use in the schools in Holland and in the Dutch possessions overseas. All the schools of that period were controlled by officers of the church and the curriculum was essentially religious.⁴⁾ The idea of giving pupils something to stimulate them in their studies was also not novel. In the East Indies rice was often given to pupils to attract them to school.⁵⁾

Van der Stael persevered with his task, although it could not have been an easy one. By 1661 a few Hottentots had also enrolled as pupils, for in March of that year van der Stael informed the Political Council that his contract had expired and that he desired to continue in his post.⁶⁾ He asked for an increase in emoluments, because in addition to his other duties he was engaged in "sommige Hottentots te leeren lesen onse Nederlandsche tale, alsmede des Conz. ende haer dienseren lijffeygenen."⁷⁾ It was agreed to re-appoint him for a further three years and to increase his salary provided he continued to teach the slaves and

1) (a) Cl.65: v.d.Stael to Cl.Amsterdam, 5.3.1657, Brieven Kaapsche Kerken aan Cl.Amsterdam 1555-1747. (b) Dagverhaal III 12.3.1661 p.566.

2) Cl.66, Dagregister 1655-1658, 17.4.1658, p.439.

3) Ibid.

4) Ibid, p.439: The scholars had to "horen off leeren van de Christelijke gebeden....."

5) Bruggens, I.J.: Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch Indië. p. 23.

6) Dagverhaal III 12.3.1661, p.565.

7) Ibid.

Hottentots the Nederlands language and the christian religion.¹⁾

In 1663, however, van der Stael left for Batavia²⁾ and he was succeeded to the post of Sieckenrooster by Ernestus Back.³⁾

3. THE FIRST MIXED PUBLIC SCHOOL.

With the appointment of Back the first mixed public school was established in 1663. It was a school for "Caepse schoolkinderen, soo Duijtse als Swarte".⁴⁾ No colour bar existed in this school and out of the 17 pupils there were 13 Europeans, 4 slaves and 1 Hottentot.⁵⁾ The parents of the European children who could afford to do so, were obliged to pay school fees, amounting to "een halve Rezel"⁶⁾ per month, but for the non-Europeans the education was gratis.⁷⁾

In the early years of the settlement and for many years thereafter, there was no segregation on the basis of colour or race in the schools, and Europeans and non-Europeans sat side by side on the same school desks. This was not at all surprising for at that time, both in the Cape and in the East Indies, colour consciousness had not developed to any extent and was not pronounced as is the case today.⁽⁹⁾

It would thus appear that van der Stael's slave school was continued from 1663 under Back as a school for all children irrespective of race and colour. This school was incidentally the first school in which provision was made for the education of the

1) Dagverhaal III, 12.S.1661, p.566.

2) C.494, Uitgezonden Brieven, Raad van Politie 1662-1667: Pol.R. - Here XVII 21.11.1663, p.528.

3) VC4, Dagregister 1662-1666, 30.11.1663, p.495.

4) Ibid.

5) Ibid.

6) "halve Rezel" about 1/- according to Theal, C.M. "History.... of Africa..... before 1795, II, p.154.

7) VC 4, Dagregister 1662-1666, 30.11.1663, p.495.

8) (a) De Bruyn, G.A.L. van Trosenburg: "De Hervormde Kerk in Nederlandsch-Oost Indië onder de Oost Indische Compagnie 1602-1795" p.534; (b) Cruse, H.P.: Die Oeffening v.d. Kleurlingbevolking, p.36; (c) Bulletin of Educational Statistics of the Union of S.A. 1947 gives the present position. Op.cit.p.ii: - "European Education is mainly public or State Education..... while non-European education is mainly state-aided education. Then, too, European and non-European children do not attend the same school while segregation is difficult in other respects, in education it is complete."

European children at the Cape.¹⁾

The main aim of the instruction at this school was to lay the foundation of a christian education with the object of preparation for church membership. Its doctrine of salvation by faith brought with it the personal obligation that every individual had to be able to read the Bible in order to meet his personal religious duty. The children were taught the elements of reading, with religious instruction the main basis of the teaching.²⁾ Pupils were required to become proficient in prayer, in a knowledge of the Catechism and the Ten Commandments. Schools were essentially in the service of the Church, with the synod constantly striving for schools "waarin de jonge jeugd in de godzaligheid en de fondamenten der christelijke leer behoorlijk onderwezen wordt."³⁾ It was the duty of the teacher to ensure that the pupils attended church services and understood the sermons of the preacher.⁴⁾

In the beginning this school appeared to meet with success for in April 1664 the Political Council was able to report that the school was making progress,⁵⁾ and that in addition to the European children, there were some "swarte off slaven kinderen, benevens een jongh Hottentoesje of twee", and that some of these latter pupils had acquired a knowledge of the Netherlands language and could recite prayers.⁶⁾ The enrolment had increased to twenty-nine children.⁷⁾

Ernestus Back was, however, found to be a man not of exemplary character and had to be deported to Batavia in 1665 because of insobriety.⁸⁾

1) Fouche, L: "Onze Eerste Scholen," De Unie, 6e Jaargang No.1 (Julie 1910) p.16.

2) VOA Dagregister, 1662-1666 (20.11.1663) p.495.

3) Versaluis, W: "Geschiedenis van de Opvoeding en het Onderwijs II p.114-5.

4) VOA, Dagregister 1662-1666 (1.1.1665), p.756.

5) C.494, Uitg.Brieven, 1662-1667: Rand.Pol.-R.-Indië, 31.4.1664, p.692.

6) C.494, Uitg.Brieven, 1662-1667: Pol.Rand-Here XVII, 15.4.1664, p.654

7) Ibid, 31.4.1664, Rand.Pol.-R.v.Indië, p.692.

8) Ibid, 7.2.1665, Rand.Pol.-R.v.Indië, p.810-811.

After Back's departure the school was continued with Daniel Engelgraaf, an ex-soldier, as the teacher.¹⁾ Since Engelgraaf did not occupy the dual position of Comforter-of-the-sick, but was engaged solely in teaching, he may be regarded as the first authentic teacher in South Africa.

Various incumbents held the post of teacher after Engelgraaf's death²⁾, and the practice of instructing European and non-European children together was continued for many years.³⁾

The number of slave children who attended school must have been very small,⁴⁾ for in 1666 the Church Council requested the Political Council to see to it that "de slevinnē kinders nijt de tuijn die alreests bequaemheijt hadden", be sent to school.⁵⁾ It would therefore appear that very few, if any, female slave children attended school. By 1671 only twelve slave children were attending school.⁶⁾

The Church was beginning to extend its interest in the spiritual well-being of the non-European, and through its minister, the slaves were being taught the fundamentals of the christian religion.⁷⁾ This was regarded as a sacred duty, for the minister baptised the children of heathen parents, on the undertaking of

the parents to bring up such baptised children under the tenets of Christianity.⁸⁾ This was in contradiction to a decision of the Synod of Dordrecht to the effect that "uitheemse en inlandse Theologen.....kinderen der Heydenen tot den H. Doop niet moeten worden toegelaten".⁹⁾

1) C.586, Dagregister, 1662-1666, 15.9.1662, p.805.

2) C.586, Dagregister, 1662-1666; 15.9.1666, p.805.

3) C.708, Instructiën vor Commandeur Simon van der Stel door H.A. van Rheeде, 1665, p.53.

4) In 1679 only 5 slave children were at school, according to Fouche, L: "Onze Eerste Scholen", p.19.

5) Spoelstra, G: Bouwstoffen II p.267; Kerk.Arch.Kagast. Not.Boek.

6) C.738: Memoriën en Instructiën, 1657-'85, p.276-278.

7) C.2: Res. Raad v. Politie, 1664-1673 (17.6.1669), p.283.

8) C.2: Res. Raad v. Politie, 1664-1673 (17.6.1669), p.263.

9) Spoelstra, G: "Bouwstoffen" II, p.10.

The ministers of the church thus felt it incumbent upon them to see to it that the children whom they had baptised would grow up in the knowledge of God and the external values.

Notwithstanding the interest of the Church, the conditions in the Slave quarter had continued to deteriorate, and when Isbrand Goske, the Governor-General, visited the Cape in 1671, he found a high degree of immorality prevalent among the slaves and ordered that all slaves, young and old, were in future to attend religious services daily.¹⁾

The first rumblings of a policy of segregating European and non-European children into separate schools, made itself felt in 1676 when the Church Council expressed the desirability of having a separate school for the slaves and requested that a special school for slaves be established in the slave quarter.²⁾ The Political Council received the request sympathetically, but ruled that the best among the non-European children were to continue attending the existing school, until such time that suitable provision could be made for the education of the non-European children.³⁾ In the meantime it would make provision for a suitable non-European person "om oogenclike slaven de geboden 't savants en s' morgens voor te houden en te instrueren"⁴⁾.

Here we have the beginnings of a system of separate schools for non-Europeans in which the teachers too would be non-Europeans.

4. THE SECOND SLAVE SCHOOL, AND THE SEGREGATION OF EUROPEAN AND NON-EUROPEAN INTO SEPARATE SCHOOLS.

The introduction of a system of segregation of Europeans and non-Europeans into separate schools took effect only in 1685,

1) C.780, *Memoriën en Instructiën* : 1657-'85, p.276-278.

2) KR 1 : *Nes. Kerkraad Kaptotd* : 1665-1695 (27 Dec.1676).

3) C.5 : *Nes. Raad v. Politie* : 1674-1678, 28.12.76, p.169.

4) *Ibid.*

when Commissioner Hendrik Adrian van Rheeke visited the Cape in that year. He was particularly interested in the slaves, and referred to them as "deese arme menschen..... vervreemt en on-¹⁾ kundig van den waeren Godt." He found a high degree of immorality in the Slave quarter and hence made provision for it to be re-organised into three sections. There was to be a section for the married inhabitants, a separate section for the unmarried females and young girls, and a third section for the young men and boys. He hoped that this would bring about a better moral standard and would set a better example for the children.²⁾ He further provided for the establishment of a school for slave children only in the slave quarter.³⁾ All slave children were thus to be removed from the school for "duytsche" children that was established by Ernestus Back in 1663. For this school the Commissioner provided that "een slaven kinderen van niemand aangenomen, maar de sodaenige na 't⁴⁾ quartier geweest, en aldaer onderweesen mogen worden."

This slave school, the second that was established by the Dutch East India Company, was intended for children under the age of 12 years. At this school the children were to be instructed in "gebedden, Catechismus en gronde van de religie so sneed leeren leessen, ende Nederduijtsche Tale prompt te leeren spreken." ⁵⁾ Boys and girls would be taught separately, the former by the half-breed Jan Pasqual and the latter by the freed female slave Margaret.⁶⁾

Van Rheeke also left instructions for the teacher and pupils at the slave school, thus formulating the first set of school regulations in South Africa. The regulations "Voor den

1) G.703, Instructiën voor Comm. G. v.d. Stel door H.A. van Rheeke, 1685, p.53.

2) Ibid, p.56.

3) Ibid.

4) Ibid, p.103.

5) G.703, Instructiën voor Comm. G. v.d. Stel.....1685, p.56.

6) Ibid.

Schoolmeester¹⁾ provided, inter alia, that the teacher was to be at school from eight o'clock in the morning until four o'clock in the afternoon; he had to listen to the lessons "twee maal telkens"; he had to inspire²⁾ the children the concepts of christianity; he had to accompany them to church; he had to teach the older pupils to sing psalms and hymns and also to write.

The children had to obey the teacher and be respectful to the Commander and other officials.

The minister of religion was instructed to visit the school twice per week and inspect the progress made.³⁾

The insistence of van Rheeде on separate schools for Europeans and non-Europeans is shown by the fact that in his regulations for the slave school he directed the teacher not to admit "Duijtsen in de Schole"⁴⁾, per contra to his instructions for the school for European children.

By 1685 there were some 60 children produced as a result of miscegenation between European males and female slaves.⁵⁾ Provision for the education of these children was made in the slave school, but the fathers of these half-breed children had to pay for their education.⁶⁾

This slave school in the Slave Quarter of Cape Town had a long, and on the whole, a successful existence, and even after the Cape had become a British possession in 1806, the school was continued.⁷⁾

In the beginning many slaves were enthusiastic about their education and a number over the age of twelve years was desirous of attending school.⁷⁾ Many of the pupils made good progress

1) C.591, Dagregister 1685-'86: (25.7.1685) p.123-134.

2) Ibid.

3) Ibid, p.133.

4) C.708, Instructiën.....p.57; actually there were 58.

5) C.708, Instructiën voor S.v.d.Stel door H.A.van Rheeде, p.58.

6) C.6.115: Houme to Cradock, 23.2.1613.

7) C.708, Instructiën.....p.57.

and pleased their mentors with their diligence and interest.¹⁾ In addition to the work at school, women of standing in the slave quarter were required to instruct the girls and young women in domestic duties,²⁾ while the historian Theal comments that "some of the cleverest youths were selected and placed with master mechanics to be taught trades, so that they might become more useful."³⁾

The Dutch authorities at the Cape at all times attached great importance to the slave school, for as Simon van der Stel pointed out, schools were to be regarded "als plantsoen en kweekerijen aller deugden en voornamelijk onder deze ruwe en grove ingezetenen."⁴⁾

As the settlement at the Cape expanded the need for more schools arose and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries various public and private schools were established in Cape Town and the rural areas. The public schools were controlled by a special education commission, the Scholarch, under the supervision of the Governor and Council.⁵⁾ The Scholarch also took an interest in the activities of the slave school.⁶⁾

When in 1717 changes were effected in the buildings of the Slave Lodge, provision was also made for changes and renovations to the building in which the school was housed.⁷⁾

It was the practice during the rule of the Dutch East India Company to employ as teachers in the slave school the more enlightened members of the slave community, either slaves or freed slaves.⁸⁾

1) C.591, Dagregister, 1685-'6, 20.10.1686, p.485.

2) C.6, Resolutiën Raad v.Pol.1686-1699, 15.9.1687, p.161.

3) Theal, C.H.: "History of Africa South of the Zambesi, before 1795 II, p.229, op.cit.

4) C.6, Resol.Raad Politie, 1696-1699: 22.12.1687, p.190.

5)(a) C.7, Res.Raad Pol.: 1700-1710, 12.7.1707, p.279. (b) See also C.9, Res. Raad Pol. 1713-1715, 21.8.1714, p.226, p.242: Appointment of certain members "als scholargen onder 't oppergesagh van den edelen Heer Gouverneur en den Raad."

6) C.71, Report of Scholarch, Res.Raad v.Pol.1779, 3.9.1779, p.369.

7) C.11, Res.Raad Politie: 1716-1717, 30.3.1717, p.479.

8)(a) In compliance with van Rieede's instructions: C.706, p.56; (b) C.290, Requesten en Nominatiën, 1701, No.16.

Though the first teacher in this second slave school, Jan Pasqual, made himself guilty of immorality and had to be imprisoned "ten Castele"¹⁾ others, carried out their duties satisfactorily, and even received freedom from slavery for their conscientious work. Thus we find that Jan van Manda, who was proficient in the Netherlands language and who had "jaeren herwaert den dienst als schoolmeester in 't Comps. slavenlogie tot genoegen waargenomen"²⁾, being freed from slavery in November 1731.³⁾ His successor, Hans Jacob van Mariaborn, was also freed from slavery. This occurred in 1744 after he had served as schoolmaster "na behooren"³⁾ in the lodge for almost fifteen years, but he had to pay for his freedom.⁴⁾

In 1751 Christoffel of Simosia applied for permission to be freed from slavery. In his request he said that he was 43 years old and had served as schoolmaster for nineteen years.^(s) The Political Council received the request favourably and agreed to his release from slavery, provided that he would continue as schoolmaster for a further period.⁶⁾

The relevant resolution of the Political Council reads: "Synde laststelijk 's Comps. slaaf Christoffel van Simosia op desselfs hierom by request gedaen verzoek, ter consideratie dat denzelven nu berechts den tijd van 19 agter een volgende Jaeren den dienst als Schoolmeester in 's E. Comps. Slavenlogie tot genoegen heeft waargenomen uijt slavernaeije ontslagen, en in vrijdom gestelt, mits verpligt blijvende in erkentnisse van die gunst den gesegden dienst van Schoolmeester in 's E. Comps. slavenlogie op

1) C.6, Res. Raad Politie: 1686-1699; 15.9.1687 p.160.

2) C.26, Res. Raad Pol: 1731-1732, 3.11.1731, p.230-231.

3) C.36, Res. Raad Pol.: 1744, 2.6.1744, p.245. He could not have served for more than 13 years.

4) Ibid.

5) C.43, Res. Raad Pol. 1751, 27.4.1751, p.140. If he taught for 19 years, there must have been more than one teacher serving during the same period for a time.

6) Ibid, See also : C.250, Requesten en Nominatiën, 1751, No.16.

desselfs voorig onderhoud nog eenige Jaaren te blijven waarnemen." ¹⁾

In 1769 the teacher Christian Stents purchased his freedom from slavery but had to continue teaching. ²⁾

Female slaves who were employed as teachers in the slave school, were also liberated from slavery in consideration for the services they had rendered. Thus we find that Presenna, who had served for four years as "meesteres in 's Comps. Slave Logie", had purchased her freedom in 1734. ³⁾

In 1743 Christina Magdalena Smith, who had in all probability succeeded Presenna, obtained freedom from slavery for herself and her daughter, after she had paid to the Dutch East India Company the sum of "een hondert Gaebe guldens", and also in consideration of the fact that "dezelve mee al omtrent 20 jaren den dienst van matres in 's Companies slave logie na behooren heeft waargenomen" ⁴⁾

Another person employed in teaching at the slave school was Anna van Jacoba. By 1763 she had already been employed in the capacity of "matres" for some time. ⁵⁾ In 1764 she was given freedom from slavery, contingent upon her remaining in service until a suitable substitute could be found. ⁶⁾ She has been variously described as "schoolmeesteresse" and "matres". ⁷⁾ Her successor was in all probability Johanna Sophia Maria Fatima "van de Caab", who by 1763 had been in service as "matres" for some years. ⁸⁾ What the role of the female teachers was is not quite clear, but it would appear that they were chiefly matrons in the Slave Lodge engaged in giving instruction in domestic duties and also devoting some

1) C.43, Res. Raad Pol. 1751, 27.4.1751, p.140.

2) C.43, Res. Raad Pol. 1751; 27.4.1751, p.140.

3) C.231, Requesten en Nominatiën 1724, No.4.

4) C.35, Res. Raad Pol. 6.6.1743, p.294.

5) C.261, Reg. en Nominatiën, 1762, No.130.

6) C.56, Res. Raad Pol. 1764, 20.3.1764, p.172.

7) Ibid.

8) C.266, Reg. en Nominatiën, 1767-8, No.91.

time to giving instruction in ordinary book learning.¹⁾

In 1779 the Political Council instructed the Scholarch to report on the position of education in the settlement at the time and to recommend improvements.²⁾ In the subsequent report of the Scholarch³⁾, the statement was made that there was nothing "remarkable" about the ordinary schools, but that the teacher at the slave school was not receiving sufficient emolments and had to undertake additional duties in order to make a livelihood. This was to the detriment of his pupils.⁴⁾ The Scholarch also found that the attendance of the children at the slave school was not satisfactory. Children were kept out of school to do odd jobs of work and as a result the children would "in een maand meer achter-
uitgaan als in drie a' vier hebben geprofiteerd."⁵⁾

To remedy the defects the Scholarch recommended an improvement in the teacher's salary or subsistence and also that steps be taken to ensure a more regular attendance on the part of the pupils. The Political Council accordingly recommended for the teacher, "behalven het genot van dubbeld randsoen van Brood en vleesch nog in plaats van Twee Reaalden kostgeld, die denselven tot hiertoe heeft genoten, voortaan drie Rijxds pr.m. tot onderhoud aan hen vijf 's N. compagnies Cassa zal werden betaald."⁶⁾

From the resolution of the Political Council it is clear that the slave teacher at the slave school was paid for his work, notwithstanding the fact that he was a slave and the property of the Company.⁽⁷⁾

In 1779, at the time of the investigation of the Scholarch, it was found that 84 children attended the slave school;⁸⁾

1) Leibbrandt, keeper of the Archives, translates "matres" or "maitresse" variously as teacher or matron.

2) C.71, Res. Raad Pol. 1779, 6.7.1779, p.317.

3) C.71, Report of Scholarch, 2.9.1779 in Res. Raad Pol. 1779 (2nd Sept p.364.

4) C.71, Res. Raad Pol. 1779; 6.7.1779, p.364.

5) Ibid, 2.9.1779, p.365.

6) C.71, Res. Raad Pol. 1779; (2.9.1779) p.369.

7) Ibid, p.370; Also C.250, Reg. and Nom. (Request of Christoffel Sinosie) 1761 - no.16.

8) C.71, Res. Raad Pol. 2.9.1779; Appendix to Report of Scholarch, p.369.

of this number, 44 were the children of slaves owned by the Dutch East India Company, and 40 were the children of slaves who were owned by private individuals.¹⁾

By 1794 there were only 47 slave children at the school. Of this number 25 were boys and 21 "meijde", all under the age of ten, and all the children of the slaves of the Dutch East India Company. No particulars are available of any other children of slaves attending the Slave School at that time.²⁾

This interest in the education of the slaves is further shown by resolutions taken from time to time by the Church Council, in which improvements were asked for and in which the authorities were urged to make education free for all slaves.³⁾

5. FURTHER PROVISION FOR THE EDUCATION OF SLAVES DURING THE REIGN OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY AT THE CAPE.

Outside the established school for slave children, interest in the education and christianising of slaves was at all times maintained. The Political Council decreed that children of European fathers and half-caste mothers had to be baptised provided their parents also tried to qualify for baptism.⁴⁾ Thus when the first minister of religion Ps. Joannes van Arckel⁵⁾ came to the Cape, he interested himself in the education of the slaves and their baptism.⁶⁾ His successor, Ps. de Voocht, continued to display great interest in the "opvoedingh en ondervysingh onser slaven jeught", and instructed them "in alle civiliteit" in the Christian religion.⁷⁾

When Governor-General Isbrand Goske visited the Cape in

1) Ibid, p.367-368.

2) G.105, Generale Lijst van alle s' Compagnies Slaven, Res.Raad Pol.I, 17.1.1794, p.204.

3) KRS: Res.Kerkraad Kampstad 1782-1791 (7 Nov.1785), p.128; Ibid 1791-1802 (6.10.1793) KRS, p.107 Ibid, 4.5.1795, KRS, p.150.

4) Speculstra, Bouwstoffen I, p.29-30.

5) Van Broekhuizen, H.D.: "Die Kerkingsgeschiedenis van die Hollandse Kerke in Zuid-Afrika, 1658-1804, p.24, 151.

6) G.2, Res.Raad Pol.1664-1673, 17.6.1669, p.285.

7) G.495, Lijst. Brieven 1658-'71, Pol.R.-Heren XVII, 22.3.1669, p.276.

1671 he decreed that all slaves, young and old, were to attend religious services every evening and twice on Sundays and they had to learn to recite prayers so that they might "meer en meer opgeweekt verliende tot de gewenschte geluksaligheijdt mogen geraeken, waartoe Godt zijn zegen en genade gelieve te verleen¹⁾

As the settlement at the Cape grew and expanded the need for more schools and teachers arose. Thus we find that in Cape Town alone there were four public schools in 1737.²⁾ By 1779 the number had grown to eight,³⁾ while in addition there must have been private schools as well.⁴⁾

In the meantime the practice of enrolling non-European children in the schools for Europeans came into being again. Thus it was found in 1779 that in all the eight public schools of Cape Town there were slave children.⁵⁾ Out of a total enrolment of 696 children no fewer than 82 were slave children.⁶⁾ The most popular school at the time was that of George Knoop. Out of an enrolment of 136 pupils, 25 were slaves.⁷⁾ In the other seven schools the numbers of slave children were respectively: 17, 5, 6, 8, 2, 3, 16. In every one of these public schools the percentage of slave children was small except in the school of Job Jacobse, where 16 out of the 50 pupils were slaves.⁸⁾ Jacobse was permitted to open his school in 1754.⁹⁾

As there were no special schools for slaves in the country districts, it can be assumed that such slave children as did

1) C.700, *Memoriën en Instructiën*, 1657-'85, p.376-'8.

2) C.30, *Nes. Raad Pol.* 1737-1738, 15.10.1737, p.304.

3) C.71, *Nes. Raad Pol.* 1779, 2.9.1779, p.367-369.

4) a) C.71, *Nes. Kerkraad Kaapstad*, 1758-1769 (1.6.1767) p.247.

(b) Also C.71, *Nes. Raad Pol.* 1779, (6.7.1779), p.316.

5) C.71, *Nes. Raad Pol.* 1779 (2.9.1779), p.367-369.

6) *Ibid.*

7) *Ibid.*, p.366.

8) *Ibid.*, p.367-369.

9) C.46, *Nes. Raad Politie* 1754-(22.1.1754), p.81.

attend school at the time were permitted to attend the schools for European children. In the case of the church schools at Stellenbosch and Brakenstein that was the case.¹⁾ When P.B. Borchers visited the school at Stellenbosch during the period 1793 to 1796, he found it being attended by some fifty children of different race and colour.²⁾

More numerous than the public schools in Cape Town and the villages in the rural areas, were the private schools on the farms, where farmers hired instructors to teach their children.³⁾ Such private schools were defined as "een school, het welk buiten de gezonde wren gegeven word, of door een publick meester of door iemand anders die by particulieren aan de huizen rondgaat".⁴⁾ We can assume, too, that at such private schools the children of the slaves of farmers were given the opportunity of receiving education.

Borchers related how well some of the slaves were treated by their masters and says of these slaves: "I have seen several of the latter nursed by the mistress of the house and treated precisely like her own children. In fact they have become almost members of the family."⁵⁾

In 1799 the Church Council of Stellenbosch decided that since no slave school had yet been established in that village "zullende men inmiddels zoveel mogelijk alle private schoolmeesters recomendeeren om ook de slavenkinderen in het leezen en de beginselen van den Christelijken godsdienst te onderwijzen".⁶⁾

There is a case on record, too, where a farmer engaged a teacher to educate his whole family and also his slaves. In 1714 Pierre Rousseau engaged Gorrit Daveman to teach his "geheele

1) Borchers, P.B.: "An Auto-biographical Memoir," p.18.

2) Ibid.

3) C.97, Res. Hand Pol. 1792 III (27.7.1792) p.1061-1062.

4)(a) VC 66, Brieven en Bijlagen van den Gouverneur A.J. Sluifjaken I, p.483. (b) See also: Franken, J.L.M.: "Huisonderwijs aan die Kaap" ("Die Huisgenoot" - 5.12 Aug. 1933).; (c) Also Hoge, J.: "Privatskoolmeesters aan die Kaap in die 18de Eeu" (Annale v.d. Univ. Stellenbosch, Jaargang XII, Reeks B, af 1 Julie 1934).

5) Borchers, P.B.: "An auto-biographical Memoir", p.128, op.cit.

6) Spoelstra, Bouwstoffen II, p.415.

familie tot slaaven diat onderbegrepen".¹⁾ This case could surely not have been an exception.

It has also been established that farmers allowed their slaves to attend religious services in their homes and gave them instruction in the Bible and the external values. Borchers relates in his Memoirs: "I know when yet young, that religious instruction was given in the evening even to the slaves belonging to the household."²⁾

One can readily understand the reason for the farmer's interest in his slaves. Skilled slaves in Cape Town were allowed to hire themselves out in their spare time and thus earn money with which to buy a substitute and win their own freedom.³⁾ Colonists were not permitted to ill-treat slaves and the Dutch East India Company ordered the public sale of a slave who had accused his master of crime as the best means of saving him from domestic vengeance.⁴⁾

It was in the interests of a colonist to have his slaves educated, but not in the demoralising environment of the slave lodge.

O.F.Mentzel, who sojourned at the Cape in the middle of the eighteenth century, between 1732 and 1741, found the female slaves always ready to offer their bodies for a trifle.⁵⁾ Of the life in the slave lodge Mentzel said: "The male and female slaves were supposed to occupy different compartments, but generally they live promiscuously as man and wife."⁶⁾

Commenting further on conditions in the slave quarter,

1) CJ 1138, Contracten tusschen Vrijburgers en Derzelver Knechts 1714-'15, No. 21.

2) Borchers, P.B.: "An Auto-biographical Memoir", p.197 op.cit. See also p.161.

3) Requesaten en Nominatiën, 1715-1806: vol.1, 3, 689.

4) Thunberg, C.P.: "Travels.... 1770 and 1779". p.114-115, states: "If a slave is too severely treated by his master, he may complain to the fiscal, and if it then appears that he has been ill used, the owner is made to pay a considerable fine." (Cape in 1770).

5) (a) Theal, Bel. Hist. Dok. I, p.41.

(b) See also: Leibbrandt, Journal 1699-1732, p.46, 169.

6) V.R.S. No.6, p.109, 125.

7) V.R.S. No.4, p.116.

Mentzel said : " I have been inside this building once only to deliver a wagon of salt for the slaves, but I can give no description of the quarters inside for the stench made me hast a speedy retreat."¹⁾

An order to arrest such Europeans who visited the Slave Lodge and misbehaved themselves was issued in 1716²⁾, and in July 1757 renewed instructions were issued, "om deselve wederom haar voorrige kragt en vigeur te geven." The instructions provided that: "lemand by dag off nagt in 's Compagnies slavequartier gevonden verdoerd, sal sonder onderscheijde strengelijc gelaerst werden".³⁾

A further picture of conditions in the slave lodge towards the end of the eighteenth century is given by the Superintendent of the lodge at the time, C.G.Höhne.⁴⁾ According to him the inhabitants of the slave quarter were a motley lot, including bandits, who were either engaged "aan het gemeene werk", or "onbegaaft", condemned slaves, as well as a number of children and female slaves "die hoog zwanger zijn, of zuigende kinderen hebben." The supervision of all these slaves, whom he referred to as "die arme menschen", required "een zachtmoedige doch des niet te min subordineerde behandeling". Many slaves had to work so hard that "daer sedert lang geen Zondag, of liever geen dag van reiniging voor deselve te vinden geweest is."⁵⁾

As against the condition of slaves in the slave lodge, Mentzel was able to say concerning the slaves who belonged to the European burghers and worked in their homes, that these house slaves were clean and neatly attired.^{6) 7)}

1) V.P.S. No.6, p. 81.

2) C.632, Origineel Placaatboek 1714-1734, 17.11.1716, p.118.

3) Ibid, 1.7.1757, para.33.

4) C.810, Bijlagen 1793, p.539.

5) Ibid, p.539 ff.

6) V.P.S. No.6, p.113.

7) See also Thunberg, C.P.: "Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia between the years 1770-1779, I, p.115.

If one considers the circumstances under which the slaves lived in the slave lodge of Cape Town, it is reasonable to conclude that the colonists made every effort to keep the slaves who lived and worked in their households uncontaminated from the demoralising and destructive influences which they were bound to be subjected to, had they come in contact with the slave lodge. At the same time, colour-consciousness was not as marked during the eighteenth century as is the case today. Thunberg who visited the Cape in 1773 made mention of the baptism of and instruction given in the Christian religion to slaves, and gave as a possible reason for this that many of the slave children had "European fathers to whom they (bore) the most striking resemblance".¹⁾ There were also colonists who purchased the freedom of young slaves aged 3 or 4 years in order that the latter might "vorder Nerliijk en Christelijck te kunnen opvoeden en groot brengen"²⁾. These children must without a doubt have been the offspring of those burghers who purchased their freedom.

Having regard to the circumstance at the time, one can readily understand why slave children were permitted to attend the same schools as Europeans or were taught by the same teachers.

1) Thunberg, "Travels....." p. 302 - 303.
2) (a) G.257, Requesten en Nominatiën 1758, No. 94.
(b) G.272, Ibid 1775, No. 84.