

'TOT NUT VAN HET ALGEMEEN' SCHOOL

CAPE TOWN 1804 – 1870:

**Case Study of a Cape School's Response to Political and
Philosophical Changes in the 19th Century**



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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and has not been previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree

ABSTRACT

The name of the School 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' appears often in the literature on early Cape education. It is described as an institution of excellence that boasts many famous pupils such as President Jan Brand, Ds JH Neethling and 'Onze Jan' Hendrik Hofmeyr.

In this study I explore how the School managed to adapt to political, social and philosophical changes to survive for 70 years. I do this through telling the narrative of its existence and functioning, and investigate the vexing question as to why it was forced to close in 1870.

The research document consists of 9 chapters. The introductory chapter provides the orientation for the study. It is followed by a chapter dealing with the factors that led to the establishment of the School, taking into account events both overseas and at the Cape. Chapter 3 focuses on the British occupation of the Cape, with special emphasis on the Anglicisation of schools and the reaction of the colonists to this change of circumstance. Chapter 4 describes the School's activities from 1832, covering among other aspects, its re-opening, curriculum and funding. The School's link with the South African College is also explored. In Chapter 5, I discuss the education policies that shaped the School, as well as the ideals of liberalism and democracy in as far as the School practiced them. Chapter 6 deals with the closing of the School, and I offer various reasons for this. In chapter 7, I present cameos of some of the influential teachers, while the School's legacy to Cape society is examined in Chapter 8.

The study concludes with a reflection that draws these facts into an integrated view and highlights pertinent insights into the 'Tot Nut' as a worthy institution in the light of the findings revealed in this research.

OPSOMMING

Die naam van die skool 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' verskyn dikwels in die literatuur oor vroeë onderwys aan die Kaap. Dit word as 'n puik instansie beskryf, met menige bekende oudleerlinge soos President Jan Brand, Ds JH Neethling en 'Onze Jan' Hendrik Hofmeyr.

In hierdie studie ondersoek ek hoe die Skool by verskeie politiese, sosiale en filosofiese veranderinge aangepas het om sodoende 70 jaar te kon oorleef. Dit doen ek deur die Skool se bestaan en funksionering te beskryf, en ek spreek die frustrerende kwessie aan waarom dit in 1870 gedwing is om te sluit.

Die navorsingsverslag bestaan uit 9 hoofstukke. Die inleiding behels die oriëntasie ten opsigte van die studie. Dit word gevolg deur 'n hoofstuk wat handel oor die faktore wat tot die ontstaan van die Skool gelei het, waar daar na gebeure oorsee sowel as aan die Kaap, gekyk word. Hoofstuk 3 fokus op die Britse besetting, veral op die Anglisasie van die skole en die koloniste se reaksie daarop. Hoofstuk 4 beskryf die Skool se aktiwiteite vanaf 1832, onder andere sy heropening, die kurrikulum en bevondsing. Die Skool se verwantskap met die Suid-Afrikaanse Kollege word ook bespreek. In Hoofstuk 5 ondersoek ek die opvoedingsbeleid wat die Skool beïnvloed het, asook die ideale van liberalisme en demokrasie in so ver die Skool dit beoefen het. Hoofstuk 6 handel oor die sluiting van die Skool en ek bied verskeie redes daarvoor aan. In Hoofstuk 7 bestaan uit sketse van die vernaamste onderwyspersoneel, terwyl die Skool se bydrae tot die Kaapse samelewing in Hoofstuk 8 voorgelê word.

Die studie word afgerond met 'n terugblik wat hierdie feite in 'n integreerde perspektief oor die 'Tot Nut' bymekaar bring en, in die lig van die bevindings wat in hierdie navorsing blootgelê is, kan dit as 'n waardige instansie beskou word.

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DEDICATION

De School de Gewenschte Plaats:

O God! wat groote zegen
Ontvangen w' uit uw hand.
Hoe danken wy naar waarde,
't Geluk van onzen stand!
Hoe vele duizend kindren
Ontberen onderrigt!
Wy mogen dit genieten:
Voor ons glanst steeds het licht.

Hier in deez' school verkrygen
Wy duizend kundigheên,
Om op den weg des levens
Blymoedig voort te treên.
Hier teeren wy de pligten
Der groote Maatschappy,
En om ze te betrachten,
Is ons uw gunst naby.

Wat wy dan ooit begeren
In onze vroege jeugd:
De school is ons verlangen,
Als oefenplaats der deugd.
En waar w' ooit morgen wonen,
Aan zuid- of noordpool:
Wy zullen bly gedenken
Den zegen van de school.

(Verzameling van Schoolgezangen, 1837, p. 32)

**This accumulation of their history is dedicated to the teachers,
the management and the many pupils who passed through the
'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School between 1804 and 1870:
your efforts were not in vain.**

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'TOT NUT VAN HET ALGEMEEN' SCHOOL

CAPE TOWN, 1804 – 1870

**Case Study of a Cape School's Response to
Political and Philosophical Changes in the 19th Century**

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

Any venture into the history of early education at the Cape will invariably yield up the name 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'¹. For 66 years this Cape Town school played an important role in the education of the Dutch-speaking children at the Cape Colony and earned itself the respect of the Dutch and Afrikaans citizens of the Cape. It was a much loved, admired and worthy educational institution that boasts among its many famous pupils Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr ('Onze Jan') and Jan Brand (President of the Orange Free State), and its name will forever be linked with the founding of the University of Cape Town.

The main focus of this study is to examine the School's response, during the 70 years of its existence, to political and philosophical changes, and how it adapted its policies, educational processes and management style accordingly. This focus includes the contribution of the School to, and its impact on, Cape society. No doubt exists that the School was successful.

¹ 'For the good of all' or 'For the benefit of the general public'.

Almost every work that has been written on the history of education in South Africa, as well as the biographies of well-known South Africans attest to this².

The school is even mentioned in some of the older school textbooks, such as Boyce and Harrison: Legacy of the Past. However, all of these dedicate no more than a mere few lines and seldom more than ½ page to the 'Tot Nut'. All comment on its excellence; its pioneering work; its contribution to Cape society and often they mention a successful past pupil. However, there is no study, published or unpublished, dedicated to this school alone. The secondary sources consulted have therefore generally not provided enough satisfactory information and consequently, widely dispersed primary sources in state and church archives, the Deeds Office, the libraries of the Universities of Stellenbosch and Cape Town, the South African Library, the Library of Parliament and several museums have had to be painstakingly sought out, examined and interpreted. My motivation for embarking on this study is as follows:

1.1. Motivation for and relevance of this research

-
- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| ² Borchers (1861): | <u>An Autobiographical Memoir</u> |
| Borman (1989): | <u>1839 – 1989: The Cape Education Department</u> |
| Cilliers (1953): | <u>Die Stryd van die Afrikaanssprekende in Kaapland om sy eie Skool (1652 – 1939)</u> |
| Coetzee (1958): | <u>Onderwys in Suid-Afrika 1652 – 1956</u> |
| Du Toit (1944): | <u>Onderwys aan die Kaap onder die Bataafse Republiek</u> |
| Du Toit (1951): | <u>Onderwys in Kaapland. 'n Historiese Oorsig</u> |
| Hofmeyr (1913): | <u>The Life of Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr (Onze Jan)</u> |
| Kestell (1911): | <u>Het Leven van Professor NJ Hofmeyr</u> |
| Linnegar (1979): | <u>SACS – 150 Years. A History of the South African College Schools</u> |
| Malherbe (1925): | <u>Education in South Africa Vol. 1. 1652 – 1922</u> |
| Neethling (1907): | <u>Het leven van Stephanus Hofmeyr</u> |
| Pells (1954): | <u>300 Years of Education in South Africa</u> |
| Ritchie (1918): | <u>The History of the South African College. 1829 – 1918</u> |
| Theal (1915): | <u>History of Africa South of the Zambezi from 1795 – 1872</u> |

The original impetus for this study arose from an enquiry from the National School Museum in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, about the link with the Dutch Society 'Maatschappij tot Nut van't Algemeen'³ and the school of the same name that existed in Cape Town. A short summary was the initial result, but I realised there was much that was *not* written. My curiosity drove me to delve further into the matter and also led to a desire to formalise my findings. It is anticipated that the value of this research will be twofold:

Firstly, there is a narrative to be told. Education of the youth is a universal human phenomenon, based on the interaction between people. Soltis (1998, p. 197) goes so far as to say that education is 'everybody's business', in other words – a very public thing. There are human stories to be told in every school. I have deliberately sought out the human side of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School: what kind of people its teachers were; who the people were who supported it or who raised dissident voices against it; and what kind of parents and pupils it attracted. I have found satisfaction in every name of a pupil that I was able to unearth – some 543 in total. Some of my preliminary research has attracted the attention of the Hofmeyr family, of whom almost all children at the time attended the 'Tot Nut' School. Perhaps other families that I have identified as having had a connection with the School will find it equally interesting tracing the education of their forefathers and mothers.

Secondly, it is envisaged that a theoretical contribution will be made. Education can never be neutral: policy on education originates from a particular philosophy of life and, as Berkhout & Wielemans (1998, p. 403) point out, it is always about contested power

³ In Holland, the Society was generally known as 'Maatschappij' or 'Maatschappij tot Nut van't Algemeen', whereas at the Cape the abbreviation was only seldom used; I use 'Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen'.

and is therefore seldom value free. Education is also affected by the prevailing social and political framework. Putting a school under the spotlight as I have done with the 'Tot Nut', brings out positive and negative aspects of education policy and school management that can be useful as a case study from which modern schools can learn, particularly at a time when South African schools are undergoing rapid transformation. This research also has an interdisciplinary value: not only students engaging with Education: Policy Studies, but also those studying in the faculties of History and Religious Studies will find the history of the 'Tot Nut' School useful.

1.2. Aims and objectives of this research

The aim of this research is to expand on the body of knowledge about the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School and to gain a deeper insight into precisely what made it such a good school and why it lived for so long in the memory of early Cape colonists. The School existed in a certain time period and thus was influenced by the political systems and philosophies of that time. In this study, I shall be examining how the School responded to these and other changes. And finally, I shall explore the reasons for the School's closure in 1870.

Before these issues can be dealt with, a clear statement of the research problem needs to be formulated.

1.3. Problem formulation

- In attempting to achieve its aim, this study will firstly discuss the philosophical, political and social conditions that gave rise to the School's establishment in 1804. This will be done in the context of major historical events in Europe that had an effect on the Cape Colony, such as the protestant revival in England during the 1700s; the French Revolution of 1789; and the resultant Batavian rule at the Cape. Local conditions at the Cape will also be discussed, most notably the three changes in government that occurred between 1795 and 1806.
- Some attempt will be made to determine how the school functioned. The policies and philosophies that weave through the School's history will be constantly highlighted. I have relied heavily on primary sources found in archives and libraries with rare books and special collections to get a picture of how the School was run and organised. Autobiographies, biographies and memoirs of past pupils have also been helpful in this regard. I have also found it useful to compare the 'Tot Nut' with other schools that existed at the time and of which more complete records remain. In this regard, the South African College will feature prominently, because it had a close association with the 'Tot Nut'.
- Although it is doubtful whether education policies were as clearly defined, understood and perceived in the same way as they are today, the 'Tot Nut' School no doubt was affected by whatever policies were in place at the time. I seek to therefore also examine which education policies impacted on the School, both from

within its own organisation and those that were imposed on it by the prevalent authorities.

- The perplexing question of the School's closure despite its alleged success will be dealt with and the factors that led to its demise will be discussed. Its liberal policies will be examined, including its stance on religion. Finally, I aim to highlight the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen's case as typical of the financial and managerial problems that beset private schools both then and now, with a special look at governance.
- The contribution of the School to, and its impact on, Cape society will be highlighted. The School's many successful scholars who became prominent academics, theologians, politicians and businessmen will be discussed. In the interests of gender equity, comment will also be made on the 'invisible' pupils of the School: its female students. The attitudes and thinking of society in the 19th century on the role of women will form part of this discussion.

With the research problems, the aims and objectives of the study and the expected contribution now broadly outlined, it is necessary to define the processes whereby answers to these questions were sought.

1.4. Research methodology and methods used

In order to assess the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School's effectiveness, a framework was required. While engaging in my study, I have constantly been forced to reflect on

findings and how to present them. This thinking about research, epistemology (Gough, 2000, p. 4), has led me to formulate a conceptual framework, or research methodology (Gough, 2000, p. 3) about how my research should proceed and also to guide my activities to ensure that sound conclusions were reached.

To this end, I have found analytical inquiry a useful tool whereby such an examination could be carried out. Analytical inquiry is concerned with the analysis of concepts, belief and practice (Waghid, 2003, ii), and in this case it leads to a greater clarity about policy and practice at the 'Tot Nut' School and what the specific political, social and philosophical conditions that influenced these policies and practices were. Put another way, when evaluating the effectiveness of this School and how it met the needs of the society it served, I have followed Cheng & Cheung's (1995, p. 19) example of examining the implementation process as well as the consequences.

Because my research takes the form of a case study, I have used both positivist and interpretive enquiry, firstly to collect enough quantitative scientific facts that give me a platform from which to make my conclusions. Secondly to gain a qualitative, empathetic view of my subject and to understand the phenomenon that was the 'Tot Nut'. The nature of my investigation thus determined the use of specific research methods.

Due to the fact-finding nature of this research, a large portion of it is presented in the form of a historical educational narrative, which involved the basic scientific research method (Meier, 1996, p. 33 in Lewis, 1999, p. 21), travelling into the past in order to enlighten the present. I have conducted my research along Wiersma's (1991, pp. 206

- 212 in Lewis, 1999, p. 22) four steps identified with the historical educational method of research:

- Identification of the research problem
- Collection of data from various primary and secondary sources
- Synthesis of the information gleaned from these sources
- Analysis, classification, interpretation and formulation of conclusions

In doing so, I used the following means of research:

- Firstly I embarked on a literature study of the available secondary sources, mainly books and journal articles, on the history of education at the Cape, not only to extract facts about the School, but also to gain insight into perceptions and understandings by academics.
- Due to the absence of much satisfactory information in the secondary sources and the contradictions I often found in these sources, I have had to turn predominantly to primary sources found in archives and libraries with rare books and special collections. I have examined original manuscripts, minutes of meetings, correspondence, reports, speeches, newspapers, diagrams, paintings and schoolbooks. They have provided me with the bulk of my information, as they are far more reliable than secondary sources. Autobiographies, biographies and memoirs of past pupils have also been useful.

- Comparative research was done, comparing the 'Tot Nut' School with its compatriots, especially the South African College, about which much more information exists and with which the 'Tot Nut' had a close association.
- Subsequently I did a conceptual study into the philosophies that (a) underpinned the School's policies from within and (b) those that impacted on it from without.
- In order to be able to achieve the aims of this study, it was necessary to do a critical evaluation of the School's policies, curriculum, teaching methods and practices, school management and other educational practices.

The following chapter examines the factors that led to the establishment of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School.

CHAPTER 2: EVENTS LEADING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE 'TOT NUT VAN HET ALGEMEEN' SCHOOL

This chapter begins with a brief look at the state of education at the Cape since the arrival of the European settlers, which left much to be desired. This was partly due to the Cape's relative isolation. And yet there were major philosophical and political events that occurred in Europe in the late 18th century and the early 19th century that had a huge impact on the Colony. In this chapter I explore those events that had an effect on education, and that directly or indirectly led to the establishment of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School'. I also look at how that early School functioned.

2.1. Education at the Cape 1652 – 1795

To comprehend the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School's impact on Cape society, one must first understand the dismal state of education that existed at the Cape of Good Hope from the time of the arrival of representatives of the Dutch East India Company in 1652. Education was of an extremely elementary character, usually conducted by the 'ziekentrooster' or by the clerk of the Church – the so-called 'koterskole'. It was not compulsory and made provision only for religious instruction, basic reading and writing, and rudimentary arithmetic (South Africa's Heritage, 1964, p. 13) and its purpose was nothing more than to prepare young people for church membership. Arithmetic was the only secular subject (Pells, 1938, p. 12). The problems were endless: a lack of financial backing, a shortage of suitable teachers, the settlers' lack of motivation in this regard,

and the backwardness of the Cape in general. Even by 1883, in his report on the state of education, Ross describes pupils in the Cape Colony as "... scratching strokes upon their slates or doing nothing at all" (Ross, 1883, p. 4), which makes the achievement of the 'Tot Nut' School all the more remarkable.

One school stands out – the Latin School established in 1714 with Lambertus Slichter as rector. It was successful for a number of years, but closed in 1730 (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, pp. 11 - 12). In 1790, a more serious attempt at education was made by the Scholarchs. This was a committee formed to oversee education and consisted of 3 church ministers and 1 civil servant. In 1790 the Scholarchs came up with a "Plan ter verbeetering van't Schoolweezen ter deezer plaatze in't algemeen, en ter stigting van een goed Fransch en Latijnsch School in het bijzonder" (Borman, 1989, p. 5). Subsequently, the Latin School was revived in 1793 in a house in Grave Street (now Parliament Street). The 'praeceptor' was Cornelius Josias van Baak (Borman, 1989, p. 5). Besides the academic work, the children were taught to see God as the provider, and were taught obedience, respect and the fear of God (Du Toit, 1937, p. 221). This is but one example of religious authority dominating education.

In 1786 a Military School was started by the government to train and educate cadets in "... de Instructie in de Militaire Weetenschappen" (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 24). Pupils were taught Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Military Science and Mathematics. The teacher was a young sailor, Justus Hendrik Gunkel (Du Toit, 1937, p. 227).

In 1792, as the rule of the Dutch East India Company was coming to an end, a private French and Dutch school was started by Jacob Ziegler (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 24).

He taught 12 children between the ages of 8 and 12, instructing them in Dutch, French, Geography, History, elementary Nature Study and Mathematics. By the end of the eighteenth century, advanced education at the Cape was thus available at the Latin School, the Military School and Jacob Ziegler's School.

The settlement's inhabitants yearned to have their children properly educated, but despite the efforts of enterprising individuals, the churches and the governments of the day, schooling at the Cape continued to be a haphazard affair. A few, who desired secondary education for their children or their qualification for one of the learned professions, had to send their children overseas (Pells, 1938, p. 13). While the liberal ideas of the French Revolution began sweeping across Europe, the Cape underwent three changes of government following the rule of the Dutch East India Company: temporary British rule in 1795; Dutch rule under the Batavian Republic in 1803; and finally British rule once again from 1806. During these unsettled times, many worthy educational initiatives floundered (Linnegar, 1979, p. 3).

2.1. Events in Europe ±1740– 1806

2.1.1. The Influence of Joseph Lancaster and Methodism

Joseph Lancaster was a Quaker who believed, at a time when Britain had upwards of 75% illiteracy among its labouring poor, that all children had a right to be educated. In 1798 he set about devising a method whereby children from the working class masses

could be educated. The system involved one master teaching a number of bright children, known as monitors, who in turn passed on to groups of other pupils what they had learnt. This became known as the monitorial system (Howes, 2001, p. 1). The great merit of the Lancasterian model, aside from being a cheap means of education, lay in that it represented a considerable advance in school organisation over the older, individual method of instruction where one master attempted to control a large number of ungraded learners, with its accompanying waste of time and schoolroom disorder, by introducing order and structure. The Lancasterian method greatly increased the number of people in England who possessed a basic education, together with some industrial and vocational training (*ibid*, p. 2). Lancaster's idea's spread across the world, including the United States, Holland and South Africa. It was introduced at the Cape in 1813 by the Bible and School Commission (*ibid* p. 3).

In his 'Redevoering: Uitgesproken in de Algemeene Vergadering Der Maatschappij Tot Nut van't Algemeen aan De Kaap de Goede Hoop', Gerard Beelaerts van Blokland, the Chairman of the Society, praised Lancaster for his farsightedness in promoting education among the poorer classes:

"Heb dank, Volk-lievende Lancaster voor het instellen eener wyze van opvoeding, die het genot van onderwys verzekerd heft voor de arme classe van menschen" (Beelaerts van Blokland, 1813, p. 23).

Also in the 18th century, the Christian revival begun by Charles and John Wesley in England spread across Europe (Du Preez van Wyk, 1947, p. 16), in particular to Holland, Germany and Scandinavia. In these countries, the Protestant churches felt a

strong missionary call, and this gave rise to missionary societies such as the London Missionary Society (1795), the Netherlands Missionary Society (1799), the Moravian Missionary Society and the Rhenish Missionary Society (Botha, 1999, p. 11; 'The SA Sendiggestig Museum', 1978, p. 1). Influenced by the English ministers, Dutch ministers began to preach a simpler form of evangelism in an attempt to reconcile the church with the growing interest in natural sciences (Mijnhardt & Wichers, 1984, p. 232). This became known as Methodism. As a result of this revival in Christianity, the Dutch 'Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen', which gave the inspiration of the 'Tot Nut' School, was born.

2.2.2. The establishment of the 'Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen' in Holland:

In 1784 a Dutch preacher, Jan Nieuwenhuijzen, established a society with the name 'Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen'. It was intended to provide education for all classes (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 36) and "... de zedelijke en ligchaamlijke opvoeding der kinderen" (Mijnhardt & Wichers, 1984, p. 9). The Maatschappij was to be responsible for bringing about many changes in education in Holland (Van der Schoot, 1995, p. 3), especially under the founder's son, Martinus Nieuwenhuijzen (Thijssen, 2000, p. 5). The 'Tot Nut van't Algemeen' found that the common people had a lack of Biblical knowledge and that children especially, when praying or singing, did little else "... als papagaaien leeren naaklappen". This was something the 'Tot Nut van't Algemeen' sought to address. Using the Bible as a primer to teach reading was frowned upon; rather, it should be used to teach lessons useful for daily life (Mijnhardt & Wichers, 1984, p. 237).

Among the Society's initiatives were libraries, reading circles, savings banks, social care services and schools. The first school was established in Leiden in 1792; a second in Doordrecht in 1793 (Mijnhardt & Wichers, 1984, p. 16). Others soon followed. The schools were designed not only to provide knowledge and a good elementary education, but also to produce useful members of society. Schools in Holland that were established according to these ideals were called 'Nutscholen' and were considered model schools. They had the following noticeable characteristics: a thorough general and scientific knowledge based on new textbooks (rather than fables, legends and other types of fiction); enlightened didactic principles regarding a more practical education; secular education aimed at the (working) life of ordinary people; modern views on reward and punishment; and an uncompromising morality based on Bible education (Thijssen, 2000, p. 5). School attendance was encouraged through a system of awards to the pupils (Mijnhardt & Wichers, 1984, p. 16).

The Society also arranged 'prijsvragen' or contests, whereby members of the public were invited to submit papers on a variety of topics suggested by the Society. Those adjudicated the best were published and distributed to all the members of the Society. The 'Tot Nut' also produced schoolbooks, and by 1821 had published over 11 000 copies of its books (Mijnhardt & Wichers, 1984, p. 37). Many of them made their way to the Cape, the best-known being the *Trap der Jeugd*. It also produced 'schoolprenten' - school prints or educational charts. These were realistic representations of Bible stories, historical subjects, proverbs, the alphabet and moral warnings (Thijssen, 2000, p. 4). They were printed in A3 size, with simple illustrations and relatively little text. Many depicted a process, such as farming methods. They were widely used in classrooms for teaching general knowledge and virtues to children; they were seldom

used to teach fundamental educational skills such as reading, writing and arithmetic. They were frequently distributed to pupils as awards for good work and good behaviour (Thijssen, 2000, p. 2).

From 1807, all charts and books published by the Society carried the seal of the Society, the so-called 'Nutzegeel' (Fig. 1). It consisted of two medallions, surrounded by scrolled leaves. The first medallion depicts Minerva, the Muse who presided over handicrafts, inventions, arts and sciences (Encyclopaedia Britannica 9th Edition, 1898, p. 437), with her shield and spear by her side. A young boy kneels in front of her, and with her extended hand, she prepares to lead him to wisdom. It is surrounded by the name 'TOT NUT VAN'T ALGEMEEN'. The second medallion has at its centre a laurel wreath, with the words 'EER PRYS DER MAATSCHAPPY' ⁴



Fig. 1: The 'Nutzegeel'; seal or logo of the Company 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen';

adopted in 1807

⁴ Before 1808, spelling had not been regulated in the Dutch language. According to Professor Thijssen at the University of Utrecht, both 'prys' and 'prijs' were acceptable forms of spelling. Likewise, 'Maatschappy' could also have been spelled 'Maatschappij'. After 1808, the more common forms of 'ij' were used instead of 'y'.

In addition, inscribed medals were awarded for excellence. Some of these ideas on rewarding students were enthusiastically replicated in the Cape Town School 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'.

2.2.3. The French Revolution:

Across Europe, the church had dominated education in the 17th and 18th century. One of the voices of the French Revolution was the philosopher and writer Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose writings were seen as an attack on the aristocracy and the church. In his novel 'Emile', he relates his ideal of the proper education of the youth. Rousseau believed that education was a natural rather than an artificial process; an appropriate development of childhood should be the purpose of each stage of education (Monroe, 1923, p. 572). More importantly, Rousseau advocated that it was the duty of the state to provide the education of its citizens (Du Toit, 1944, p. 46).

The French Revolution was, among others, anti-clerical. It brought to an end the privileged position of the state church in France and subsequently also in Holland. The ideals were therefore the establishment of secular education. Philosophers, societies such as the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van't Algemeen', missionaries, educators and policy makers who were influenced by the French Revolution, wanted to establish undenominational public schools.

2.2.4. The Batavian Republic:

In 1795, Holland was invaded by Napoleon Bonaparte's French troops. The Republic of the United Netherlands ceased to exist, replaced by the Batavian Republic. William, Prince of Orange, fled to England, and, at his request, English troops seized the Cape to prevent it from falling into French hands. In 1796 the Batavian Republic set about reforming the Dutch school system, namely to set up a system of national education.

The 'Maatschappij tot Nut van't Algemeen' used the opportunity to become involved in the renewal process and led the drive to encourage the development of secular education by the state (Malherbe, 1925, p. 53). The Batavian government invited the Society to advise it on education, and in 1796 it published a report entitled: 'Algemeene Denkbeelden over Nationaal Onderwijs'. In this paper, the Society suggested that the education of every child, regardless of class or gender, should be the responsibility of the state, funded by taxation (Mijnhardt & Wichers, 1984, p. 21). Further recommendations included teaching methods and resources, teacher training and the grouping of scholars into relative age groups (Thijssen, 2000, p. 6). All over Holland, new school buildings were erected, as well as facilities for training teachers. Teachers' salaries were paid jointly by the state and the communities they served. Existing schoolbooks were abolished and replaced by more modern ones, together with a teachers' manual: 'Handboek voor de Onderwijzer'. Religious education was taught for its moral and ethical values rather than from a dogmatic position (Mijnhardt & Wichers, 1984, p. 21). In 1806 the Education Law was passed, with special emphasis on primary education (Mijnhardt & Wichers, 1984, p. 34).

2.3. THE EFFECTS OF THE ABOVE ON EDUCATION AT THE CAPE:

1802 – 1806

In 1795, a certain amount of disruption was caused at the Cape by the first British occupation referred to earlier. During the period of British control, no important changes were made to the educational structure. Educational matters were dealt with by the Scholarchs, and the Burgher Senate that was established in 1796 (Borman, 1989, p. 5). It was during the Batavian Period (1802 – 1806), when the Cape was returned to Dutch rule, that education at the Cape was formalised and structured for the first time.

2.3.1. De Mist's education policy

When the British returned the Cape to Holland in 1802, JA de Mist was appointed as Commissioner-General to take over the government of the Cape on behalf of the Batavian government. General JW Janssens was appointed as the Governor (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol II, 1972, pp. 175, 176).

De Mist had lived through tumultuous times in Europe, and was affected by the new ideas of the French philosophers such as Rousseau, as well as by the Revolution itself (Du Toit, 1944, p. 45). He took a keen interest in education at the Cape and his views on the matter, strongly influenced by the French Revolution, were considered liberal and progressive. He attempted to establish a system of public schools that were not connected with any particular denomination, but that provided a good, secular

education (Theal, Vol. 1, 1915, p. 172). He based this on the new legislation in Holland to provide secular rather than clerical education (Malherbe, 1925, p. 24). De Mist was not, however, anti religion. In his 'Memorandum on the Cape', 1802, he states that:

“ ... no community can exist without religion. By this we signify, not some learned theory of divinity, but the public acknowledgement of a Supreme Being, whom it is our duty to reverence and worship. From this fact and our conviction of the necessity for thus advancing our temporal and spiritual happiness, we deduce both command and an obligation to observe all social virtues” (De Mist, 1802, p. 198).

De Mist was dismayed by the 'decline of morals' at the Cape. He described the youth as indolent and the citizens of Cape Town given generally to extravagance and idleness. He blamed the French influence for this. De Mist favoured the retention of the ministers (whose salaries were paid by the state) of the two established churches at the Cape, the Dutch Reformed and the Lutheran, because of the churches' influence over the Colonists and their relatively large capital. But he also recommended that a sufficient number of schoolmasters be stationed in different parts of the Colony to “... disseminate the first principles of civilisation” (De Mist, 1802, p. 199).

In September 1804 he passed a comprehensive School Ordinance, a document that was published in two parts. The first contained an exposition of the establishment of various types of schools, higher education for both boys and girls, and the provision of teacher training (Linnegar, 1979, p.3). Special arrangements in terms of financial support were made regarding the Latin School (by now in the hands of principal HJ

Klein) (South Africa's Heritage, 1964, p. 14), although this school never was very successful and was attended by only a small number of pupils (Borman, 1989, p. 7). Klein was succeeded by the Rev Dr Laurens Halloran, the military chaplain (Theal, Vol. 1, 1915, p. 238), who in turn was succeeded by Mr FE Turr. My emphasis on this School is because its successor was later incorporated into the South African College, a close contemporary of the 'Tot Nut' School.

The second part of de Mist's Ordinance was concerned with the establishment of an education budget (Linnegar, 1979, p.3), but this was never promulgated. This School Ordinance is regarded as a milestone in the history of education at the Cape, as it contains two important concepts: the organisation of public education as the responsibility of the state, and the withdrawal of education from the control of the church (Borman, 1989, p. 7). Theal (Vol. 1, 1915, p. 172) comments that the Ordinance drew strong opposition from the farmers: "... better no education at all from books than instruction not based on religion was the cry of the farmers from one end of the country to the other". However, during the brief interlude when the Cape was under Batavian rule, De Mist gave the inhabitants one of the most enlightened pieces of legislation ever made in South Africa or in any country at the time through his School Ordinance (Malherbe, 1925, p. 54).

De Mist's compatriot, Governor-General Janssens, had also been influenced by the French Revolution, in particular the philosophies of the vehemently anti-clerical Voltaire. In attempting to reform the Scholarchs, Janssens felt that it required: "... kundige mannen, en wijnige of geene geesteliken – deeze laatsten smooren alle liberale denkbeelden" (Du Toit, 1944, p. 44).

It was de Mist's intention that competent teachers should be sent for from Holland until a 'normal' school could be established in Cape Town for the training of teachers (Theal, Vol. 1, 1915, p. 173). Many new schools were started during this period. One was a superior girls' school in the Kaizergracht (now Darling Street) in 1805 by Mr and Mrs Pahud, which lasted until 1809 (Theal, Vol. 1, 1915, p. 174); another was the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' in 1804, named after the Dutch Society of the same name.

2.3.2. Establishment of the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Zending Gesticht'

The 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Zending Gesticht' (South African Mission Society) was formed in 1799 "... ter bevordering van de Uytbreiding van Christus Ryk" (Hopkins, 1965, p. 215) as a direct result of the evangelical revival in Europe during the eighteenth century. It immediately set up a Practising⁵ School ('Kleine Oefeninghuis') for 'heathen youth' in a house on the corner of Hout and Long Streets (The South African Sendiggestig Museum, 1878, p. 7), as well as 4 classes in the harbour - 3 for 'heathens' and 1 for whites.

When the Society's new building in Long Street (now the South African Mission Museum) was completed in 1804, it received much opposition first from the Batavian and later the British authorities (The South African Sendinggestig Museum, 1978, p. 5). De Mist, with his belief in secular rather than clerical education (Theal, Vol. 1, 1915, p. 172), was not keen on the Society having an education function. It was his angry wish that "... het bliksemvuur van den Hemel" would consume the building because it

⁵ Practising in the sense of nurturing the practice of religion; of repeating Bible verses and hymns.

looked too much like a church (Hopkins, 1965, p. 216). He regarded the Society as a sect that posed a threat to both the state and the established church. In his Church Ordinance of 1804, he curtailed the operations of the Society (The South African Sendinggestig Museum, 1978, p. 5). In December 1809, Cape Town was struck by a violent earthquake. This awakened many people spiritually, and there was a new interest in missionary work. As a direct result of the earthquake, regular Saturday evening prayer meetings were held at the Mission Society in Long Street. No further opposition was experienced from the civil authorities after this and gradually the Society resumed its teaching activities (The South African Sendinggestig Museum, 1978, p. 5).

In later years, the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School was to enjoy a good working relationship with the 'Zending Gesticht', periodically using its premises for large events such as the preamble to the ceremony of laying the cornerstone of its School building in 1832 and some of its early prize giving ceremonies.

2.3.3. Establishment of the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen': 1802

The value of an organisation such as the 'Tot Nut van't Algemeen' was recognised at the Cape, and in July 1802 a company with the same name and affiliated to the Dutch body until 1822 (Mijnhardt & Wichers, 1984, p. 369) was established here (Du Toit, 1944, p. 98). The founder was Johannes (Jan) Adriaan Vermaak, who had been a member of the Burgher Senate in 1797 (Theal, Vol 1, 1915, p. 119). Vermaak had

spent two years (1800 and 1801) in the Netherlands, and was particularly impressed by the 'Nutschool' at Leiden.

Several meetings were held to canvass membership. Anyone over the age of 15 could become a member or shareholder at an annual fee of 10 Rix Dollars (Wetten van het Departement der Bataafsche Maatschappij Tot Nut van het Algemeen, 1803, p. 3). Members such as Nicolaas van Es extolled the virtues of belonging to an organisation that believed in promoting "... beschaving en verbetering der Zeden" – civilisation and the improvement of morals (*Kaapsche Courant*, 18 June 1803). He also highlighted the Cape's serious shortage of schoolbooks and referred to the affordable books published by the Maatschappij 'Tot Nut van't Algemeen' in Holland, urging the members, as parents, to support the purchase of these books (*Kaapsche Courant*, 30 July 1803). Children, van Es claimed, needed to be taught morals and virtues, and he explained that parenthood presupposed the good intention to guide the child to the acquisition of virtue and knowledge. He further advised that lying, deception, cruelty, mockery and fraternising with slaves sowed the seed of roguery in the hearts of the youth and should be avoided at all costs (*op cit*; Du Toit, 1944, p. 101).

The number of shareholders in 1802 was 62; the following year it had risen to 112 (Eybers, 1926, p. 45) and by 1807 it was 114 (Van der Merwe, in Du Toit, 1944, p. 107). A small library of suitable reading matter for the members was made available at the home of the treasurer, Gerard Ewoud Overbeek (*Kaapsche Courant*, 30 July 1803). Shortly after De Mist's arrival at the Cape, on 13 April 1802, two of the members, Johannes Andreas Horak and Johannes Henoch Neethling (who was to have a long association with the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School), visited him on

behalf of the other members to inform him of the Society's existence (Du Toit, 1944, p. 98), of their subordination to the laws of the mother Organisation and of their own aims "... om het alhier zo zeer verwaarloosd onderwys der Jeugd te verbeterer" (De Mist, 1803, p. 227). It was on this occasion that De Mist asked the 'Maatschappy Tot Nut van het Algemeen' to advise him in matters pertaining to education (*ibid*, p. 379), to be discussed under the next heading.

The 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen'⁶ had as its broad aim the "... promotion of the Christian religion and morality and the diffusion of useful knowledge" (Memorial, 24 June 1834) and specifically "... de opvoeding van de Jeugd, en de verbetering van het Schoolwezen" (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 36): all ideals of the mother Society. One of the means employed to do this was the establishment of a co-educational preparatory or elementary school, at an affordable rate.

On 30 April 1803 the Society placed an advertisement in the *Kaapsche Courant* for a teacher able to instruct young people in reading and writing in the Dutch language, as well as Arithmetic and other sciences that would lead to a good education. Applicants were invited to contact the Secretary, Mr CL Neethling.

The first Annual General Meeting of the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen' was held in the large hall of the Town House on Green Market Square on 12 August 1803 under the chairmanship of the said Jan Vermaak (Borchers, 1963, p. 245; *Kaapsche Courant*, 27 August 1803). Vermaak laid out the objectives of the Society, namely: the instruction of youth, an improvement to agriculture, the

⁶ also referred to as the 'Bataafsche Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen' (*Kaapsche Courant*, 30 April 1803); the 'Kaapsche Departement der Bataafsche Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen' (*Kaapsche Courant*, 27 August 1803) and the 'Bataafsche Genootschap Tot Nut van het Algemeen' (Deed of Transfer, 13 October 1803)

encouragement of the arts and sciences, and the promotion of industry (*Kaapsche Courant*, 27 August 1803).

The Secretary, CL Neethling, reported that despite the advertisement placed in the *Kaapsche Courant* in April, the Society had been unable to find a suitable local teacher, and that one would be requested from Holland. A decision was made to purchase, as soon as possible, a suitable building that could accommodate not only the Society's offices, but also a school, a library and display cabinets. One of the members, Mr JH Brinkhoff, offered to give lessons in this building, to those older youth who wished to further their knowledge in Science and Mathematics (*Kaapsche Courant*, 27 August 1803).

In keeping with its aim of improving agriculture, the Society organised an essay competition along the lines of the mother Society's 'prijsvragen'. The topics suggested were the extraction of the oil from the *palma Christi*, cattle diseases and improving the breed of wool sheep by importing Spanish or Merino sheep⁷. A gold medal was offered for the best essay (Eybers, 1926, p. 45; Borchers, 1963, p. 245).

Vermaak then resigned the chairmanship, which was taken over by Van Es while a new chairman was elected (*Kaapsche Courant*, 27 August 1803). The new Board of Directors consisted of: HA Vermaak (Chairman); CL Neethling (Secretary); GE Overbeek (Treasurer); JA Vermaak; N van Es; JH Neethling (son of CL Neethling); JA

⁷ In 1793, the Dutch 'Maatschappij tot Nut van't Algemeen' sent merino sheep, 'Barbarische of Spaanse schapen', to the Cape for the benefit of the people and to improve local stock. Colonel RJ Gordon, the officer commanding the garrison at the Cape, appropriated the sheep for himself. In 1797 his widow sold 26 of them and donated a further 6 to the captains of ships bound for Australia. These animals were in turn distributed to the New South Wales pioneer sheep farmer, John Macarthur. From this small troop began the great Australian wool industry (Sleigh, 1993, p. 518), as well as that of South Africa.

Horak; F Korsten and C Cruywagen (Wetten van het Departement der Bataafsche Maatschappij Tot Nut van het Algemeen, 1803, p. 14). The meeting closed with the verse:

“Dit is dan d’eerste Proef om groeyen, bloeyen, leven
Aan kunst en wetenschap ook in dit Land te geven,
Onttrek uw hulp haar niet, Bewoners van dit Land!
Dan ziet gy eens den Landbouw bloeyen,
Uw kroost en wetenschappen groeyen,
Terwyl verlichting hier het onverstand verbant” (*sic*)
(*Kaapsche Courant*, 27 August 1803)

In translation:

‘The first proof shown to afford life and growth to the arts and sciences in this country, addressing and encouraging the inhabitants for support, under the prospect of seeing future agriculture flourish, and the rising generation acquiring the sciences and banishing ignorance by enlightened pursuits’ (Borcherds, 1963, p. 245).

For the next 60+ years the Society ‘Tot Nut van het Algemeen’ functioned as a respected organisation, providing a useful function in promoting the ideals it so fervently believed in. By far its greatest contribution to Cape society was the establishment of the School that carried its name. In 1822, the Society broke its ties with the mother Society after friction over a denied bill of exchange (Du Toit, 1944, p. 107). Petrus Borcherdus Borcherds, himself a member of the Organisation, mentions it as still being in existence in 1861 (Borcherds, 1963, p. 244). In the 1860’s, when the Society’s ideals had become, in a sense, superfluous, it struggled to win new members

and keep old ones. It ceased to exist when the School closed in 1870. However, some new information has recently come to light, which will be discussed under 'The Closing of the School'.

2.3.4. De Mist's relationship with the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen'

De Mist did not display the same antagonism towards the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen' as he did to the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Zending Gesticht'. In fact, in setting up his School Ordinance of 1804, De Mist turned to the newly established 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' Society for advice. The Society took advantage of this and informed him of "... de wijze hoe en de plaatse waar, op de geschikste en minst kosbare wijze, scholen zijn aan te leggen" (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 32). It is not surprising then, on the question of schoolmasters, that De Mist recommends in his Memorandum, that:

" ... at least 25 suitable young students should be selected from the Training Schools established for schoolmasters a few years ago by that public-spirited body '*Tot Nut van het Algemeen*'. These students in most cases are the sons of parents of limited means. Some of them are unable to look forward to lucrative appointments in the [Batavian] Republic, and would no doubt be glad of the opportunity of trying their fortunes elsewhere. They should be engaged, and in future specially trained to take up their duties at the Cape."

(De Mist, 1802, p. 200) Parenthesis mine.

De Mist also advocated that a carefully selected library of good, intelligible and interesting schoolbooks, simple manuals on morals and collections of edifying songs and hymns be given to every schoolmaster free of charge (De Mist, 1802, p. 200). These ideals are at one with those of the Institution 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'. He wished these books, especially the collections of songs and hymns, which he acknowledged the farmers had a predilection for, to be distributed to the pupils and introduced into their homes in every possible way. The teaching of Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and some basic Geography, he felt, would be "... our most powerful ally in advancing the progress of civilisation" in the rural areas (De Mist, 1802, p. 200). It will be seen later, how these ideals are also reflected in the curriculum of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School in Cape Town, and that Geography always had a special place.

In summary, De Mist's School Ordinance contained much of the 'Maatschappy Tot Nut van het Algemeen's philosophy:

- It placed the teaching of good Christian morals high on the agenda (De Mist, 1802, p. 198);
- It sought to use teachers trained by the 'Maatschappy' in Holland (*ibid*, pp. 199 – 200);
- It saw the value of useful school books (*ibid*, p. 200);
- It promoted the arts and sciences (*ibid*, p. 202);
- It suggested the establishment of an Agricultural Society for the promotion of agriculture (*ibid*, p. 203);
- It recommended the establishment of a government printing press at the Cape for disseminating information (*ibid*, p. 203).

The 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen' also suggested the establishment of school hostels where the population justified them, but could not offer solutions to the problem of education in the far-flung areas of the Cape (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 37). Where De Mist differed from the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' was the question of funding for education and especially teachers' salaries. The 'Maatschappy' favoured taxation; De Mist favoured the payment of school fees – whether in cash, corn or sheep – supplemented by state funding (De Mist, 1802, p. 200).

2.4. The establishment of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School: 1804

2.4.1. Preparation

By the beginning of October 1803, a building had been purchased on the corner of Strand and Burg Streets (*Kaapsche Courant*, 8 October 1803; Deed of Transfer dd. 13 October 1803), and an advert placed in the *Kaapsche Courant* on 8 October 1803 urged parents who were interested in enrolling their children at the School to apply in writing to the Secretary before the 12th of the month. The children had to be at least 7 years old, and only a maximum of 50 could be accommodated. If more applications than that were received, the numbers would be reduced through impartial reduction and the drawing of lots (*Kaapsche Courant*, 8 October 1803).

The report from 8 October dispels all doubt as to where the first 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School was. It supports Du Toit and Nell's assertion (1970, p. 37), as well as that of Du Toit (1944, p. 103), that the building was in Strand Street, and discounts claims by Hofmeyr (1913, p. 16), Eybers (1926, p. 33) and Dreyer (*Die Burger*, 7 July 1923) that the School opened in the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Zending Gesticht' in Long Street. The confusion may have arisen because from 1833 until 1835 the School did in fact use the venue of the 'Zending Gesticht', but only for its annual prize giving, never for instruction.

As Burg Street is perpendicular to Strand Street, there are two possible sites this building could have been. On a 1790 painting by Samuel Davis, the two corner buildings can clearly be seen (Fig. 2):

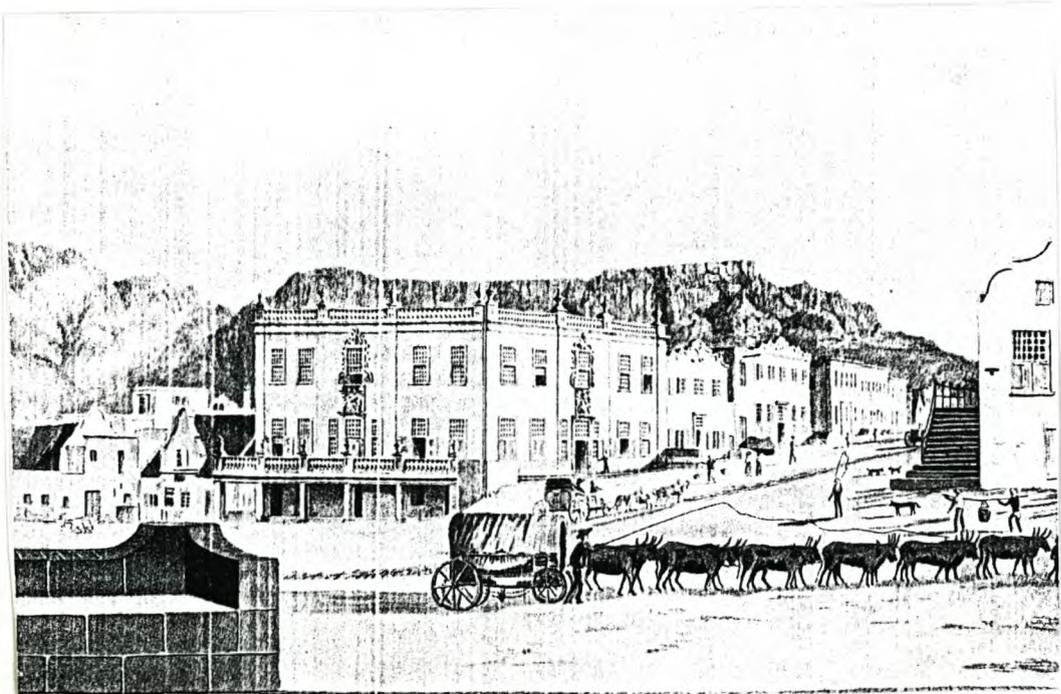


Fig. 2: Intersection of Burg and Strand Street, ca. 1790

The ornate building on the left is described by Fehr (1955, p. 41) as a Burgher dwelling and is the one that was purchased by the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Maaschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen'. Gerard Beelaerts van Blokland, Attorney-General at the Cape and Chairman of the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen' in 1813, later lived in the Dutch gabled house to the left (*op cit*). Another source claims he lived on the corner of Strand and Burg Steets (South African Dictionary of Biography, Vol II, 1972, p. 46), the building owned by the Society. The Cape Dutch building on the right hand side of the road was probably also a private home. A later painting by TW Bowler ca.1852 shows the same two buildings still in existence, although considerably altered (Fig. 3):

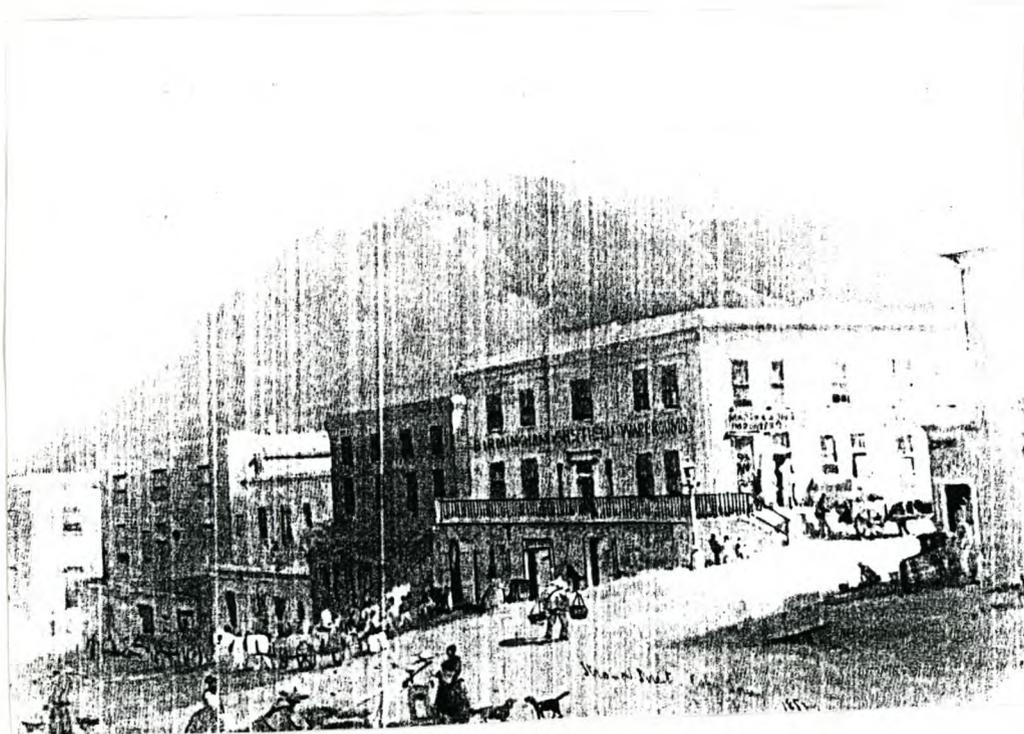


Fig. 3: Intersection of Burg Street and Strand Street, ca. 1852.

The Society bought the property from Messrs Alexander Tennant, Cornelis Cruywagen and Johannes Adriaan Vermaak (founder of the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen'), who had purchased it in 1799. The cost was 25 000 Rix Dollars (Deed of Transfer, 13 October 1803), of which 7 333 Rix Dollars and 16 stuiwers were paid for

in cash, and 17 666 Rix Dollars and 32 stuivers were borrowed from Miss Catharina Sandenbergh (*op cit*). 25 000 Rix Dollars is about 36 000 Cape Guilders (1 Rix Dollar = 1,44 Cape Guilders according to Dr Sleight); not 75 000 Cape Guilders as claimed by Du Toit (1944, p. 103). The purchase of such expensive property was to lead to difficulties later (see p. 57). It is described as "...a large Dwelling House with Basement Stores Underneath, besides a Small House adjoining the large one" (Diagram No. 201/1851 dd 1961). This is supported by an advertisement in the *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser* dated 7 August 1819 that: "At the Store under the Society 'Tot Nut van't Algemeen', in Strand Street, Mr Geo. Thomas will sell off Madeira, Sherry, ... and various other goods". This retail outlet at street level can clearly be seen on both paintings. The 'Small House' referred to above can be seen as the second building on the left of Burg Street in Fig. 2. The Deed of Transfer dd. 13 October 1803 does not give an erf number, but it refers to Section F and gives dates of the original transfer of the land as 8 June 1759 and 29 March 1799, which are commensurate with Erwen 4450 and 4451 that make up the corner property. Also, the area of this property is exactly the same as that given in the Deed of Transfer.

Despite the Society's efforts, it had evidently been unable to secure a teacher from Holland, and so Brinkhoff's offer was accepted. The *Kaapsche Courant* of 10 December 1803 advertised his services as teacher of Science and Mathematics to boys older than 14 years. Lessons would begin in January 1804, during the summer months from 07:00 to 08:00 in the mornings, and during the winter months between 17:00 and 18:00 in the evenings. Boys from disadvantaged families could receive instruction free of charge, while those from average incomes would be charged 5 Rix Dollars per month. These classes were to be held over and above the elementary

classes, for which parents were also invited to apply on behalf of their children (Kaapsche Courant, 10 December 1803; Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 36). The 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School opened its doors in January 1804, with Brinkhoff as teacher (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 36). It would appear that Brinkhoff was responsible for both classes described above, although Du Toit (1944, p. 104) suggests that there were, in fact, two completely separate 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' Schools running concurrently in the same building under different teachers. Given the difficulty the Society had in finding a teacher at all, it is my belief that there was only one School and that Brinkhoff was responsible for both the day classes for the younger children who made up the main School and the classes for the older children before and after the main School. If one takes into account the times quoted above, it is quite feasible that the school day was organised as follows (summer months):

07:00 – 08:00: senior group of boys

09:00 – 15:00: main School (times in keeping with most early Cape schools)

2.4.2. Education policy and philosophy

The aims of the society 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' have already been discussed, but will be repeated here for the sake of clarity: "... the promotion of the Christian religion and morality, and the diffusion of useful knowledge" (Memorial dd 24 June 1834) and specifically the education of the youth (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 36). A good elementary education with a strong emphasis on science and morality was to be

provided. This moral education was to be based on Biblical principles and was to prepare young people for life.

As indicated, De Mist's School Ordinance of 1804 and the beliefs of the Society 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' were identical in that they both favoured education as a function of the state rather than the church. While there was to be an overriding Christian flavour, the School placed greater emphasis on a moral upbringing and the teaching of virtues, rather than doctrinal and sectarian Christian teachings (Du Toit, 1984, p. 16). The ultimate goal was always to produce young people who would be useful citizens. Although the founders of the School did not strategise policy as we know it today, the aims and objectives above can be deemed policy because they are a definite statement of intent.

2.4.3. School management

The School was to function as a proprietary school under the management and supervision of a Board of Trustees or Directors, appointed annually by the members of the Society. By 1804 the Chairman (also referred to as the President) was Advocate Jan Henoeh Neethling and the Secretary was Gerard Overbeek. These two prominent men would hold these positions for the next 30 years, and their commitment to the School is well documented.

The early School year thus coincided with the calendar year. It is not certain when the School changed to the September to August school year, but quite possibly after the

South African College opened and followed this tradition for a few years, as did most early Cape Schools at that time.

2.4.4. Early success of the 'Tot Nut' School

The 'Tot Nut' School, as it affectionately became known, quickly made the desired progress and became the premier institution of its kind. More and more applications were received, necessitating the appointment of a second teacher before the year was out: "... iemand van een goed gedrag, en de Nederlansche Taal, het Schryven en Cyfferen grondig verstaande". The advert also promised a good annual salary (*Kaapsche Courant*, 28 July 1804). The second teacher is likely to have been Francois Agron (Hutton, 1887, p. 29).

The two teachers gave a good account of themselves and greatly contributed to the public interest that was awakened in the school (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 37). In September 1805, Agron announced his intention to leave the Cape (*Kaapsche Courant*, 14 September 1805) and was replaced by Nicolaas van Es – one of the members of the Board of Directors (Hutton, 1887, p. 29). By 1806 the 'Tot Nut' was already one of the most highly regarded and most successful private schools in Cape Town (Nell, 1973, p. 8). The historian Theal (Vol I, 1915, p. 209) describes it as a "... high class institution".

2.4.5. Curriculum, resource materials and prize giving

The 'Tot Nut' provided primary and some secondary education when most schools gave only an elementary instruction (Borman, 1989, p. 8) and is sometimes referred to as a 'middelbare skool' (middle school) (Eybers, 1926, p. 45). It thus did pioneering work in the field of education (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 47). The Dutch language had pride of place in the School's curriculum; in fact, English was not even taught until 1833. In keeping with its aims, there was also a great emphasis on morals and good behaviour: "... middelen uit te denken om dit kwaad, de bron van zo veel zeden verwoestende ondeugden tegen te gaan verhelpen" (*Kaapsche Courant*, 30 July 1803). Unappreciativeness was never to be tolerated, and the children were taught moderation, sincerity, patience, steadfastness, diligence and service to those less fortunate (*ibid*; Le Roux, 1998, p. 148). The most important, however, was a deep respect for the Almighty: "Dat hy die God vreest, gene anderen vreeze kent" (*Kaapsche Courant*, 30 July 1803). The School also taught Arithmetic and Mathematics (Le Roux, 1998, p. 148).

With reference to the schoolbooks and charts mentioned previously, the question arises whether the teachers at the Cape Town 'Tot Nut' School had access to these resources. Borchers (*Die Burger*, 28 August 1937) suggests that the School modelled itself on the Dutch methods of teaching. According to De Villiers (1934, p. 27), schoolbooks printed in Dutch by the mother Society in Holland, were used because of a lack of a printing or publishing company at the Cape. One of the earliest books was *Spel en Leesboekjen voor Eerst Beginnenden* – a book of about 20 pages, where the alphabet, numbers, spelling and pronunciation were handled. It also contained a few

moral lessons, prayers and poems. Another was the well-known *Trap der Jeugd*, which was in use in Holland as early as 1650, and reprinted as late as 1888 under the title: 'Geheel vernieuwde en verbeterde Trap der Jeugd, of naauwkeurige en bevattelijke grondlegger der Nederlandsche spel-, lees-, schrijf- en taalkunst' (Besselaar, 1914, p. 224). Even at the Cape, this book was considered the 'be all and end all' of wisdom, and was particularly popular in the rural areas (Besselaar, 1914, p. 224). The Education Museum in Wynberg has the 1858 edition of this book in its collection (2004/0001). *Trap der Jeugd* consisted of a series of graded reading lessons with a high moral content (De Villiers, 1934, p. 27), designed to sharpen humanitarian feelings in the child (Besselaar, 1914, p. 224). For example, in *Gebed voor den Schooltijd*, children were encouraged to uphold the morals of the Society:

"... zie ons hier te zamen, om onderrigt te ontvangen in de wetenschappen, welke geschikt zijn, om ons tot deugzame en nuttige leden der Maatschappij te vormen" (*Trap der Jeugd*, 1858, p. 51).

I have been unable to find any evidence that the school charts published by the 'Maatschappij tot Nut van't Algemeen' were used at the Cape. After the British occupation, it became increasingly difficult to obtain materials from Holland. To illustrate this point, it is recorded by Pells (1954, p. 21) that a set of textbooks ordered by the Scholarchs from Holland had not arrived 6 years later. Dutch literature, unless it was printed at the Cape, was difficult to come by.

A school choir was established early on. At the Annual General Meeting of the Society on 14 August 1804, at which prizes for good work were awarded to the school

children, there was "... een treffende Choorgezang, door jonge Liederen, uit het Departementaal School gezongen" (*Kaapsche Courant*, 25 August 1804). All the pupils from the School appear to have been present at the meeting: 5 of them were awarded prizes by the Chairman for their progress. The rest were cautioned to strive towards achieving the same rewards. An interesting observation is made by the editor of the *Kaapsche Courant*, namely that the meeting was attended by a large number of interested ladies, and it would appear that they were able to be members of the Society in their own right (see Addendum A). The meeting closed with choir and music items (*Kaapsche Courant*, 25 August 1804).

This combination of annual general meeting and school prize giving was continued on 12 August 1805, when 7 pupils were rewarded. Once again, those who were not so lucky were encouraged to apply themselves with greater zeal, diligence and obedience (*Kaapsche Courant*, 7 September 1805). In 1813 Gerard Beelaerts van Blokland was the Chairman of the Society, and at the Annual General Meeting of that year, he also directed part of his impressive speech at the pupils, exhorting them to be attentive to and thankful for their teachers ('Redevoering', 1813, pp. 18, 19).

2.4.6. Pupils and teachers in the early School

One of the first pupils enrolled at the new School in 1804 was the young (later Sir) Andries Stockenström (1792 – 1864), Cape frontier administrator and politician (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol. I, 1968, p. 774). He left the 'Tot Nut' in 1808 at the age of 15½, when he was, colloquially speaking 'volleerd' (having

completed his education) (Hutton, 1887, p. 29). In his autobiography, Stockenström speaks with high regard of the 'Tot Nut' School and regrets that he could not have stayed longer. He is especially praiseworthy of his teachers, first Mr Agron and later Mr Van Es, to whom he owed a grammatical knowledge Dutch and French, as well as the first elements of Arithmetic (Hutton, 1887, p. 29). This is praise indeed, for good teachers were rare to find in those days. Even by 1824 teachers did not enjoy a good reputation, according to the editor of the *Zuid-Afrikaansch Tijdschrift* in an article entitled 'Bedenkingen ter Bevordering en Uitbreiding van Onderwys hoofdzakelijk in de Buiten Distrikten':

"Het is maar al te waar, dat zoo wel in de Kaapstad als in de Buiten Distrikten menschen gebezigt worden om de jeugd te onderwyzen, met wien ieder eerbaar mensch zich zoude schamen een enkel woord op straat te wisselen: ja zulke, die in de burgerlyke maatschappy zelfs geenen persoon meer uitmaken, - en zyn deze nu de lieden die goede zeden kunnen leggen in de gemoederen der jeugd?"

(*Zuid-Afrikaansch Tijdschrift*, 1824, quoted in Hoge, Part II, 1937, p. 56).

If good quality teachers were a feature at the 'Tot Nut', it is not surprising the School enjoyed a good reputation. Other teachers at the 'Tot Nut' may well have been brought to the Cape in deliberation with the mother Organisation in Holland following De Mist's recommendation. In January 1819, the Rev JC Berrangé was in charge of the School (*Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, 26 December 1818). Other than Brinkhoff, Agron, Van Es and Berrangé, I have not been able to identify any other teachers at the early 'Tot Nut' School. The period 1832 – 1870 is better documented.

Another early pupil was Jeremias Frederick Ziervogel (1802 – 1883), who later became a magistrate and member of the Cape House of Assembly, and who was enrolled at the 'Tot Nut' in about 1809 (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol III, 1977, p. 859). Jacques Jean Henri Smuts (1809 – 1873), a Cape Town journalist, and editor of *De Zuid-Afrikaan* from 1835 to 1871, started at the 'Tot Nut' in about 1815 (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol II, 1972, p. 679).

2.5. Summary

Clearly, the early phase of the 'Tot Nut' School proceeded speedily and with success. In the following chapter, I shall describe the effect that the British Occupation of 1806 had on the Cape in general and on the School specifically.

CHAPTER 3: THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF THE CAPE: 1806

The British occupied the Cape for a second time in 1806. This disrupted de Mists' plan for good secular education, as discussed in the previous chapter, and left many of his other ideals, such as the training of teachers, unfinished. The arrival of the British had a profound effect on the development of the Colony, and also on the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'. In this chapter I look at the consequences of British control, with a special emphasis on attempts to anglicise the school system and the colonists' reaction to this. I also highlight the many new political, social, scientific and technological developments at the Colony that created the climate in which new academic institutions such as the South African College and the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' could flourish.

3.1. An increase in the English-speaking population at the Cape

According to the census returns of 1805, the European population of the Cape Colony, excluding soldiers, was 25 757. They owned 29 545 slaves and had in their service another 20 006 Khoi, San and people of mixed blood (Theal, Vol. 1, 1915, p. 188). About 2 800 British settlers, many of whom had been left unemployed as a result of the Napoleonic wars, arrived at the Cape in 1820 (*ibid*, p. 352). Although most of them were settled on the Eastern Cape frontier, about 116 of them – 59 men, 25 women and 32 children – arrived to live in Cape Town in 1820 (*ibid*, p. 353). Although this does not seem like a large number by today's standards, in time it increased the English-speaking population in Cape Town.

3.2. Anglicisation of the school system

In 1822 Governor Somerset embarked on a serious Anglicisation campaign. He saw the value of having all schools in the Colony conducted by English masters (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 44) and consequently established a number of schools, known as English Free Schools, in principal villages throughout the Colony⁸. Instruction was supplied without cost to the parents and with teachers recruited especially from England and Scotland. Mr James Rose Innes was one of these teachers, who arrived in 1822 to establish the Free School at Uitenhage (Theal, Vol. 1, 1915, p. 371). Rose Innes was to play an important role in education at the Cape when he became the first Superintendent-General of Education in 1839, and brought about changes that also affected the 'Tot Nut' School. The import of qualified teachers certainly contributed to raising the standard of education at the Cape. Two Free Schools were opened in Cape Town (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 47). One of these was in Tuyn, renamed New Street, very close to where the 'Tot Nut' was to erect its school building in 1832. There was also one at Wynberg (Thomson, 1961, p. 22), which will be used later in comparison to the 'Tot Nut'.

The year 1825 saw the introduction of English as the official language at the Cape and also as the medium of instruction at state schools. This was met with considerable resistance from the Dutch-speaking population, which was still in the majority at the Cape. In that year, the Dutch population of 60 000 outnumbered the English by 8:1 (Cilliers, 1953, p. 37). Of this number, an estimated 500 could speak rudimentary

⁸ Caledon, George, Graaff-Reinet, Stellenbosch, Tulbagh, Uitenhage and Worcester (Howes, 2001, p.4).

English, while only about 150 could read and write English (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 46). Schools in the Colony could be divided into the following groups:

- Dutch elementary schools such as the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen', still organised largely according to De Mist's School Ordinance;
- 'Kosterskole' (schools run by the church clerk) which had been established by Sir John Cradock in 1812;
- English Free Schools based on Lancaster's monitorial system, which originated after the Bible and School Commission's minute of 1813;
- English Free Schools offering both elementary and more advanced tuition;
- Mission schools (Borman, 1989, p. 14; Howes, 2001, p. 3).

Apart from these schools, there were still itinerant schoolmasters, whose knowledge and character, as previously pointed out, were often regarded as deficient (Hoge, Part II, 1937, p. 56).

3.3. The colonists' reaction to the Anglicisation policy

Despite the fact that English became the official language, Dutch remained the spoken language. As already mentioned, the Dutch-speaking population still far exceeded the English-speaking population. The blatant disregard of their language, especially in the education of their children, angered the colonists. It should not, however, be presumed that the Dutch colonists were opposed to English in principle. Many of them realised the value of having a working knowledge of English. This is shown by the fact that

schools where both languages were used (such as that of Rose Innes at Uitenhage), were successful (Borman, 1989, p. 14). The Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church recognised the "... utility of promoting a general knowledge of the English language", but not at the exclusion of Dutch (Eybers, 1926, p. 39).

The period 1822 to 1839 is characterised by a noticeable increase in both the number and the quality of private, particularly Dutch, schools at the Cape, especially in Cape Town (Borman, 1989, p. 14). This proliferation of public and private schools, all dependent on the meagre fees of a few pupils, could not be sustained and many shut their doors a year or two after they had opened. Between 1830 and 1839 alone the number of private schools grew from 39 to 94; the number of private Dutch schools doubled – many of them on farms in outlying districts (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 47). In his 'Preliminary Report on the State of Education in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope', Ross (1883, p. 12) writes:

"There is probably no other country where private schools unaided by the state and altogether unendowed, have risen so rapidly and on the whole succeeded so well against the natural competition of the Government schools, which are liberally supported out of public funds."

The Dutch colonists supported these schools as a reaction to the suppression of their language. However, even English-speakers supported private education because traditionally these schools were intended for the privileged classes, whereas state and church schools were seen as being for the poor (Borman, 1989, p. 14). As a result of the boycotting of the English Free Schools, the system had largely failed by 1834,

except in the eastern Cape, where it was better received due to the large number of British settlers (Eybers, 1926, p. 40). In 1839 the Governor capitulated and allowed both languages to co-exist at public schools.

The number one private Dutch school was undoubtedly the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 47). It is also during this time that the 'Zuid Afrikaansche Athenaeum'⁹, or South African College, was formed, which was to become, in time, the University of Cape Town.

3.4. Political, social, scientific, technological, media and academic developments at the Cape: 1820 - 1832

After the Napoleonic wars, the Cape experienced a boom. The Colony was politically, socially and economically receptive to enterprising ventures and witnessed a flood of liberal reforms and innovations. It will be helpful to look at some of these, because out of this climate of increased knowledge came the call for a higher education for the youth of the Colony, and this gave birth to the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Athenaeum' (Linnegar, 1979, p. 7) and also reawakened the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School.

⁹ Based on similar institutions in Holland. The Dutch name, the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Athenaeum' was used until at least 1839; gradually it was referred to as the South African College (Annual Reports of the Senate of the South African College, 1835 – 1839).

3.4.1. A period of new developments

Politically, the ideals of the French Revolution of 1789 at last made themselves felt at the Cape of Good Hope. In 1825 the Council of Advice placed limits on the powers of the Governor, the first steps towards a democratic government. In 1827 a new Charter of Justice was drawn up which secured the independence of the Supreme Court (Linnegar, 1979, p. 7). By 1834, the first Legislative Council was formed (Theal, Vol. 2, 1915, p. 48).

Scientific, technological and academic developments were also plentiful. In 1821 the Royal Observatory was established in Cape Town (Linnegar, 1979, p. 7). It brought men such as the Royal Astronomer Sir Thomas Maclear and Sir John Herschel to the Cape (both arriving within a few months of each other in 1834), and thus an interest amongst the colonists in science and astronomy (both subjects subsequently offered at the 'Tot Nut' School). Herschel also took an interest in education, believing that a broad-based education was better than one steeped in the classics. He exercised influence on the British government regarding the provision of more and better schoolmasters and more realistic salaries for them (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol. 1, 1968, p. 363). In 1822 the South African Library was opened. At first it was housed in a portion of the old Slave Lodge in the Heerengracht (Theal, Vol. 1, 1915, p. 378). Being so close to the 'Tot Nut van't Algemeen' School, especially when it moved into its new building at the bottom of the Gardens in New Street, it would have been a place familiar to its students. One of the early librarians was Thomas Pringle. The first attempt to establish a museum came in 1823, when a natural history collection was opened to the public by Charles Villet (Theal, Vol 1, 1915, p. 380;

Dictionary of South African Biography Vol III, 1977, p. 822), whose numerous children and grandchildren attended the 'Tot Nut' School (see Addendum C).

In 1823 also, the Mouille Point Lighthouse was built and in 1825 the first steamship arrived in Table Bay Harbour (Linnegar, 1979, p. 7). That year British silver money became legal tender (Theal, Vol. 1, 1915, p. 401). Across the Colony, schoolchildren had to learn to do mathematical calculations involving money in pounds, shillings and pennies. In April 1830, the foundation stone of St George's Cathedral was laid and Berg Street was renamed St George's Street (Theal, Vol. 2, 1915, p. 17). One wonders whether the name change caused as many ripples of discontent in 1830 as the proposed name changes for Wale and Adderley Streets did in 2001. In 1831 St George's Street was lit at night for the first time with oil lamps, and the first savings bank was opened in the same street (Theal, Vol. 2, 1915, pp. 18, 19).

One of the most far-reaching developments of this time was the establishment of a free printing press. The first independent newspaper in South Africa, the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, was printed in 1823 by John Fairbairn. Together with Pringle, he championed for the freedom of the press, which was gained in 1828. The *South African Commercial Advertiser* became a mouthpiece of opposition to the government (Theal, Vol. 1, 1915, pp. 416, 417, 420). In 1830 a Dutch newspaper, *De Zuid-Afrikaan*, owned by the brothers CJ and PA Brand, was established (Theal, Vol. 2, 1915, p. 16). A past pupil of the 'Tot Nut' School, JJH Smuts, worked there as a journalist after leaving school and was its editor from 1835 – 1871 (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol II, 1972, p. 679).

The economy of the Cape was doing well. In 1813, the British government had drastically reduced the customs duty on Cape wines. This led to a boom in planting and enlarging vineyards in the Cape Colony and by 1825, the quality of Cape wines had improved greatly (Theal, Vol. 2, 1915, pp. 36 – 37). The wines of Groot Constantia, under Hendrik Cloete, whose grandsons attended the 'Tot Nut' School, became world famous and made Cloete a wealthy man. Other farmers who did well were Jan Frederick Reitz, the sheep farmer, and his partner, Michiel van Breda – shareholder of the 'Tot Nut' and owner of the farm Oranjezicht. By 1825, these two were the biggest wool producers in the Colony (Theal, Vol. 2, 1915, pp. 38 – 39).

In these progressive times, concerned colonists set about effecting long overdue improvements to the educational facilities at the Cape, especially as

“... scarcely any means exist among us of acquiring adequate information in those sciences which elsewhere are so much the object of general attention and contribute so much to the usefulness of human effort, and that no means exist for attaining experience in the structure or literature of the tongues which serve as channels of communication in other countries, with whose literature, policy and arts it is of importance for us to be acquainted.”

(Letter to Sir Lowry Cole, 1828, quoted in Linnegar, 1979, p. 7)

Schools of note in Cape Town at this time were:

- The previously mentioned Latin School, which was replaced by the Rev. George Hough's English Grammar School in 1821 by the British Government as a political move. By 1823 the Rev Edward Judge of the English Church was the Principal (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, pp. 35, 48);
- The 'Riebeeck Instituut' set up by Adv DF Berrangé and Rev A Fauré in opposition to the English Grammar School (Cilliers, 1953, p. 33);
- Dr Laurens Halloran's private Classical School for Boys (Borman, 1989, p. 14);
- William Beddy's Feinaiglian Classical School in the Heerengracht, started in 1823 (Borman, 1989, p. 14);
- The Evangelical Lutheran School – forerunner of the 'Deutsche Schule Kapstadt' – in 1823 (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 48);
- The Classical and Commercial Academy of Pringle and Fairbairn in 1824 (South African Heritage, 1965, p.p. 14 – 15) (Borman, 1989, p. 14);
- The 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Athenaeum' in 1829; and
- The new 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' in New Street in 1833.

Private schools in other centres continued to exist because they provided for the needs of local communities and also because they placed a greater emphasis on religious education (Borman, 1989, p. 14).

3.4.2. The establishment of the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Athenaeum': 1829

For some time, the community in Cape Town had called for an institution that offered its children the opportunity of higher learning. In 1828 a steering committee in which

the Rev Abraham Fauré (1795 – 1875)¹⁰ played a leading role, was formed to drive the establishment of such an institute. It canvassed support from religious and charitable institutions¹¹ in Cape Town and the country districts, and was met with a favourable response. In October 1828 a meeting was held in the vestry of the Dutch Reformed Church to discuss the formation of such an institution that would be of a popular and national character (Linnegar, 1979, p. 8). The committee wasted no time. In November 1828 it made a formal proposal to the Governor of the Cape, Sir Lowry Cole, proposing an 'Athenaeum' or College with an emphasis on higher education in the two fields of Science and Literature. The defective state of elementary and secondary education throughout the Colony was highlighted, and the need to improve particularly secondary education: "... to enter academic courses in European universities or to pass to the affairs of ordinary life, possessed of the advantages of which intellectual improvement confers" (Annual Report of the South African College Council, 1835 – 1839).

The Government was reluctant to support the idea of the 'Athenaeum' because it was seen as a duplication of and rival to its own initiative, the Grammar School run by the Rev Judge. It was recommended that the Grammar School be incorporated into the College – no doubt to free the Government from its financial responsibility. Sir Lowry also suggested that funds be raised and that, if the government were to contribute to the masters' salaries, it be allowed to exercise its right to grant a small number of needy boys scholarships to cover the fees. The first two proposals were implemented immediately: the Rev Judge was interviewed, a Prospectus was circulated and shares sold to investors at £10 each (Linnegar, 1979, pp. 9 - 10). The scholarships were

¹⁰ Minister at the Groote Kerk, 1822 – 1867 (Hopkins, 1965, p. 116).

¹¹ The welfare organisations represented were the Orphan Chamber, the Bible and School Commission, and the Freemasons' Education Fund ('Prospectus of the SA College', 1829).

introduced several years later in 1858; they were to be a huge driving force in admitting students from the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School to the 'Athenaeum'.

A Council of Directors (15 in all) was elected on 14 June 1829:

- Sir Johannes Andreas Trüter (Chief Justice)- President
- Mr Justice Burton - Vice-President
- Adv Johannes de Wet¹² - Secretary
- Mr DW Hertzog¹³ - Secretary
- Mr JW Stoll - Treasurer
- Rev Abraham Fauré (Dutch Reformed Church)
- Rev George Hough (English Church)
- Rev Kloek van Staveren (Lutheran Church)
- Rev Dr James Adamson (Scottish Church)
- Rev FH Mabile (Roman Catholic Church)
- Mr NT Hertzog
- The Hon Hamilton Ross
- Advocate Johannes Henoch Neethling (President of the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen')
- Sir Christoffel Josephus Brand (Attorney; member of the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen'; parent of a son at the 'Tot Nut' School)
- Mr JJH Smuts (representing the Orphan Chamber; and past pupil of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School).

(Linnegar, 1979, p. 13; Minutes of the Senate of the South African College, 1829).

¹² Father of Marie Koopmans-De Wet; brother-in-law of JH Neethling, President of the 'Maatschappy Tot Nut van het Algemeen'; nephew of JJH Smuts, past pupil at the 'Tot Nut' School (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol 1, 1968, p. 240).

¹³ Grandfather of Pres JBM Hertzog (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol 1, 1968, p. 366).

Through Neethling, Brand and Smuts (and later Fauré), the link between the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Athenaeum' and the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School was inevitable. Over the next few years, the members of the Council and Senate of the College changed, but because Cape Town was a small centre and because its prominent citizens served on many committees and bodies, there was always somebody who had a link to the 'Tot Nut' School or Society.

The establishment of the 'Athenaeum' demonstrates a welding together of two language groups and diverse religious thinking in the face of the common goal of providing quality education to the youth of the Colony. The Reverend Abraham Fauré initially also took up a *pro bono* professorship in Dutch at the College until ill health forced him to relinquish these duties a few years later.

The 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Athenaeum' opened on 1 October 1829 with 3 professors¹⁴, several assistants to the professors and 115 pupils. It provided elementary, secondary and quasi-university education (without the power to confer degrees until 1918), with an emphasis on higher education in the fields of Science and Literature (Linnegar, 1979, p. 15). Both the Dutch and English languages were used for instruction, but subjects like Greek, Latin, French, Hebrew, Geography, Nature Study, Astronomy, Psychology, Logic and Mathematics were also offered over the years (Du Toit, 1951, p. 49). The philosophy and the democratic ideals of the French Revolution that the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' was founded on are also evident in the 'Athenaeum': a report in the *South African Commercial Advertiser* of 4 October 1829, described the new College as: "... a popular Institution altogether formed by the People, altogether

¹⁴ The Rev A Fauré (Dutch; Classics); the Rev Edward Judge (Classics; English Literature) and Dr James C Adamson (Mathematics; Geography) (Linnegar, 1979, p. 14).

dependent on the People, and devoted exclusively to the general good of the People. It is popular in its form, popular in all its principles and it remains forever under popular management” (quoted in Linnegar, 1979, p. 16).

The ‘Zuid-Afrikaansche Athenaeum’ proved popular from the start, although not without teething problems. The Dutch-speaking colonists, still in the majority at the Cape at that time, regarded it as their own (as can be seen from the names in the early registers of the College), but it was also well supported by the English-speaking and Jewish communities. For a considerable time, it was the only institution in South Africa, besides the ‘Tot Nut van het Algemeen’, that offered higher education. However, after an initial burst of success, the College went through a period of trouble for the next 15 years. This will be described later, because it had an effect on the success of the ‘Tot Nut’. Originally housed in the South African Orphan House¹⁵ in Long Street, the College moved to Orange Street in 1838.

Up until the establishment of the ‘Athenaeum’, the ‘Tot Nut’ was widely regarded as the best educational institution in the Cape Colony (Borman, 1989, p. 14), perhaps even the whole of South Africa (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 48). The two schools worked hand in hand for many years (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 17), the ‘Tot Nut’ gradually becoming the preparatory school for the College (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 48).

¹⁵ Established in 1815 by Margaretha Anna Heyning Möller, and managed jointly by the Dutch Reformed and Lutheran Churches (Theal, Vol. 1, 1915, pp. 284, 286). The Orphan House was seldom full to capacity, which is why it was possible to accommodate the College in the front rooms of the building (Linnegar, 1979, p. 10).

3.5. Summary

In summary, Chapter 3 has provided a brief overview of the general and specifically of the educational conditions at the Cape during the British occupation. Somerset's Anglicisation policy was a direct cause of the resuscitation of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School, which will become clear in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: THE 'TOT NUT VAN HET ALGEMEEN' SCHOOL: 1832 – 1870

Having seen in the previous chapter how the conditions at the Cape favoured new academic innovations, this chapter looks purely at how the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' grew and flourished as a direct result of the Anglicisation policy. Starting with its re-opening in the new building in New Street, I aim to provide a glimpse into the day-to-day running of the School. Issues ranging from the curriculum and classroom management, examinations and prize giving, to discipline, games and finances will be scrutinised. I also examine the relationship between the 'Tot Nut' and the South African College.

4.1. The state of the 'Tot Nut' School before 1832

Very little material can be found on the 'Tot Nut' during the period 1805 – 1830. The second British occupation of 1806 certainly heralded a lean period for the School, mainly due to the shortage of suitably qualified Dutch teachers. The Chairman of the Board, Adv. Neethling, spoke of " ... 'n ledige tusschenruimte veroorzaakt door gebrek aan leermeesters" (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 48). Some sources, such as Dreyer (*Die Burger*, 7 July 1923) and Brown (1981, p. 36) suggest that the school was even forced to close a few years prior to 1831, and that the decline began as early as 1818 due to a lack of teaching staff (*Die Burger*, 4 September 1937). An article in *De Zuid-Afrikaan* (12 October 1832) makes reference to the School having been *re-established* in 1831 and that the Rev Johannes Spijker (1792 – 1865) of the Dutch Reformed Church was one of the re-founders (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol II, 1972, p. 701). The Society itself had only 23 members in 1821 (Eybers, 1926, p. 45), indicating that its

popularity too was waning. Another potential problem, and one that affects schools even today, was the non-payment of fees by the parents:

“... owing to the Arrears for School Money not having been paid, Mr Overbeek (Treasurer; parenthesis mine) has been under the necessity of advancing the Money for the Interest on the several Capitals ... ; on account of which, there was due to him on that date, a Balance of Rix Dollars 787 : 1 : 4; consequently such Persons as are indebted to the Institution, are requested to pay the same immediately ...”

(*Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, 3 January 1818).

Not only the school fees but also the annual membership fees were not paid. This had the effect that members disqualified themselves from the Society, as well as increasing the burden of maintaining the Society's buildings. In April 1818 a special meeting of all paid-up shareholders was called to decide on the fate of the buildings (*Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, 18 April 1818). The meeting then had to be postponed, because not enough members showed an interest (*Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, 30 May 1818). In 1822 the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen' broke its ties with the Dutch mother organisation following a dispute over a bill of exchange, and the two buildings in Burg Street were sold to Mr JA Smuts (member and shareholder of the Society; see Addendum A) on 14 June 1822 (Diagram 201/1851). If the School was forced to close, it would probably have been at this time, but by 1831 it was in operation in rented premises in Loop Street (*Die Burger*, 28 August 1937).

The 'Tot Nut' School received new life with the renewed interest in Dutch schools. Some sources suggest that this was in opposition to the South African College's more English stance. However, my findings reveal no conflict of interest between these two institutions. In my opinion, the cause for the renewed interest in the 'Tot Nut' was more an attempt to counteract Somerset's Anglicisation of education. Possibly even as a result of being inspired by the College. But the 'Tot Nut' never aimed to matriculate its pupils as the College did; it faithfully provided a good elementary and some secondary education from which the College benefited. It is my assertion that the 'Tot Nut' School prospered directly as a result of opposition by the Dutch colonists to the suppression of their language.

4.2. The revival of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School

By September 1831 the enrolment at the 'Tot Nut' School was 250 and the rented venue in Loop Street became too small and therefore not comfortable or healthy, especially during the summer. The shareholders decided to build their own school building that could accommodate sufficient pupils and at the same time "... protect their health" (Memorandum dd. 24 June 1834). The health question should not be treated as trivial. Cape Town at this time had open drains on the streets and into these, especially the Heerengracht, inhabitants flung their sewage and household refuse. To the stench of this were added the odours of the fish-market and the open abattoir. In the warm summer months, Cape Town was particularly unhealthy for its residents (Thomson, 1961, p. 21). Advertisements for schools in those times frequently mentioned the location of their school as being " ... in a healthful climate" or "... a salubrious part of

town”, to indicate the absence of the malodorous conditions described above. It is not surprising then, that the shareholders of the ‘Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen’ were keen to ensure the health of their pupils. Underground drainage was not begun in Cape Town until the late 1870s. Until then, to escape their unhealthy surroundings, fortunate inhabitants who could afford to do so, abandoned Cape Town and took up residence in the villages of Rondebosch, Newlands and Wynberg (Thomson, 1961, p. 22). This is why these areas became, in time, well-to-do suburbs, and why some of the finest educational institutions in Cape Town were established there.

The ‘Maatschappy Tot Nut van het Algemeen’ purchased three erwen for building their school from Messrs FS and JCS Dormehl in New Street (now Queen Victoria Street) (Hofmeyr *et al*, 1987, p. 22), for the sum of 13 000 Cape Guilders (£375 sterling) (Deed of Transfer, 9 November 1832). The money for the land as well as for the building was initially advanced by the widow of Cornelis Cruywagen (whose husband had been one of the sellers of the Burg Street property to the Society in 1803; see p. 32) and one of the members of the Society, Mr George Fredrik Stegmann (whose name appears in the Deeds Register as the transferee of the property in 1827; he probably held it in trust for the two Dormehl brothers until they sold it in 1832) (‘Acte van Deelneming’, 14 March 1835). Stegmann, a wealthy Cape Town businessman, was also the Treasurer of the ‘Tot Nut van het Algemeen’. When he died in 1836, over 100 pupils from the School marched behind his coffin (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 16 September 1836).

According to the ‘Acte van Deelneming’ (14 March 1835), the Society owed Stegmann 46 477 Cape Guilders and Cruywagen 8 000 Cape Guilders. This meant a total debt on the land and building of 54 477 Cape Guilders. The cost of building the School

would then have amounted to 41 477 Cape Guilders. Once again, the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen' fell into the trap of purchasing property it could ill afford. Even for those times, the site of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School was expensive (Dr Dan Sleight, historian). Land for development so close to the central business district, yet in such an attractive part of town (being so close to the Company Gardens), was becoming scarce. An advert for the School placed in the *Cape Town Almanac and Annual Advertiser* in 1855 states that "The House is in a salubrious and retiring part of the Town" (p. 32). However, although New Street and Keerom Streets were by then very high-class thoroughfares and centres of law and learning, they were not always so. In his memoirs, GG Munnik describes New Street as having forage stores, racing and livery stables, and Malay houses. Keerom Street was packed with double-storeyed Malay houses (Munnik, 1916, p. 20). In 1832, when the 'Tot Nut' School was about to be built, this would have been the environment into which it moved.

The money to build the School was raised by selling shares at 500 Cape Guilders each to members of the Company. 72 shares were available ('Acte van Deelneming', 14 March 1835), so this meant a total of 36 000 Cape Guilders was raised through the selling of these shares and left a debt of 5 477 Cape Guilders. Mr PJ Grové, one of the shareholders, was the architect and contractor (*Die Burger*, 28 August 1937).

4.3. The shareholders of the 'Tot Nut' School building

The shareholders of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School consisted of members of some of the most prominent Dutch families in Cape Town at the time. The list of names

appears in a certified copy of the 'Acte van Deelneming in den Eigendom van het Schoolgebouw 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'', 1835 (Cape Town Archives Repository, Deposit KAB, Ref A596). This list was replicated in an article published in *Die Burger* (28 August 1937), together with the members' places of residence. The list below contains both sets of information, as well as additional information regarding the profession of the shareholder and his position (where known) within the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen'. Those marked in bold were also on the Board of Directors:

Daniel Fredrick Berrangé	Orange Street	Advocate; first President of Orphan Chamber
Christoffel Josephus Brand	62 Wale Street	Advocate; politician; co-owner and publisher of <i>De Zuid-Afrikaan</i> ; 1854 Speaker in first Parliament
Johan Samuel Fredrik Botha, Sr	20 Bree Street	Gunsmith
Abraham Brink	32 Bree Street	Retailer
Andries Brink, Cz ¹⁶	22 Long Street	Wine merchant
Stephanus Brink, Jz	22 Bree Street	Retailer
EA Buyskes		Notary; sworn translator; general agent and conveyancer
Adam Fredrick Carstens	8 Dorp Street	
Michiel de Kock		
Servaas de Kock, Servaas z	Rheedestraat	Clerk; father of the De Kock brothers who taught at the 'Tot Nut'
Johannes Petrus de Villiers, Jz		Haberdasher
Petrus Jacobus de Wet		
Johan Coenraad Gie, Mz	45 Longmarket St	Banker
Pieter J Grové	118 Long Street	Architect; builder and contractor
WF Heldzingen	45 Long Street	Retailer
Rynier Christiaan Hoets	9 Kloof Street	
Arend Hermanus Hofmeyr		Accountant at SA Bank
Hendrik Johannes Hofmeyr, Jz	Weltevreden, Kloof Street	

¹⁶ This symbol refers to parentage. The 'C' is his father's initial; the 'z' refers to 'zoon' (son). This gives one an idea of whose son this person was. In the case of Andries and Stephanus Brink, it is clear then, that they were not brothers as they had different fathers.

JH Hofmeyr, Sz	Welgemeend, Camp Street	Wine merchant; grandfather of 'Onze Jan' Hofmeyr
JH Hofmeyr, Jz	1 Burg Street	Advocate, father of Stephanus and Johanna Hofmeyr
Stephanus Johannes Hofmeyr, Jz	Uitvlugt, Wandel St	
Johannes Tobias Jurgens	27 Strand Street	
Petrus Willem Keytel	Bree Street	General dealer
Daniel Kuys	57 Long Street	
Nicolaas J Ley	10 Lelie Street	Government Tax Dept
Leopold Marquard, Sr		Missionary in the DRC; reader in the DRC; teacher of Dutch and German and at the 'Tot Nut'
Johannes Nicolaas Meeser	3 Keerom Street	Attorney and notary
HP Möller		
HG Munnik		
HG Muntingh		
Johannes Henoch Neethling	5 St Georges Street	Advocate; Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen'
Gerard Ewoud Overbeek	58 Strand Street	Civil servant; Vice-Chairman of the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen'; second Chairman of the Orphan Chamber
Petrus Johannes Pentz, Sr	Schotsche Kloof	Wine merchant
AJL Plouvier	Somerset Street	Notary
Johannes Hermanus Redelinghuys	17 Grave Street	Attorney; notary and conveyancer (Redelinghuys & Wessels)
Petrus Johannes Redelinghuys, Jr	29 Buitengracht St	Butcher
Paul Roux, Sr	2 St Georges Street	Wine merchant
PJ Roux, Jr, Pz	59 Wale Street	General agent and conveyancer
Ruysch, Mynhardus		Land surveyor
JP Serrurier	14 Grave Street	Son of the Rev. Serrurier
Johannes Adriaan Smuts	62 Strand Street	Wine merchant
Georg Wolfgang Spengler	17 Loop Street	Retailer
FH Staedel		
George Fredrik Stegmann	64 Wale Street	Iron merchant; Treasurer of the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen'
Johan Godlieb Stegmann (1788 – 1869)	21 Boomstraat	Tanner and milliner; Chairman of the Building Commission of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'
Joachim Wilhelm Stoll		

Maximillian Thalwitzer	Sir Lowry Street	General dealer; Consul of the Free and Hanseatic towns of Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen
Oloff John Truter		Attorney; notary and conveyancer
Michiel van Breda, Sr	Oranjezicht	Farmer; businessman; politician
Bernardus Josephus van de Sandt		Printer; publisher; stationer
CA van der Burgh	16 Loop Street	General agent and conveyancer
Ryno J van der Riet	62 Wale Street	

(‘De Hoeksteen van het Schoolgebouw’, 2 October 1832)

(‘Acte van Deelneming’, 14 March 1835)

(*Die Burger*, 28 August 1937)

The original shareholders purchased between 1 and 6 shares each, although later shareholders, who purchased them from the original shareholders, were entitled to only one share (‘Acte van Deelneming’, 14 March 1835). In 1832 the original shareholders included PB Borchers (‘De Hoeksteen van het Schoolgebouw’, 2 October 1832). His name does not appear on the 1835 document, so one can surmise that he had, by then, sold or transferred his share in accordance with the Act (14 March 1835). PJ Grové, JH Hofmeyr and JP Serrurier bought shares between 1832 and 1835. The shareholders in the School building also paid a contribution of 10 Rix Dollars (about 14,4 Cape Guilders) per year towards the maintenance and upkeep of the building (Receipt issued to M van Breda, 10 May 1836). The share entitled the holder to one vote in all the decisions affecting the School and, as was mentioned before, the shareholder had to be a member of the Society ‘Tot Nut van het Algemeen’ (‘Acte van Deelneming’, 14 March 1835).

For a complete list of members of the Society 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen', see Addendum A. It gives some insight into the calibre of people that this Organisation drew. They were almost all professionals or businessmen; skilled craftsmen; academics; educated free thinkers; leading citizens; the elite of Cape Town society. Many of them were Freemasons and interestingly, seven of the listed members were women: Mrs H Echardt, Mrs JW Heyneman, Ms¹⁷ Aletta J Louw, Mrs Rabe, Ms Dina Royal, Mrs HH van Niekerk and Mrs Florentina Catherina Vos.

Their belief in the Society and the School would have almost certainly have meant the shareholders would have sent their children to the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School. This was certainly the case with the Anhuizer, Auret, Bam, Beck, Berrangé, Botha, Brand, Brink, Buyskes, Cloete, de Kock, de Villiers, de Wet, Fauré, Gie, Hoets, Hofmeyr, Janson, Keeve, Keytel, Kirsten, Klerck, Kuys, Louw, Marquard, Meeser, Mocke, Mostert, Neethling, Olthoff, Pentz, Roux, Serrurier, Smuts, Spengler, Stegmann, Teubes, Theunissen, Van Breda, Van Schalkwyk, Villet, Vos and Wolff families, where evidence exists that it is so (see Addendum C). But it may be assumed that the children of most of the other members would also have attended the 'Tot Nut'. It was by now the foremost Dutch medium school in Cape Town and subsequently many of the Dutch families sent their children to it. The shareholders were, as mentioned, from prominent Cape families and by virtue of their membership of the 'Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen', were fairly liberally minded. Through their status in Cape Town society, the parent body of the 'Tot Nut' was comparatively wealthy.

¹⁷ I use the title Ms for both Louw and Royal because I do not know whether they were married or not; the document gives them no title. The others were widows and were indicated as such in the 'Acte van Deelneming' (14 March 1835).

4.4. The laying of the cornerstone: 2 October 1832

The cornerstone of the new 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School was laid on 2 October 1832 at 2 New Street, Cape Town. It was a huge event that drew much public interest and a large crowd of approximately 2000 well-wishers – a considerable number for that period – who came from far and wide despite the inclement Cape weather (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 48). The event was reported in great detail in the *Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift* of July and August 1832 and *De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 12 October 1832. The 248 pupils gathered at 09:00 at their school building in Loop Street: the boys under the guidance of their four instructors, and the girls under that of their three schoolmistresses. From there they proceeded to the building of the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Zending Gesticht' in Long Street, where they were joined by the rest of the company which included parents, members of the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen' and a large contingent of respected and invited guests (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 12 October 1832). The guests included Sir Johannes Andreas Truter (in his position as President of the Council of the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Athenaeum'), the 3 professors of the 'Athenaeum' (J Rose Innes, ANE Changuion and J Pears), as well as the entire student body, about 150, of the College ('De Hoeksteen van het Schoolgebouw', 2 October 1832). The presence of the College at this ceremony is testimony to the good working relationship that these two institutions were to enjoy.

The ceremony was opened with the children singing a hymn, after which the Reverend Kloek van Staveren, the Lutheran minister, gave an address, highlighting the utility of the School for the instruction in morality and civilisation. After this, the entire entourage marched in procession from Long, through Wale, to New Street. At the front of the

procession were the girls, about 100 in number, together with the female members of staff. Behind them marched the boys, numbering about 139. Then came the Management, the Building Commission, the shareholders and lastly the invited guests and well-wishers (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 12 October 1832).

A small troupe of ten boys received the most attention. They were led by the master builder, the master carpenter and two master foremen. The latter two carried the building plans of the School in a black frame decorated with green ribbon, while the boys carried miniature versions of all the building materials in their hands. One of them carried the Bible on a black velvet cushion and another a white phial or urn containing a prospectus, printed on parchment, of the entire proceedings. In this prospectus were listed the names of the master builder, master carpenter and master foremen; the names and numbers of all the pupils enrolled at the School; the names of the teachers; the different subjects offered at the School; the names and numbers of the members of the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappij' (155 in total); the names of the shareholders of the School building; the names of the boys who assisted Advocate Neethling with the laying of the foundation stone; and lastly the names of the Directors responsible for the management of the Society, as well as those of the Building Commission (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 12 October 1832; *Die Burger*, 28 August, 1937). Also a verse from Proverbs: "Blessed is the man who findeth wisdom and produceth understanding; wisdom is the principal thing – therefore, get wisdom; and with all thy getting get understanding" ('De Hoeksteen van het Schoolgebouw', dd 2 October 1832)

Also contained in the urn were copies of the *Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift* for July and August, *De Zuid-Afrikaan* and the latest issue of the

Government Gazette. On the outside of the flask was painted the new logo of the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen' (Fig. 4), adapted from the 'Nutzegeel' by the architect and builder, PJ Grové. Grové used the same basic design of the 'Nutzegeel', but made the following changes: in the first medallion, he added Mount Parnassus, home of the Muses into the background behind Minerva (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 12 October 1832; *Die Burger*, 28 August 1937). He replaced the wording with 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen', and depicted the badge of the city of Cape Town in the right-hand medallion.

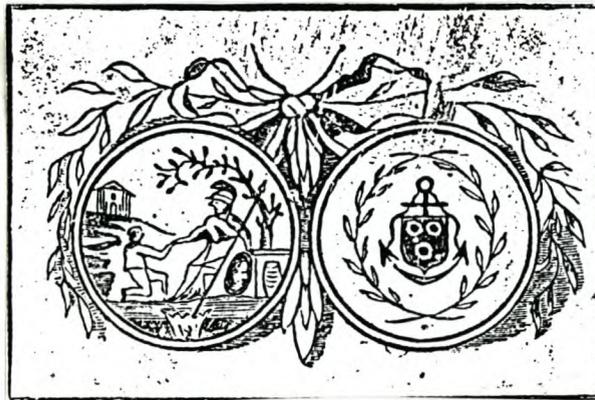


Fig. 4: Logo of the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen', as seen on a certificate awarded by the 'Tot Nut' School



Fig. 5: Coat of Arms of the City of Cape Town

This 'Zegel van de Kaapstad' was bestowed on the City by De Mist at a special ceremony at the Town House in 1804 (Fehr, 1955, p. 39). The anchor symbolises 'good hope' as does the gold background on which it rests, and indicates De Mist's wish for the future wealth and prosperity of the settlement. The red shield bearing three gold rings is taken from the coat of arms of Jan van Riebeeck (Fig 5) (Botha, *Our South African Past and Present*, p. 46).

The Chairman of the Board of Directors, Advocate JH Neethling, duly laid the cornerstone, assisted by the 10 boys appointed to this task (sons of the Board of Directors and the Building Commission; their names appear below) while the children sang spiritual songs. He delivered an appropriate speech and the proceedings were closed with a prayer and blessing said by the Rev Abraham Fauré. The urn described above was probably buried under the cornerstone. The entire procedure is strongly reminiscent of Freemason ritual; not surprising, as JH Neethling was an active Freemason, founder and Grand Master of the Goede Hoop Lodge (*Die Burger*, 28 July 1923). As indicated, many members of the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen' were Freemasons. It was then, perhaps more so than today, a religious organisation that offered social comradeship to the intellectuals of the time (Brown, 1981, p. 34).

The Darling Museum has in its display a commemorative notice of the event described above. It is a piece of leather in the shape of a shield on which is printed the following:

De Hoeksteen
van het
Schoolgebouw
voor de
Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappy
"Tot Nut van het Algemeen"

gelegd
aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop,
Op den 2 October. AD 1832
door den
WelEdelen Heer en Mr. Johannes Henoch Neethling

Geholpen door de Skolieren
Johannes Hendricus Brand, Jr
Sebastiaan Valentyn Gie
Johannes Albertus Stegmann
Josua Brink
Fredrik Willem Spengler
Johan Andrew Stegmann
Johannes Smuts
Michiel Christiaan Pentz
Jan Marthinus Hoets
Johannes Petrus Serrurier

Het bestuur der Maatschappy
Mr. J.H. Neethling, *President*
G.E. Overbeek, *Vice-President*
Mr. C.J. Brand
Mr. J.H. Hofmeyr
J.A. Smuts
J.C. Gie, *Mz*
G.F. Stegmann, *Penningmeester*
J.H. Redelinghuys, *Secretaris*

De Bouw Commissie
J.G. Stegmann, *President*
P.J. Pentz
Andries Brink, *Cz*
R.C. Hoets
G.W. Spengler
R.J. van der Riet
J.P. Serrurier, *Penningmeester*
C.J.C. Gie, *Secretaris*
D.J. Grové, *Bouwmeester*
L.V. Anhuyzer, *Meester Timmerman*
J.P. Anhuyzer
L.V. Anhuyzer } *Meesterknechts*

“Welgelukzalig is de mensch, die wysheid vind! en de mensch, die verstandigheid voortbrengt! Die wysheid is het voornaamste, verkryg dan wysheid, verkryg dan verstand, met al uwe bezittingen.”

Spreuk: van Salomon

Gedrukt in de “Zuid-Afrikaan”
P.A. Brand, Kaapstad

(Commemorative notice, 2 October 1832. Darling Museum)

The leather has been cut from a larger portion and arranged so that it could fit the frame in which it was donated to the Museum. The cut marks are clearly visible, and there are also signs that the original stitching has been undone to resize the article. At the time of writing, the Darling Museum was unable to provide any information as to its origin in Darling or who donated this item to the Museum.

A second document, printed on velum, was found on 25 December 1845 on The Hill, Albany Road Sea Point. It is now in the possession of the National Library of South Africa and lists, in addition:

De School
Bestond by het leggen van den hoeksteen uit
109 meisjes en 139 jongen

De Onderwyzers voor de Hollandsche taal, Rekenkunde,
Aardrykskunde, Bybelsche en Wêreldgeschiedenis,
En schryven waren:

Voor de jongens: JR Mostert (Hoofd Onderwyzer)
C van Soelen (2de Onderwyzer)
F Smidt¹⁸ (3de Onderwyzer)

Voor de meisjes (benewens het Vrouwelyk Handwerk)
Juffrouw CJ Lipperd (1ste Onderwyzeres)
Juffrouw WJ Mostert (2de Onderwyzeres)
Juffrouw J Rykheer (3de Onderwyzeres)

Henry Roselt – Onderwyzer in de Engelsche Taal

(‘De Hoeksteen van het Schoolgebouw’, dd. 2 October 1832)

¹⁸ This is probably an error and should read NJ Smit.

It also names the 155 members of the Society (see Addendum A).

4.5. The opening ceremony: 16 September 1833

The building of the School proceeded smoothly, and within a year the School was solemnly opened on 16 September 1833 with the start of the new school year. The scholars (about 300 in total), accompanied by their parents and a big crowd of well-wishers, marched in procession from their old quarters in Loop Street to the new building in New Street. Once there, Advocate Neethling delivered an impressive speech, expounding on the aims and objectives of the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen' (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 20 September 1833). He closed his speech with the words:

"Mijne waarde Landgenoten - Vrienden en Vriendinnen! - Ik heb de my opgedragene taak volbragt, en ik dank u allen voor uwe gunstige aandacht. Sedert dertig jaren hebben myn geachte ambtgenoot hier aan myne zyde (de Heer G. E. Overbeek) en ik, het altaar der opvoeding van de Zuid-Afrikaansche jeugd bediend; doch tot ons leedwezen, met eene lange ledige tusschenruimte, veroorzaakt door gebrek aan Leermeesters. Nu weder licht het vuur op het altaar: wij hebben het met uwe hulp op nieuw in lichte vlam gesteld! Dat het vuur nimmer weder moge gebluscht worden! Het licht, tot verlichting uwer jeugd, op het pad des levens – het geldt uwe telgen, uwe dierbaarste

panden! Dat dan geene onverschilligheid van uwe zyde onzen ywer doe verflaauwen!

Gij hebt een werkzaam en welwillend Bestuur over de belangen uwer kinderen gesteld, doch dat Bestuur en uwe Onderwyzers hebben, by voortduring, uwe hulp, uwe medewerking nodig – het is uw belang, en dat uwer lievelingen in een gestrengeld, dat wy beoogen. Hand in hand, hart aan hart, en goede wil by goeden wil gevoegd, en met goed overleg gepaard, hebben wy dit voortreffelyk Gebouw, als een Tempel ter opvoeding onzer jeugd, opgehaald! Lang leve de Maatschappy Tot Nut van het Algemeen aan Afrika's Zuidpunt!

Ik verklaar thans, namens het Bestuur, de Deelhouders en verdere Heeren, Leden der Maatschappy, dit Gebouw, als een Schoolgebouw van de Maatschappy Tot Nut van het Algemeen aan Zuid-Afrika, behoorlyk ingewyd. God bevestigte dit Genootschap en schenke aan het schoolonderwys voorspoed, welgelukken en zynen besten zegen, tot heil der Kaapsche jeugd, die in hetzelve by voortduring opgevoed en in nuttige wetenschappen onderwezen zal worden – HET ZY ZO!" (*sic.*)

(‘Redevoering’, *Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift* September/October 1833; *Die Burger*, 28 August 1937).

By 1833, Jan Neethling and Gerard Overbeek had served in their respective offices on the Board of Trustees for thirty-one years; such dedication to the cause of education is testimony to the character of these two men. Their interest in the Cape’s youth is

obvious from the above speech. When Neethling died in 1838, the children and teachers of the 'Tot Nut' School formed part of his funeral procession. He was buried with full Masonic honours (*Die Burger*, 28 July 1923).

In his speech, Neethling's words "... het altaar der opvoeding" indicate that he believed the education of the youth to be a higher calling. The new School building, too, is referred to as a temple of learning. He clearly refers to a time when the School had either closed, or was experiencing a severe slump due to a lack of suitable teaching staff. However, there is also an allusion to, and a vague warning against, apathy on the part of the parent body and the community. He appeals to the parents to lend their support to the management and the teachers.

After the Chairman's speech, Mr Leopold Marquard – the first official missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church and later to be a teacher at the 'Tot Nut' – offered a solemn prayer (*Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift*, September October 1832). The Rev Fauré was also present at the opening of the new School. He was later to become President of the Board of Directors, a position he held from 1852 until the School closed in 1870 (*Dictionary of South African Biography Vol II*, 1972, p. 231).

After the festivities, the pupils were treated to surprise snacks, while the members of the 'Maatschappy' enjoyed a hearty dinner in the evening (*Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift*, September October 1832).

4.6. Description of the building

The new 'Tot Nut' van het Algemeen' School building comprised a double-storeyed central portion, flanked by a single-storey wing on either side (Fig. 6). On the front central portion was the name of the School: 'Tot Nut van' above, and 'het Algemeen' below (Fauré, 1907, p. 14). Servaas Hofmeyr, one of its pupils, remembers the School as "... een groot en aanzienlijk gebouw" (Korte Levensskets en Nagelaten Geskriften van Servaas Hofmeyr, 1891, p. 4). The school was intended for 600 pupils, although it never reached this number.

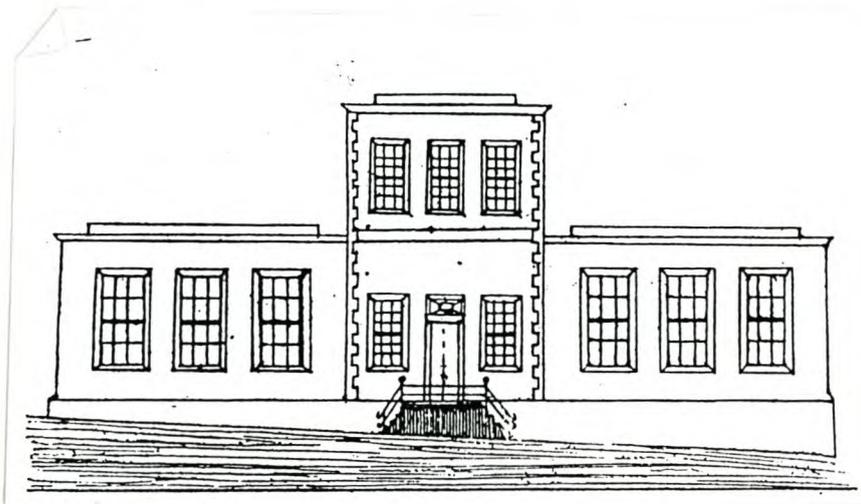


Fig. 6: 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School building, New Street, Cape Town

The central portion, which is described as "... een gerieflijk Woonhuis" (*De Volksvriend*, 28 September 1870), consisted of 8 large rooms and a kitchen (*op cit*). These were the quarters for the principal. There were 6 classrooms, three in each wing (Report on Public Education, 1859, p. 32; Report of the Superintendent-General, 1867, p. 131). The classrooms were "... large and convenient" (Report on Public Education for 1859, p. 32); they were 40 foot long and 20 foot wide (12 m by 6 m), which is quite large, and were described as 'Zalen' or halls (*De Volksvriend*, 28 September 1870) – a term

favoured by Lancaster (Howes, 2001, p. 1). If the School was designed for 600 pupils, then each classroom would have been capable of holding 100 children. This would only have been possible through arranging the furniture in long unbroken rows of desks or forms (Dodwell, 1993, p. 32); again, the Lancasterian influence. However, as the School was never fuller than 360 and no pictures of the interior exist, one cannot be sure what the classroom arrangement was.

The boys were taught in the left wing; the girls in the right. Mr Stephanus (Fanie) Hofmeyr, a brother of 'Onze Jan' Hofmeyr, commented that "De klaskamers waren ruim en goed verlicht en maakten een vrolike indruk" (*Die Burger*, 4 September 1937) and this is confirmed by various reports: and the Report of the Superintendent-General for 1867, where Langham Dale describes the classrooms as "... commodious and well-ventilated" (p. 131). The classrooms had boarded floors (Report on Public Education, 1859, p. 32), for health reasons described below, which was considered advanced for the time but which eventually became a standard feature in most schools. The one thing lacking was a playground, and the toilets were apparently insufficient for the number of pupils (*op cit*). The building appears to have been relatively large and probably took up the full extent of the erwen (56 square roeden; 132 square Cape foot; 60 square Cape inches) ('Acte van Deelneming', 14 March 1836). The School was apparently built on the Dutch model of schoolrooms (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 48) and this requires some explanation.

One of the grievances of the medical profession in Holland had, for some time been, that schoolrooms in general were dark and damp, and therefore unhealthy learning spaces (*Nationaal Schoolmuseum*, 2000, p. 13). From 1800 these concerns began to

be taken more seriously by the authorities and in 1830 the Dutch Society 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' proposed a Model School, with various guidelines for building and furniture, and above all – that there should be more fresh air and light (*ibid*, p. 13). New schools were therefore built specifically for educational purposes, consisting of wooden floors instead of cold stone floors; large windows with sash or casement windows that could be opened and that allowed in natural light; a stove with chimney for heating purposes; and specially designed furniture comprising of good writing desks and benches (*ibid*, p. 13). The National School Museum in Rotterdam has recreated one of these Model School classrooms (Fig. 7). Whether the 'Tot Nut' School in New Street, Cape Town, replicated these classrooms is not known, but not unlikely.

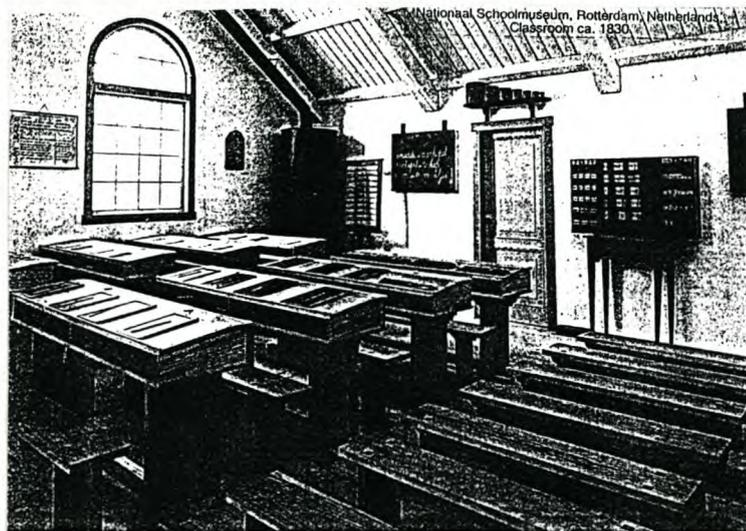


Fig. 7: 'Model School Classroom, National School Museum, Rotterdam

What is important to remember is that the School building of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' was one of the first buildings in Cape Town ever erected specifically as an educational institution. Most schools used whatever premises were available for hire, and were thus totally unsuitable for education: rooms in private houses; church vestries; storerooms; lofts; cellars etc; even the South African College used vacant

rooms in the Orphan House until it built its own facilities in Orange Street. On maps of Cape Town printed by George Grieg in 1833 and 1834 (South African Almanac and Directory 1833, 1834), the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School building is one of the 28 most prominent buildings indicated and named on the map. And when William Barclay Snow did the first survey of Cape Town buildings in 1862, 'Nut van het Algemeen' is clearly indicated on his map (Worden *et al*, 1998, pp. 170- 171). The Maatschappij 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' thus had every right to be proud of its building. The fine work done by the builders was mentioned in a commemorative testimonial printed on parchment and presented in 1833 by the Chairman to each member of the Commission that oversaw the building of the School (Commemorative document, 14 October 1832, Darling Museum). The Education Museum is in possession of one of these testimonials, the one presented to Mr Ryno J van der Riet (PC 91/0782).

On 25 July 1834, after a request had been made to the Governor of the Cape, the ownership of the School building in New Street was officially transferred to the shareholders. It was reiterated in a memorial by the Trustees to the Governor¹⁹ that although the School building was in the hands of private shareholders, it was not for private gain, but *pro bono publico* - for public good (Memorial dd. 24 June 1834).

4.7. The teachers at the time of the opening

When the School opened on 16 September 1833, the teaching staff consisted of 10.

Mr Johannes Reynard Mostert was the Head Master, while Mr Servaas de Kock (newly

¹⁹ Signed by JH Neethling; GW Spengler; CJ Brand; JG Stegmann; JA Smuts; JH Redelinghuys and two other Members of the Board of Trustees (Memorial dd. 24 June 1834).

matriculated from the South African College), Mr Frederick Langerman, Mr John Everitt Mestaer, Mr NJ Smit, Mr M Versveld and Mr Cornelius van Dyk van Soelen were the Male Assistants. The Female Assistants were Miss CJ Lippert, Miss WJ Mostert and Miss Janette Rijkheer (*Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift*, July/August 1833; *Die Burger*, 28 August 1937; Du Toit. 1984, p. 14). See also Addendum E.

It appears that the teachers who were appointed at the 'Tot Nut' School were generally young, or at least energetic and in good health. Adv JH Hofmeyr, addressing the School's 1836 prize giving, referred to "... een aantal van wakkere mede-onderwijzers, die, ofschoon jong, echter de voortreffelijkste blijken van hunne bekwaam- en geskiktheid tot het onderwijs ... hebben gegeven" (*Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift*, September/October 1836, p. 328). And in 1847, *De Zuid-Afrikaan* (16 September 1847) wrote of the teachers: "De onderwijzers zijn byna allen in de bloei hunner jaren en wel berekend voor de taak". Talented, skilled teachers in the prime of their lives would no doubt have made a valuable contribution to the School.

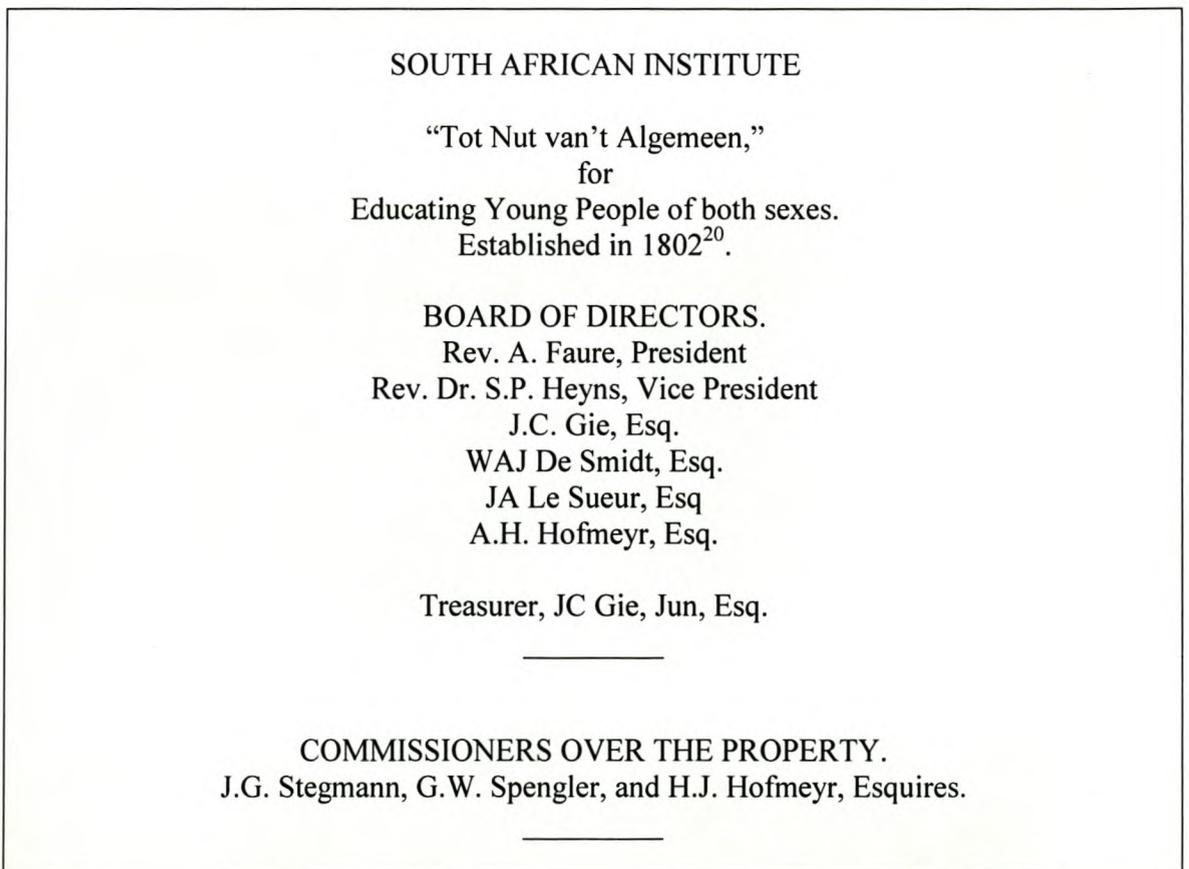
4.8. The growth of the 'Tot Nut' School

Over the next three decades, the School flourished and made an indelible mark on the youth of the Colony that was educated there. By 1834 the numbers of learners had risen to 360 and the staff was increased to 11 (see Addendum E). The curriculum too was expanded to include practical subjects such as Singing, Drawing and Handwork (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 48). See Addendum F. Over the years, the enrolment of

pupils at the 'Tot Nut' fluctuated (see Addendum B) and the number of teachers was constantly adjusted.

4.9. How the School advertised itself

In 1855 there appeared in *De Zuid-Afrikaan* and the Cape of Good Hope Almanac an advertisement of the School, in both English and Dutch. Its quaint phraseology is reminiscent of the elegant respectability of the time, and gives us a good view of the School (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 18). The English version (Fig. 8) reads as follows:



²⁰ I am not sure why the date of the establishment of the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen' was used instead of the date of the establishment of the School (1804); it may be an error.

TEACHERS.

Mr. Stephanus J. de Kock, Principal
Mr. W.S. Berry, English
Mr. W. de Kock, Elementary Classes
Mr James Wilson
Miss C. Rabe, English Literature

Miss SM Haupt, in charge of the Infant School
Mr C. Fanning, Teacher of Drawing
Mr H. Roselt, Teacher of the French Language

The Course of instruction in this Establishment comprises the following Sides, viz.: English, Dutch and French Literature; History (Universal and Sacred); Geography (Ancient and Modern) with the use of the Globes²¹; the Rudiments of Astronomy; Mental and Practical Arithmetic; Drawing, Singing, Piano Forte, and Plain and Fancy Needlework.

The terms are as moderate as the propriety of sustaining the respectability of the Institute will admit, while as an establishment for the training of youth for the branches of a Commercial or Professional life, it yields to none of a more modern foundation.

A meeting of the Directors is held on the first Tuesday of every month, when the current position of the Institute is under review.

The hours of attendance are from 9 to 3 o'clock.

Under all circumstances a month's notice is required prior to the removal of a Pupil.

The House is in a salubrious and retired part of Town, the Class rooms are spacious and well-ventilated. Those for the young ladies are in a distant wing of the Building, there can be no intercourse. The Boys and Girls meet only at the opening of the School by Prayer, and when receiving instruction in vocal music.

For the accommodation of those who reside at a short distance from the Town an apartment is provided at the hour of tiffin²² for their use.

An Infant School has been attached to this Institution, in which children between the ages of 3 and 6 are admitted – at a very low charge.

JC GIE, Jr, Secretary

Fig. 8: Advertisement for the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School 1855

(Hofmeyr, 1913, pp. 18 – 19; Cape of Good Hope Almanac, 1855, p. 32).

²¹ This was considered a progressive teaching method at that time (Naudé, 1979, p. 53).

²² A term used by the British in colonial India and Singapore to describe a light lunch (Chambers, 1997, p. 1810).

The advertisement clearly indicates what made the 'Tot Nut van't Algemeen' such a progressive school. Firstly, even though the writer of the advertisement is at pains to reassure parents that the boys and girls were instructed separately, the school was co-educational – rare at that time (Naudé, 1979, p. 53). Secondly, there was a comprehensive range of modern subjects to suit both sexes of scholars. Thirdly, the choice of subjects offered indicates that the 'Tot Nut' provided more than just elementary education, thus allowing pupils to actually complete their education at the 'Tot Nut' School. Fourthly, the advertisement shows the School was aware of how important classroom design was in pupils' health. And lastly, it is clear that the course of instruction was a thoroughly practical one and its objective of preparing the youth for life and work would make it relevant even in the South Africa of today, with its new outcomes-based national curriculum. One might assume that the child who left 'Tot Nut' at the age of 13 or 15 was much better equipped for life and college than the average child in Cape Town at the time.

4.10. The school day at the 'Tot Nut'

From Fanie Hofmeyr's recollections in *Die Burger* of 4 September 1937 come some of the most vivid descriptions of the 'Tot Nut's' everyday life. He attended the School in the 1860s and recalls his teachers as being Mr Stephanus (Fanie) de Kock, Head of the Boys' Section; Mrs Frieslich, Head of the Girls' Section; Mr Willem de Kock; Mr Drossel and Mr Louis Corbitt. According to Hofmeyr, the two De Kock brothers gave instruction in the Dutch language, while Messrs Drossel and Corbitt taught English. Mr Corbitt also gave Mathematics (*Die Burger*, 4 September 1937). Hofmeyr claims he did

not learn much from Mr Corbitt, as he was always too impatient to answer the boys' questions. We also learn that the boys referred to the School as: 'Tot Vernuk van't Algemeen' (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 20).

As already mentioned, the school year of the 'Tot Nut' after 1833 ran from September to August the following year; from the 1840s the school year ran from October to September. A progress report issued for the 'Quarter ended: 30 June 1870' (Report of Frederick de Wet, 1870), indicates that the year was divided into four school terms.

Morning school hours were from 09:00 until 12:00. Schoolwork started and ended with a daily prayer and hymn. At 09:00 the boys and girls assembled in one of the venues for a Bible reading by the Headmaster and the singing of a psalm accompanied on the violin by Mr Willem de Kock. In 1837 the 'Instituut der Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen' published a collection of school songs, *Verzameling van Schoolgezangen*, edited by JR Mostert, the Principal. This collection contained hymns sung at the School, at special occasions and especially the opening and closing of the School. A popular morning hymn at the 'Tot Nut' was:

“Daar slaat het uur! met lust en vuur,
Nu't leeren aangevangen.
O ja, gewis, De leertyd is
Ons kinderlyk verlangen.
Wordt ooit de tyd, Aan't kwaad gewyd,
Dan vindt men stof tot klagen;
Doch zoo een kind, Het goed bemindt,
Toont God zyn welbehagen.
Doen w' onzen pligt, Dan zal ons 't licht
Van kennis meerder dagen.”

(*Verzameling van Schoolgezangen*, 1837, p. 27, 28; *Die Burger*, 4 September 1937).

Following a prayer, the pupils dispersed to their respective classrooms for the lessons of the day. There was an hour for lunch (*Die Burger*, 4 September 1937), which Fanie Hofmeyr refers to as 'tiffintijd'. Nicolaas (Klaas) Hofmeyr recalls the "... lekkere saucijsbrooden" that his mother provided (Kestell, 1911, p. 7). It is assumed that many of the pupils would have gone home for lunch, but provision was also made for those who could not: "For the accommodation of those who reside at a short distance from the Town an apartment is provided at the hour of Tiffin for their use" (Cape of Good Hope Almanac, 1855, p. 32). The afternoon school session began at 13:00 and ended at 15:00.

4.11. Class division and methods of instruction

In its classroom management and instruction, the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School once again modelled itself on the Dutch system. The early Educational Returns (1843 - 1856) describe the method of instruction at the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' as "... the System observed in the Primary Schools established in Holland" (Educational Return, 1843, p. 248). This requires clarification. Following the new advances in school and classroom design in Holland in 1830 (refer to pp. 75, 76), a new system of teaching had been propagated to increase productivity (*Nationaal Schoolmuseum*, 2000, p. 13). Instead of teaching a mass of pupils uniformly, the teacher was expected to divide them into three classes or groups – hence also the division of the desks into three

rows. Each class was taught in turn by the teacher, while the rest worked on their own. Extensive use was made of the blackboard.

The transfer from one class to the next, 'overgaan', occurred through an exam; if the child did not pass the exam, it stayed behind – 'zitten blijven' – and repeated the last 6 months of work (*ibid*, p. 13). This of necessity meant that teachers had to be better trained, and all teachers in Holland had to write an exam to achieve a minimum qualification (*op cit*).

It is not clear what qualifications the teachers at the 'Tot Nut' School in Cape Town were expected to have. Servaas and Stephanus de Kock had a matriculation certificate with scientific subjects from the South African College and were considered well qualified (*Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift*, September/October 1836, p. 326). The 'Wetten der Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappij "Tot Nut van het Algemeen"' of 1836 indicate that all the teachers appointed to the School had to pass an examination:

"Niemand zal tot onderwyzer of onderwyster worden aangenomen, die niet bekend is te wezen van goed zedelyk gedrag, en voorzien van de nodige bewyzen van of na behoorlyk afgelegd Examen voor het Bestuur van de bekwaam en geschiktheid tot het geven van zoodanig onderwys, als waartoe hy of zy bestemd mogt zyn" (pp. 3 – 4).

At the 'Tot Nut', the pupils wrote examinations on a monthly basis (*Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift*, September/October 1836, pp. 324, 327), followed by a public examination at the end of the school year. No pupils was passed or transferred

from one class or division to a higher one without having a thorough understanding of the work expected of him or her. The teachers were thus expected to teach the pupils thoroughly and to provide them with enough opportunities for repetition and practice, and to constantly assess their progress. The emphasis was on the pupils demonstrating an understanding of concepts and material learnt, not on repeating information mindlessly or "... lessen ... op te zeggen" (*ibid*, p. 327). Not much different from today's Outcomes-based Education and Continuous Assessment strategies.

The classroom organisation at the 'Tot Nut' School was also based on the Dutch model, certainly as far as the division of classes and the writing of examinations is concerned. However, perhaps because the School was fairly large, it does not appear as if 3 classes were taught in one venue by one teacher at one time. As the boys and girls were educated separately, these two groups, together with the Infant School formed three distinct departments. Some comment on the Infant School system might be appropriate here.

Infant schools were originated by Robert Owen in 1799 at New Lanark Mill, Scotland, as a means of checking the negative effects of the factory system on small children (Monroe, 1923, p. 726). During the Victorian period, infant schools achieved great popularity, becoming the progenitors of the primary section of public schools, and catering for children generally under the age of 7 (Chambers English Dictionary, 1988, p. 730). An Infant Department was added to the 'Tot Nut' School in 1851, and was one of Stephanus de Kock's first innovations as Principal to draw new pupils. When Servaas de Kock resigned as Principal in 1850, the enrolment at the School fell dramatically from 165 to 97 (Educational Return, 1850, p. 358). The addition of the

Infant School proved to be a wise move, because by 1852 the numbers had recovered to 150 (Educational Return, 1862, p. 358). From there they increased steadily, reaching a maximum of 240 in 1855 (Educational Return, 1855, p. 438). The Infant School, like many pre-primary departments today, proved popular and added value to the School. It catered for between 30 and 60 children between the ages of 3 and 6. All these little ones were under the care of one teacher.

The Infants excluded, each department consisted of 3 classes (Report of the Superintendent-General, 1867). Class 1 would have comprised the senior boys or girls; Class 2 the middle; and Class 3 the elementary. This was practice at many schools, including the South African College (which had 6 classes), the Diocesan College and the Green and Sea Point Public Schools (Quinn, 1963, pp. 11 – 12). The work was categorised into different divisions, according to the amount of work to be covered. Geography, for example, had 4 divisions (Brown, 1981, p. 42). A child would probably have remained in a class until the desired progress had been achieved, proceeding through the divisions within the class mostly according to age, but sometimes even to ability. 'Onze Jan' Hofmeyr was, throughout his career at the 'Tot Nut' School, in a class of boys older than himself (Hofmeyr, 1919, p. 18).

In Class 3 the emphasis was on the '3Rs' – Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. Writing would have been done on slates with slate pencils, and later in books with dip pens and ink. In Class 2 the curriculum included Writing (now done in books), Dictation, Reading, Grammar, Poetry and Arithmetic. A typical Class 1 timetable included English Dictation, Reading, Grammar, Poetry, Dutch, Latin, Writing, Arithmetic, History, Geography and Drawing (Quinn, 1963, p. 12). This system of class division was used

from 1833 until 1870. In 1856, the 178 pupils attending the 'Tot Nut' were divided as follows on the day of the survey:

Third class: 58 (average age 10)

Second class: 66 (average age 11)

First (senior) class: 48 (average age 12)

Absent 6

Total 178

Infant class: 54 (Educational Return, 1856, pp. 464, 465).

Daily attendance registers were kept by the teachers, but the Inspection Report of 1859 states that these "... want uniformity". The same report also states that the School was fairly well supplied with teaching resource materials (Report on Public Education, 1859, p. 32). Regarding resource materials, it is necessary once again to refer to matters in Holland:

Through the efforts of the 'Maatschappij tot Nut van't Algemeen', schoolbooks that were considered inappropriate to the developmental levels of the child were replaced by more modern ones (*Nationaal Schoolmuseum*, 2000, p. 14). The methods in which the new material was to be implemented, also had to fit in with the development of the child (*op cit*). The mindless repetition of facts gradually made way for a more methodical, insight-bound form of learning (*op cit*). New spelling methods developed by PJ Prinsen, using phonics instead of letters of the alphabet, were introduced (*op cit*). And, as has already been mentioned, the Society published many schoolbooks that found their way to South Africa.

Trap der Jeugd is the best known of them, but Sir John Kotzé, (1938, p. 35) also remembers Hagoort's *Nederlandsche Spraakkunst* being in use at the 'Tot Nut' School in 1860 when he was a pupil there. Others were *Schoolgezangen* and *Bekroonde Volksliederen*. A copy of the latter book, published by the 'Maatschappij tot Nut van't Algemeen' in Amsterdam in 1835, and bearing the 'Nutzegel', is in the Special Collections of the Gericke Library at the University of Stellenbosch.

These books, together with blackboards, wall charts, the abacus, the globe, slates and slate pencils and a variety of apparatus to teach reading – such as the 'letterkast' and the 'leesplankje' (known as the 'leesplankie' in the Cape and used here in Dutch and Afrikaans schools until the 1950s) – were the resource materials of the day. It is likely that all these were used at the 'Tot Nut', although no evidence beyond the books and materials listed in Addendum G exists. In 1859, a young John Kotzé, 10 year-old pupil at the 'Tot Nut', bought 2 slate pencils for a penny and a Darnell's Copy Book for sixpence at JC Juta's Stationer in Cape Town (Kotzé, 1938, p. 87).

4.12. Curriculum and subjects taught

The literature often quotes the 'Tot Nut's most outstanding features as being its enthusiastic promotion of Dutch as mother tongue and the prominent part played by the Bible in instruction (Hofmeyr, 1913, p.17; Du Toit, 1984, p. 14). This emphasis seems to have emanated from Servaas de Kock (Principal from 1840 – 1850), who had a deep love for the Dutch language and was himself a follower of Biblical principles (Du Toit, 1984, p. 15). However, the School's stance on religious education

was also rooted in the philosophy of the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen'. At the opening of the new building, Advocate Neethling announced that the school had made provision that:

"... bovendien zedeleer en godsdienst word ingeprint, naar de voorschriften van het Boek der Boeken, en daar dies leer alleen, zonder inmengsel van secteleer of menschelike bijzondere begrippen, - waarin dus aan hen, die hier onderwezen worden, de weg wordt opengelaten tot de Algemeene Christelijke Kerk, welke het menschdom door den Goddelijken Gezant eenmaal is toegezegd, en op welke toekomst alle ware Christenen hopen" (*Die Burger*, 4 September 1937).

This was in keeping with the developments in Holland: while education was to have a general Christian flavour, and while religious education was to be taught, it was to be free from dogma or doctrinal teaching of any one denomination (*Nationaal Schoolmuseum*, 2000, p. 12).

The teaching of Bible Education or Sacred History, as the School called it, had a strong influence on the pupils, as seen in the high number of the School's pupils who went into the ministry. In later life, 'Onze Jan' Hendrik Hofmeyr gave credit to his formative years at the 'Tot Nut', relating the selflessness with which he was able to serve his community to the School's strong emphasis on living according to Biblical principles (Hofmeyr *et al*, 1987, p. 64). His excellent command of the Dutch language is also accredited to the school. That the quality of mother-tongue instruction was high is borne out by the well-known theologian, writer, translator and editor, John Daniel

Kestell (1854 – 1941) (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol I, 1968, pp. 421 - 424), who observes:

“Het moet elkeen treffen, hoe zuiver de oude Kapenaars het Hollandsch gesproken hebben; en het schijnt ons buiten kijf, dat het nageslacht het grotendeels aan het ‘Tot Nut van ‘t Algemeen’ te danken heeft dat wij de moedertaal thans zoo eeren, en dat het eindelijk ertoe gekomen is, dat zij gelijke rechten met de Engelsche taal verkregen heeft” (Kestell, 1911, p. 12).

As a point of interest, the Dutch that was taught at the ‘Tot Nut’ was the high Dutch used by the Dutch Reformed Church, and not the Dutch that was spoken on the streets and that gradually assumed the form of Afrikaans (Besselaar, 1914, p. 223). Not only Dutch, but also English was taught thoroughly by the 1850s, although the emphasis was more on grammar and the writing of essays and letters, than literature (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 24). Modern languages such as German and French were also taught.

Geography was a popular subject at the ‘Tot Nut’, being a special love of Stephanus de Kock. He wrote two books on the subject, one on teaching with globes. The use of globes was considered advanced (Naudé, 1979, p. 53) Not only European, but also local Geography was taught. Adv JH Hofmeyr made special mention of this in his ‘Redevoering’ of 17 September 1836: “... meer byzonderlyk over onzen zuidelyken uithoek” (*Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift*, September/October 1836, p. 329). It would appear that the School strove to maintain a local focus in most of its teachings: “... met eene zekere aan den dag gelegde ervarenheid, in het geschied-,

staat- en huishoudkundige en over de bekwaamheden van Zuid-Afrika"; this was quite a new concept, "...deze nieuwe aanwinst" (*op cit*).

Music was available from the 1840s (Educational Return, 1843, p. 249) and quickly became a very popular subject. This is largely due to Mr Ludwig Heinrich Beil, who was appointed to teach Singing from about 1843. In his singing lessons, Beil followed the principles of Wilhelm, the French reformer of the teaching of singing. The new system was called 'community singing' (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol II, 1972, p. 49), which involved large groups of children singing together for pleasure and enjoyment, and which eventually became practice at many Cape schools. Beil achieved outstanding results (*op cit*). A synopsis of the examinations of 1845 reports that the pupils who were taking music as a subject, and who had performed interludes during the examinations, had made much progress during the past scholastic year (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 16 September 1845). By 1849, 140 of the 165 children on the register were taking music (Educational Return, 1849, pp. 358, 359).

By comparison, the drawing classes were less popular, with only 38 pupils attending (*op cit*), despite the fact that both Drawing Masters, Otto Landsberg and Charles Fanning, were artists in their own right and had a positive influence on their pupils. This will be discussed under the heading 'Influential teachers'.

The 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' offered a wide range of subjects for the time and because it offered some of them on the secondary level, pupils could actually complete their education at the School. The only criticism was that the classical languages were not taught (Du Toit, 1984, p. 14). Of course, in keeping with its philosophy of a modern

education that prepared children for life, the Maatschappy 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' favoured modern languages like German and French. However, there was a desire by many parents to have their children schooled in the classical languages, hence their popularity at the South African College. This eventually led to the introduction of elementary Latin and Mathematics for boys in the senior classes (Progress Report issued to Frederick de Wet, 1870) at the 'Tot Nut' in 1853 to make the transition easier for them when they transferred to the South African College. The work in Latin was confined to Grammar, and in Mathematics touched only on elementary Algebra and Geometry (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 23). Greek was offered briefly from 1858 to 1860. For a full list of subjects, see Addendum F.

From the various Educational Returns, it is evident that not all the children did the same subjects, so there was some choice according to ability or preference. In 1867, for example, there were 144 children on the roll. Of those, 124 were learning to read English; 114 were learning to read Dutch; 111 were learning to write from copy; 37 were learning the simple rules of Arithmetic; 9 were learning the higher rules of Arithmetic; 20 were learning Geography; 99 were learning History; 16 were learning English Grammar and Composition; 20 girls (out of 48) were learning Sewing; and 36 children were doing Infant Lessons (Educational Return, 1867, p. 87). Dutch, English, Writing, Arithmetic, Mathematics, Geography, History, Bible Education and Singing formed the core subjects. Latin, French, German, Drawing, Pianoforté, Violin and Needlework were considered optional extras, for which an additional fee was charged (Cape Almanac, 1860, p. 61). See p. 117 for fee structure.

The elementary classes learnt Reading, Writing (first on slates using a slate pencil and later in copy books with pen and ink) and Arithmetic. They learnt their Dutch from Hagoort's *Nederlansche Spraakkunst* and *Trap der Jeugd* before being passed on to Mr Stephanus de Kock in the senior classes (Kotzé, 1938, p. 35). Grammar, History, Geography and more advanced Arithmetic were taught in the senior classes. Those who had mastered the higher branches of Arithmetic and had proved themselves competent could advance to elementary Mathematics.

4.13. The language issue and bilingualism

All the teachers were initially expected to teach through the medium of Dutch, although English was offered as a subject from 1833 when the new School building was erected in New Street. At that time Mr Henry Roselt was the English teacher ('De Hoeksteen van het Schoolgebouw', dd 2 October 1832). In 1833 Mr JE Mestaer was teaching English in the Girls' section and Mr M Versveld in the Boys' section (*Die Burger*, 28 August 1937). There seems to have been dissatisfaction in some circles that not enough attention had been given to this subject. In a report that appeared in *De Zuid-Afrikaan* in 1838, following the School's annual prize giving, the following comment was made:

"De Constitutie van de maatschappij 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' is niet algemeenlijk of genoegzaam bekend; en daaraan is gewis het onder de Engelsche familiën heerschende vooroordeel dat het onderwijs in deze school geheel en misschien ook wel uitsluitelijk *Hollandsch* is. Wij

kunnen op dit punt het publiek met eigene ondervinding verzekeren dat dit denkbeeld ongegrond is. Engelsch wordt onderwezen en wel door Mr Golding en Miss Eyre.”

(*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 28 September 1838; *Die Burger*, 4 September 1939).

Clearly, the English-speaking colonists regarded the ‘Tot Nut’ as a Dutch school and were unwilling to support it. Hence the need by the Society to justify its position through the medium of the newspaper. The editor of *De Zuid-Afrikaan*, the aforementioned JJH Smuts, used the paper to state his belief that Afrikaners should learn English because it was the language of the government. He therefore warned Dutch teachers desirous of settling at the Cape to ensure that they knew English and were able to use it as a medium of instruction (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol II, 1972, p. 679).

Nevertheless, the ‘Tot Nut’ was considered a Dutch school and remained so for years. The English referred to in *De Zuid-Afrikaan* was initially an optional subject. In his biography of Nicolaas (Klaas) Johannes Hofmeyr, who attended the ‘Tot Nut’ School approximately from 1834 to 1840, Kestell (1911, pp. 7, 10) writes that Klaas grew up not hearing English until he was sixteen years old, spoke only Dutch at home and heard only Dutch in the street. In the Educational Return for 1843, the following is written about the ‘Tot Nut van het Algemeen’:

“As the pupils belong to the Dutch part of the community, the course of instruction is conducted chiefly in that language, though ample provision

is made for communicating a knowledge of English to the whole school, and the English classes are very numerously attended" (pp. 248, 249),

suggesting that while English was offered, it was not compulsory. Of the 172 pupils enrolled at the School, only 99 were learning to read, write and cipher in English (Educational Return, 1843, pp. 248, 249). By the following year, 118 of the 164 pupils on the roll were learning English (Educational Return, 1844, pp. 244, 245); in 1845, 136 out of 162 (Educational Return, 1845, pp. 250 – 251); in 1848, 120 out of 165 (Educational Return, 1848, pp. 342, 343): an increase from 58% to 72% to 84%.

By 1854 the two languages enjoyed equal attention, with the whole School now learning English (Educational Return, 1854, p. 395). Dutch remained the medium of instruction in the lower classes, while in the upper classes English gradually replaced Dutch as the medium of instruction. By 1865, the medium of instruction in the upper classes was English, except for the teaching of the Dutch language itself. If any point remained obscure, however, the teachers never shunned from explaining it in Dutch (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 17). 'Onze Jan' Hendrik Hofmeyr recalled how the two languages were used alternately in teaching dual medium classes (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 17). Sir John Kotzé also refers to the dual medium nature of the instruction he received at the 'Tot Nut', saying that History and Geography were taught by both the Dutch and English departments; he considers this an advantage, because the pupils became better grounded in these two subjects as a result of using different text-books (Kotzé, 1938, p. 36). Kotzé felt strongly that the 'Tot Nut' proved that bilingualism could be successfully achieved, and that it should be a legal requirement in all schools (*op cit*).

The gradual move towards English makes itself visible too in the names of the pupils attending the 'Tot Nut' School in the 1860s. The Cloete children now carried names such as William and Woodbine; and there are many children with English surnames such as Adams, Barry, Currey, Flight, Green, Hawthorne, King, Livingstone, Tinley and Williams, who bore first names such as Elizabeth, Fanny, Helen, Sarah, Charles, George, James, John and Richard (*De Volksvriend*, 26 September 1868).

4.14. Annual public examination and prize giving

One of the features of the 'Tot Nut's' school life was the custom of holding a public examination at which the School was open to inspection by the parents, supporters, well-wishers and interested members of the public. The Board of Directors, the Professors of the South African College and prominent officials were usually present, and the examinations, lasting between 3 and 5 days (depending on the number of pupils) were conducted under the watchful eye of these guests. In 1845, for instance, the Chief Justice, Sir John Wylde, was present at the examinations, as well as the ministers of the Lutheran, Dutch Reformed and Scottish churches - the Reverends Stegmann, Fauré and Adamson respectively (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 16 September 1845). The proceedings were opened by a choir or musical item by the children and a prayer by one of the churchmen.

The object of the public examination, which was held at most schools in Cape Town, including the South African College, was to give the parents an opportunity of seeing for themselves the progress their children had made during the year (Hofmeyr, 1913,

p. 22), although there were monthly examinations as well whereby the teachers could assess the pupils' progress for promotion purposes ('Redevoering', 1836, p. 324). Possibly the public examination was more satisfying to the parents than today's system of evaluation, where learners bring home a symbol that, under South Africa's new national curriculum, means little to parents still schooled in percentages.

In 1833 the public examinations were held at the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Oefengesticht' – the Practising School of the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Zending Gesticht' Long Street – from 12 to 16 August (Du Toit, 1984, p. 14). This was because the new School building in New Street had not been officially opened. The children were examined by their teachers, and sometimes by a third party.

The annual examination was followed the prize giving, usually on the Saturday after the last examination (Du Toit, 1984, p. 14). Again, this is in keeping with the philosophy of the Dutch Maatschappij 'Tot Nut van't Algemeen' of rewarding good work and behaviour. The Lancasterian system too favoured various schemes of rewards, including 'merit tickets' (Dodwell, 1993, p. 32), or certificates. In its write-up of the 1842 prize giving, *De Zuid-Afrikaan* (20 September 1842) mentions the "List of names of such pupils in the Society's School, to whom Prizes were awarded, according to the Tickets which had been granted to them". Lancaster's influence was thus certainly present in the School.

The prizes were awarded by the management of the School, but in some years there were also special awards made by the teachers. The Chairman of the Board of Directors or one of the invited guests usually summed up the examinations before the

awards were made. Another appropriate speech was made by a member of the management at the end, and one of the clergymen present usually closed in prayer.

It was common for winners to make thank-you speeches, and the boy and girl who received the Directors' silver medals were usually expected to give a speech. In 1834, the winners were young Daniel Teubes and Johanna Jacoba Hofmeyr²³. Johanna was the eldest daughter of Advocate JH Hofmeyr and the older sister of Stephanus Hofmeyr, who became a missionary in the Soutpansberg. She was, at the time, only 9 years old and she ended her speech of thanks to the Directors and the School Principal with an extract of original poetry: "Vergunt mij, WelEdele Heeren," she said, "dat ik mijne dankbetuiging met de volgende dichtregelen besluite:

Bekroont voor lust en vlijt in mijne jonge jaren,
In dees zoo nuttig School voor d'Afrikaansche jeugd,
Wordt 't kinderhart geweekt sich dankbaar te verklaren;
Ja, springt het vrolijk op en juicht geheel van vreugd.

Aan u, o Ed'le Schaar van Stichters dezer Schole,
Aan u behoort, en 't eerst, het offer toegewijd!
En nevens u, aan hem, wien 't al is aanbevole,
Wat ieder kind daarin moes leeren in der tijd".

The lines quoted are two verses of the original 5 (*Die Burger*, 28 August 1937).

Most of the prizes consisted of books and certificates. In the Education Museum's collection is a certificate given to Adriaan Smuts in 1837 for "... vorderingen in het Engelsch, vlyt en goed gedrag" (PC 92/0351). The infants received picture books (*De*

²³ I refer to her again under the section: 'The Invisible Pupils: the girls at the 'Tot Nut' (p. 209).

Volksvriend, 14 September 1867). In 1838, the President of the Board of Directors was Mr JJ Le Sueur, who handed out the prizes for that year. To each child he spoke clear words of encouragement, but when his own little daughter stood in front of him to receive her wrapped prize from his hands, his voice fell to a barely audible whisper – “... het was immers een vader die spraak” (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 28 September 1838).

At some of the examinations, a special contest was organised, at which pupils who felt themselves competent to enter unprepared, competed for special prizes. A handwritten document to be found at the Education Museum (PC2003/0007) refers to this:

“Presented to Johan Coenraad Gie JC zn ... at a Public Examination in the School tot Nut van Algemeen by the Reverend W. G. Stegman on the 5 September 1842 – on his 15th Year. He having obtained this Prize in competing for it during the Examination. Bad English corrected – between him & 4 Other Boys of the 1 Class, 1 Division” (*sic*).

This inscription is on a loose sheet of paper, which may have been inserted into a book that may have been the prize for the contest the writer refers to. ‘WG Stegman’ should read ‘GW Stegmann’. Small errors in language, punctuation and spelling (‘Stegman’ instead of Stegmann; the use of the preposition ‘on’ in stead of ‘in his 15th year’; the word ‘Prize’, almost written as ‘Prijis’ before the writer changed it) suggest that the writer was more comfortable with the Dutch language, and might even be the boy, Johan Coenraad Gie, himself. He was, in all likelihood, the son of Johan Coenraad Gie sr, a prominent banker and businessman in Cape Town (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol III, p. 326) and shareholder of the ‘Tot Nut’ School (see Addendum A).

The letters 'JC zn' behind the boy's name suggest this. A report in *De Zuid-Afrikaan* of 20 September 1842 describes the prize giving mentioned above in considerable detail, and Gie's achievement is recorded.

The relationship of the Rev Georg Wilhelm Stegmann with the 'Tot Nut' School is interesting. One of the more controversial yet well-respected ministers at the Cape, he was the second minister at the Lutheran Church in Strand Street from 1836. In 1838 he and the Reverend Adamson began to hold services for the recently liberated slaves in the St Stephen's Church (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol III, 1977, p. 755). His fiery style of preaching had a tremendous influence on the youth of Cape Town, many of whom were converted through his sermons, including Jan Neethling (later Prof JH Neethling), Klaas Hofmeyr (later Prof NJ Hofmeyr) and his younger brother, Servaas (later the Rev S Hofmeyr) (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol III, 1977, p. 755).

However, Stegmann was more reformed than Lutheran and eventually had to leave the Lutheran Church in 1847 because he would not accept that infant baptism was the way to God. About 140 members of that church followed him and they founded the St Martini congregation in Long Street. Until 1857, when the Synod admitted him as a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, Stegmann served both at St Martini and St Stephen's. In 1859 he accepted a calling to Adelaide (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol III, 1977, p. 755) and he left Cape Town.

During the 1840's he was particularly closely associated with the 'Tot Nut' School and was almost always present at the annual prize givings. His father, Johann Godlieb

Stegmann, was Chairman of the Building Commission of the School for 36 years. Rev Stegmann offered prizes for special competitions that were conducted as part of the examinations, where he set a question for which certain pupils then competed. He also often closed the proceedings in prayer. In 1845 he set competitions in History, Geography, Geometry and English. Girls and boys competed for these on an equal basis, and the winners for that year were Servaas Hofmeyr (History and English), Anna Neethling (Geography) and Johannes Andries Bam (Geometry) (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 16 September 1845). The competition that Johan Coenraad Gie won in 1842 was to correct the errors in deliberately 'bad' English. Gie was one of only 5 boys who competed (Handwritten document, 1842).

From 1867, a bazaar and musical concert were organised after the prize giving to raise funds. The bazaar was held in the three classrooms in the boys' section, with a variety of utilitarian items and food for sale. Requests in the form of contributions of livestock, fruit and vegetables and other items were made through the newspapers. A public auction was usually part of the proceedings, and at 21:00 the day closed with the selling of hot drinking chocolate (*De Volksvriend*, 14 September 1867).

From 1869 the examination was held privately at the School instead of publicly. The classes were called into their respective rooms in their daily order and questioned by their teachers. The Superintendent-General of Education, Dr Langham Dale was present, as were a few interested invited parties. Dale used the opportunity as an inspection of the School and was favourably impressed with the thoroughness with which the pupils had been prepared and with the good order that prevailed (*De Volksvriend*, 25 September 1869).

The examinations were reported in detail in the newspapers of the time: *Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift*; *De Zuid-Afrikaan*; *De Volksvriend*; and *Het Volksblad* – evidence of the respect which this institution earned itself, especially in terms of providing a thorough elementary education. Some of the newspapers published a list of all the prize-winners, which has enabled me to draw up a list of the names of some 543 pupils who attended the School (see Addendum C).

4.15. Sport, games and cultural activities

It is unlikely that the 'Tot Nut' provided any sporting or extra-mural activities for its pupils, as we understand them today. In those days, schools focused purely on academic pursuits. It was left to the children to organise their own games.

In the 1840s, casual and spontaneous football and cricket matches began to be played in Government Avenue by the boys of the South African College (Linnegar, 1979, p. 27). It is not impossible that the boys of the 'Tot Nut', being in such close proximity, and having no playground of their own, joined in these games. From these recreational activities came the first organised team sports. After the establishment of the Diocesan College in Claremont in 1849, annual matches took place between the South African College and the Diocesan College (*op cit*). In his letter dated 19 July 1855, the young John X Merriman, then a pupil at the Diocesan College, wrote to a friend in England about school cricket matches: "Last half year ... we challenged old Droosel's School to a match but they were frightened. Then we challenged McNortons and they made the excuse our ground was too bad ..." (McIntyre, 1950, p. 15). 'McNortons' refers to the

Wynberg Public School (now Wynberg Boys' High School), which had been established in 1841 and of which John McNaughton (note Merriman's misspelling) was the Principal. 'Droosel' is probably a misspelling of Drossel. In 1852 a Dr Drossel had a school or seminary in Wynberg (Munnik, 1916, p. 6; Cape Almanac and Annual Register, 1852, p. 183). Early cricket games in the southern suburbs were played at Southey's Field in Diep River (today the site of the Michaelis Home), birthplace of the Western Province Cricket Club.

From 1859 the South African College boys were granted the use of the 'Paddock' – an open piece of government land alongside the Avenue – after 3 pm. Although no record of it exists, it is not unlikely that the children from the 'Tot Nut' also came to play there. Generally, sport was a spontaneous affair. JG Kotzé, a pupil at the 'Tot Nut' between 1859 and 1863, writes about having the odd "... rattling good game of football" in the afternoons (1860), when school was out (Kotzé, 1938, p. 70). He also refers to playing cricket (*Ibid*, p. 83). Fanie Hofmeyr recalls the boys of the 'Tot Nut' playing 'slaanbal' – a game similar to rounders (Verklarende Afrikaanse Woordeboek, 1963, p. 579)²⁴ – in the open area between Orange and Kloof Streets (1869), right opposite the South African College. Rounders and kite flying were also enjoyed (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 23).

The children of 19th century Cape Town played in the streets, on the beach, on the Grand Parade and in the Company Gardens (Brown, 1981, 28). The Gardens were particularly popular, especially as there was the added attraction of a small zoo and Mr Villet's museum of natural history (Bird, 1823, p. 156).

²⁴ Professor Bun Booyens of Stellenbosch confirms this.

For the children of the 'Tot Nut' School, there were many playmates in the vicinity of their School: also situated in New Street was the Normal School (previously the English Free School, under Mr T. Buchanan) and, in premises adjoining the Normal School Room but facing Keerom Street, the Model Infant School (founded in 1830 and moved from St George's Street in the early 1850s; then under Mr Robert Byrne). 'Onze Jan' Hofmeyr recalls that there were many "... doughty battles" fought with the pupils of the Normal School in the old canal which passed down New Street, or in the Company's Gardens opposite (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 23). St George's Grammar School (founded 1848) was also a mere stone's throw from the 'Tot Nut' at St George's Cathedral, although it too started in New Street; at Mr Schikkerling's Store, to be exact (Coyne, 1997, p. 7).

Many games in those days took place in the streets, especially as the 'Tot Nut' did not have a playground (Report on Public Education, 1859, p. 32). In 1860, boys were playing a mixture of hopscotch and 'prisoner's base' in Keerom Street (*Cape Argus* 12 April 1860 in Worden *et al*, 1998, p. 196) just behind the 'Tot Nut' School. Other street games included racing reeds in water-filled gutters, 'pitch 'n toss' (*op cit*, p. 196), marbles, tops, 'ablikatta', 'caps-on-back' and 'on-on' (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 23; Brown, 1981, pp. 44, 45).

On the cultural front, music was a strong feature of the 'Tot Nut' School. Both Servaas and Willem de Kock were gifted musically. Servaas was the organist and chief choirmaster at the church, and Willem was an outstanding violinist. The advertisement for 1855 quoted earlier makes special mention of the teaching of pianoforté. Music was performed at the annual public examination and prize giving. There is also evidence

that a choir existed (Bouws, undated, p. 13). At the inauguration of the Nieuwe Kerk in Bree Street in 1847, the pupils of the 'Tot Nut' took part in a choir rendition (*Die Burger*, 14 July 1923; Dreyer, 1907, p. 96).

4.16. Discipline

The 'Wetten van het Departement der Bataafsche Maatschappij Tot Nut van het Algemeen aan Cabo Goede Hoop' (1803, p. 3) clearly state that corporal punishment was shunned by the Maatschappij 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'. This is in keeping with the trend followed in Holland where the Society canvassed strongly against this practice as well as other forms of degrading punishment, advocating instead, a system of reward rather than punishment. This was taken up by the authorities, and the new Dutch School Order of 1823 more or less outlawed corporal punishment. Great emphasis was placed on morals (*Nationaal Schoolmuseum*, 2000, p. 14).

However, corporal punishment was not absent at the 'Tot Nut', especially in the 1850s and 1860s – one of the unfortunate influences of the British public school system. Despite the happy atmosphere that prevailed at the School, the rod was not spared nor the child spoilt. According to Fanie Hofmeyr (*Die Burger*, 4 September 1937), the Masters at the 'Tot Nut' taught with book in one hand and cane in the other. Messrs Willem de Kock and Drossel were particularly feared. Because Mr Drossel taught English to the upper classes, Hofmeyr had little to do with him. He recounts one occasion, however, where he felt the wrath of the Master's walking stick: it was during

break and the young Hofmeyr had used an unseemly French expression, which he apparently did not fully understand at the time (*Die Burger*, 4 September 1937)!

Mrs Frieslich was also a strict disciplinarian, not averse to using the cane on the girls or hitting them with the flat of her hand around the ears. Hofmeyr recalls her saying: "Ik heet wel Frieslich, maar ik ben toch niet zo vreeslijk" (*op cit*).

Mr Stephanus de Kock was milder, recalls Hofmeyr, and the boys liked him: "Zijn slagen vielen niet zo hard" (*op cit*). He had the strange habit, when removing a boy from the classroom to administer punishment, of calling out, "Jij bent een oud soldaat!" After this exclamation had been uttered, the time for excuses was over and "... jij moest jou geheel aan jou lot onderwerpen" (*op cit*).

At this point one might like to pause to reflect on what misdemeanours these boys, men of good character later, could have committed. As no official school records of the 'Tot Nut' exist, one will have to look to other institutions of the time. From the records of the Senate of the South African College, boys were punished for harmless offences such as making signs, whispering, prompting, asking and lending (Report of the Senate of the South African College, 1844; Durrill, 1997, p. 1), which would undoubtedly also have occurred at the 'Tot Nut'; as well as for more serious misdemeanours such as breaking windows (either with fists or by throwing acorns), fighting, bullying, gross insubordination to the professors and in particular to the caretaker, and cheating during exams (Report of the Senate of the South African College, 1844; Durrill, 1997, pp. 1, 4, 6, 13, 17). Like the 'Tot Nut', the South African College initially shunned corporal punishment. The main form of punishment in the

early days of the College was confinement after school. This was much more than just keeping a recalcitrant pupil in after hours; the miscreant was locked up for periods of up to 6 hours "... on rations of bread and water" in a room reserved especially for this purpose and known as the 'Black Hole' (Worden *et al*, 1998, p. 135).

The South African College had enormous disciplinary problems in its early days and these were probably partly to blame for the poor enrolment during the first decade and a half that will be discussed under the next heading. The Minutes and Reports of the Senate of the College between 1829 and 1833 are full of detailed descriptions of serious misdemeanours and acts of insubordination committed by the boys. In his essay entitled: 'The Rising Colonial Elite in Nineteenth Century Cape Colony: Students, Violence, and Social Relations at South African College' (1997), Durrill gives the cause of such misconduct as the class system in place at the Cape. He maintains that the College student corps was made up of the settler elite who sought to establish hierarchies of dominance to maintain the power that their families had become used to (Durrill, 1997, pp. 1 – 3). This they largely did on graduation, taking up key positions in Cape society and dominating the merchant houses in Cape Town (*ibid*, p. 19).

I mention this here, because the same type of boy that went to the South African Collage also attended the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School, which was regarded, as has been previously mentioned, as the main feeder school for the College. No such detailed records of poor behaviour and punishment exist for the 'Tot Nut', but the discipline appears to have been tighter and more successful. The 1859 Report on Public Education describes the discipline at the 'Tot Nut' as being good (p. 32). In 1867, Dr Langham Dale, the Superintendent-General of Education, who had inspected

the School during the public examination, expressed his pleasure "... over de goede inrigting der school en de discipline en controle der onderwijzers over de leerlingen" (*Het Volksblad*, 14 September 1867). And an advertisement placed by the School in the Cape Almanac of 1860 (p. 61) mentions that "Special attention is given to the discipline and deportment of pupils". Obviously the teachers at the 'Tot Nut' were better able to engage their pupils in the learning process and they thus had fewer discipline problems.

4.17. Links with the South African College

The relationship between the 'Tot Nut' School and the South African College was always cordial, right from the day the entire corps of professors and students of the College marched with the 'Tot Nut' to the laying of its cornerstone in 1832. That year the College also helped the 'Tot Nut' with schoolbooks. At the request of Mr CJ Brand, member of the Senate of the South African College and father of a son (Jan Brand – future President of the Orange Free State) at the 'Tot Nut', the College librarian furnished the 'Tot Nut' with 60 copies of the *Kort Begrip der Algemeene Geschiedenis* by Helmar Curas (in 4 parts) and 60 copies of the *Beknopte Zedelen* by JH Campe at cost price (Minutes of the Senate of the South African College, 27 January 1832).

In 1836 the teachers of the 'Tot Nut' and the South African College (then still in Long Street), as well as the residents of the Gardens, Roeland and St John's Streets sent a memorial to the Governor of the Cape, Sir Benjamin D'Urban (Memorial dd. March 1836). They requested a thoroughfare for their children from New Street through the

Government Gardens to Tuyn Street, and from there to Roeland and St John's Streets to so that their children could "... avoid the scorching sun and violent South East Winds in the summer; the cold, the rain and the winds in the winter season". They asked for a closed gateway to Tuyn Street (renamed New Street) to be reopened, allowing the pupils from both schools easy access through the relative safety of the Gardens. The signatories believed this shortcut would contribute much to the children's health and also protect them against the possibility of "... being rode or driven over by horses and carriages in the streets". The signatories therefore requested the erection of a gate "... with a good lock" at their own expense for the accommodation of their pupils. The key would be left in the charge of the sentry for opening at sunrise and closing at sunset each weekday ('Memorial', March 1836).

During the 1840s many of the children at the 'Tot Nut' stayed until they were 15 (as in the case of Johan Coenraad Gie) or 16 (as was the case with Servaas Hofmeyr). The usual leaving age for the 'Tot Nut' was 12 or 13, especially for boys proceeding to the South African College; the girls often stayed until they were 16. Either the parents were happy with the higher education offered at the 'Tot Nut', or they were unhappy about the College, or both. From its opening in 1829 until 1840, the College regularly lost pupils, as the following statistics indicate (the enrolments for the 'Tot Nut' are indicated in brackets):

1829	115 students on the roll	
1830	107 students	
1831	127	"
1832	153	" (248)

1833	116	“	
1834	97	“	(360)
1835	61	“	
1838	less than 40		(300)
1840	16 students and only one professor		

(Linnegar, 1979, p. 19)

(Annual Reports of the South African College Council, 1835 – 1939).

The reason for this drop in number is not entirely clear. The general state of the economy at the Cape during the 1830s was poor. The emancipation of slaves in 1834 brought about a great labour shortage and also considerable financial loss for many colonists (Theal, Vol. 2, 1915, pp. 73, 77). Agricultural activities were severely affected, the wine trade declined, and the Colony went into a depression (Theal, Vol. 2, 1915, pp. 78, 83). This was further exacerbated in 1836 when British money finally replaced the Dutch Rix Dollar, and the exchange between the Pound and the Rix Dollar was fixed at one shilling and sixpence to the Rix Dollar (Theal, Vol. 1, 1915, p. 404). For schools this meant retrenchments and shortages of teachers (Linnegar, 1979, p. 19). It is quite possible that the College fees were then beyond the reach of many of them. Over and above the normal annual College fees of £5 sterling per student, each professor commanded a payment of £2 per pupil per subject (Annual Reports of the South African College Council, 1835 – 1839). All these reasons would have affected the ‘Tot Nut’ in much the same manner, yet it did not suffer the same loss of pupils despite the state of the economy and, in fact, flourished.

A more plausible reason therefore is that the early years at the College were characterised by internal strife, a lack of teaching staff and the discipline problems

mentioned previously. First, there was the crisis that evolved around the issue of catechism classes by ministers outside the College and which resulted in pupils being removed from the academic classes run by the professors. This so enraged the professors and the shareholders that there was a spate of resignations in 1830 from the College Council, including the President, Sir Johannes Truter, and the Reverend Edward Judge from the teaching staff. The matter was resolved by keeping religious education for confirmation purposes separate from the College, but the College found itself without the presence and support of several valuable associates. Then, at the end of 1831, the Reverend Fauré resigned due to ill health and the demands of his clerical duties. Following this, the turnover of staff was alarmingly high and by 1840 there were only 16 students and one professor, Dr Changuion; Dr Adamson having gone overseas to recruit new teaching staff (Linnegar, 1979, p. 219).

The members of the Council of the College, although troubled by the steady decline, were not entirely sure what the problems were, or were unwilling to acknowledge them. In 1845 they said it was: "... difficult indeed to know what have been the real causes of this considerable decrease in the number of students in the College... Public support has been in the decline and public confidence not manifestly declared, but seriously and powerfully felt to be very much shaken in the College" (6th Annual Report of the Council of the South African College, pp. 8, 9).

An outbreak of smallpox in Cape Town aggravated the situation and the College closed for two weeks to consolidate its position (Linnegar, 1979, p. 17, 19). The College gradually pulled through these difficult times, mostly through a large injection of funds and the appointment of excellent men like Professors James Rose Innes

(1830), Dr Anthonie Changuion (1831), Dr Langham Dale (1848), Mr Roderick Noble (1855) and Advocate JH Brand (1860) (Linnegar, 1979, pp. 19, 20, 25, 29, 219).

The question is: did the 'Tot Nut' benefit from the College's plight? Did parents like the Gies, who had had sons at the College (George Gie, Servaas de Kock's friend, who matriculated in 1832) prefer to keep young Johan Coenraad at the 'Tot Nut' way past the entrance age of 12 for the College because the 'Tot Nut' provided a more stable learning environment? By contrast to the College's 97 students in 1834, the 'Tot Nut' had 360 pupils on the roll (Du Toit & Nell, 1970, p. 48). This is a large number indeed for a school of that time, especially when one considers that the total population of white school going children in the entire Cape Colony in 1839 is estimated to have been only 2000 (Pells, 1954, p. 12). This would probably have made the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' one of the largest schools in the country at that time.

However, this is also misleading, as it does not take into account the coloured or mission schools, many of whom were also quite large. In examining the statistics of pupil enrolments in the Educational Returns, the only other school I came across that rivalled the 'Tot Nut' for size was the St Stephen's Mission School run by the Rev GW Stegmann together with several assistants and a contingent of pupil teachers. The School catered for the children of emancipated slaves and was conducted in English. The enrolment figures at St Stephen's are presented below; those of the 'Tot Nut' for the same years are in brackets. It should be borne in mind that while the mission schools generally had a large roll of pupils, the actual daily attendance figures were very low (Ross, 1883, p. 7); the average daily attendance at the 'Tot Nut' was much

higher. Even so, the teachers at mission schools had to cope with large classes and they were fewer in number than the teachers at the 'Tot Nut':

1849:	600 boys; 500 girls =	1100	(165)
1853:	200 boys; 350 girls =	550	(220)
1854:	240 boys; 210 girls =	450	
	+ 200 infants		
	+ 230 Sunday School		
	+ 50 Adults =	480 (930)	(240)

(Educational Return, 1849, pp. 360, 361; Educational Return, 1853, pp. 358, 359; Educational Return, 1854, pp. 394, 395)

To return to the plight of the South African College, the 'Tot Nut' School certainly flourished during the College's struggle years. Along with the 360 pupils in 1834, there were 11 teachers on the roll (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p. 48), although by 1838 pupil numbers had dropped to 300 (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 17).

When the South African College had stabilised and grown in numbers as well as reputation, the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' was officially considered the main feeder school for the South African College. In the Educational Returns for 1843 and 1844 it is stated that: "This Institution stands in the relation of preparatory School to the South African College" (Educational Return, 1843, p. 249). Elphick & Giliomee (1989, p. 480) go so far as to say that education in Cape Town was dominated by the South African College and the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'.

Initially, the entrance qualifications to the College were not that high: a minimum age of 10 (later changed to 12) and a basic knowledge of the 3 R's: Reading, Writing and rudimentary Arithmetic (Linnegar, 1979, p. 14). The 'Tot Nut' gave a good grounding not only in elementary but also commercial subjects (Ritchie, 1918, p. 799) such as Bookkeeping and more advanced Mathematics, which were subjects that the South African College built on. The 'Tot Nut' students stood head and shoulders above their fellows in both English and Dutch when they proceeded to the College. 'Onze Jan' Hofmeyr credited his fluent and easy writing style in both languages to the teachers at 'Tot Nut' (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 18). Not surprising, then, that the School was regarded as an excellent medium for preparing pupils for entrance to the College. The Educational Return of 1858 writes that: "To the English Department there have recently been added preparatory classes in Latin and Elementary Mathematics to join at once the collegiate classes at the South African College" (Educational Return, 1858, p. Y3).

In 1858 Mr Henry Murray bequeathed the sum of £5 000 in trust "... for the gratuitous education of such number of youths – the sons of colonists of less affluent circumstances" at the South African College (File: 'Murray's Gift' 1859 – 1863; Section II: Financial Records of the South African College). In other words, the candidates were to be chosen from among the less affluent portion of the colonists, but had to be the sons of the old Dutch families. The Murray Scholarships were advertised in the *Government Gazette*, *De Zuid-Afrikaan*, *De Volksvriend*, *Het Volksblad*, *The Cape Argus*, *The Mercantile Advertiser*, *The South African Commercial Advertiser* and *Cape Town Mail*.

These scholarships (varying from 2 to 10 vacancies a year) were very popular. About 20 applications were received each year. They came from Cape Town, Clanwilliam, Groot Drakenstein, Mossel Bay, Mowbray, Oudtshoorn, Paarl, Piketberg, Salt River, Simonstown, Stellenbosch, Swellendam, Worcester and Wynberg. Most of the letters of application were written by parents, grandparents or guardians, but occasionally also by the boys themselves. With the exception of the admissions from the 'Tot Nut', most of the students at the College were ill prepared; some could barely even read (Linnegar, 1979, p. 17). This necessitated, from 1864, candidates for the Murray scholarships to include with their application a testimonial from their previous school as to their scholastic abilities.

From this date, there appear in the File marked 'Murray's Gift 1864 – 1871' in the Archives of the University of Cape Town, testimonials from schools the candidates had attended or were still currently enrolled at, attached to their applications. There are more applicants, testimonials and successful candidates from the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' than any other school; its nearest rival was Martell's Commercial Academy. For example, in the year 1868, 25 applications were received for 5 vacancies for the following year. Of the 25 applications, 8 were from pupils at the 'Tot Nut'. No other school had more than 1 applicant. Of the 5 successful candidates, 3 were from the 'Tot Nut' (List of Candidates for Murray's Gift 1868, File: Murray's Gift 1864 - 1871).

The testimonials of the candidates from the 'Tot Nut', preserved in the File: Murray's Gift 1864 – 1871 in the Archives of the University of Cape Town, were handwritten by the Principal, Mr Stephanus de Kock, and by various teachers, including Mr Willem de Kock, Mr Samuel Short, Mr Louis Corbitt, Mr Frederick H Brice and Mr RR Drossel.

There are also several testimonials written by the past Principal, Mr Servaas de Kock: an indication of the esteem in which the citizens of Cape Town held him. Generally, the testimonials indicate that the candidate could read and write English, was competent in rudimentary Arithmetic and had good conduct. Occasionally the fondness of the master for the pupil comes through; at other times the testimonial conveys merely the facts. They make moving and interesting reading. Occasionally the writer also mentions the books the candidate had been using, and this has helped me compile a list of textbooks used at the School (Addendum G).

4.18. Funding, finances and school fees

As a proprietary school, the 'Tot Nut' was dependent on attracting fee-paying pupils. The earliest record of school fees I could trace was in 1850, when the school fees collected from 97 pupils amounted to £372 10/ (Educational Return, 1850, p. 359). From the fees, the Board of Directors paid the fixed salaries²⁵ of the teachers and all the contingent expenses of the School (Educational Return, 1843, p. 249).

From 1845 until it closed in 1870, the School received a government grant of £75, a sum that was made on condition that it was used exclusively towards paying the teachers' salaries (Educational Return, 1845, p. 251). According to the Educational Return of 1848 (p. 345), schools generally used the money they collected from school fees and other voluntary contributions for rent, school furniture and salaries for assistant teachers. The Report goes on to say: "... with the exception of the School

²⁵ In other words, the salaries of the teachers remained constant and were not dependent on the number of pupils enrolled at the school.

‘Tot Nut van het Algemeen’”. This suggests that the School used its income from school fees and donations on teachers’ salaries as well. This is not inconceivable, as the ‘Tot Nut’ had more teachers than most schools (see pp. 151, 152), both because it catered for boys and girls (who were instructed separately) and because it offered a wider range of subjects than most schools.

In 1860, the school fees were set as follows:

Upper and Middle Classes		Elementary Class	Infant Department
Fee per pupil per month: 9/		Fee: 7/ 6d p/p p/m	2/ p/p p/m
English Language and Literature Dutch Language and Literature Arithmetic Mathematics Geography and the use of globes History Writing Bookkeeping Vocal Music			
Additional subjects	Fees		
Latin	5/		
French	3/		
German	3/		
Drawing	4/		
Pianoforté	7/		
Violin	10/		
Fancy Needlework	1/		

(Cape Almanac, 1860, p. 61)

From this it is possible to calculate some average cases of costs incurred by parents:

- 1 boy in the first (senior class), doing Latin, German and Drawing as extra subjects: $9/ + 5/ + 3/ + 4/ = 21/$ per month = ± 210/ per annum (£10 10/)
- 1 girl in the first class, doing French, German, Drawing, Pianoforté and Fancy Needlework as extra subjects: $9/ + 3/ + 3/ + 4/ + 7/ + 1/ = 27/$ per month = ± 270/ per annum (£13 10/)

- 1 child in the second (middle class), doing German, Drawing and Violin as extra subjects: 9/ + 3/ + 4/ + 10/ = 27/ per month = ± 270/ per annum (£13 10/)
- 1 child in the third (elementary class): 7/ 6d per month = 75/ per annum (£3 15/)
- 1 child in the Infant School: 2/ per month = ± 20/ per annum (£1)

Total for 5 children: £42 5/ per annum.

There is no doubt that the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' was an expensive school and not all parents found it easy to keep their children at the School. In a letter written by Mr HC van Breda to apply for a scholarship for his son to attend the South African College, he states that "I am sorry ... that ... through ...difficult circumstances I was compelled to take him out of said School ('Tot Nut van het Algemeen' – parenthesis mine) and that at present I am still deprived of the means of allowing him to return" (Letter by HC van Breda, dd. 10 October 1865). Even Adv JH Hofmeyr, when he became bankrupt in 1849, was forced to take his children out of the School (Neethling, 1907, p. 3).

In advertising the School, the Directors were at pains to stipulate what value the parents would be getting in terms of a good education for their children: "The terms are as moderate as the propriety of sustaining the respectability of the Institute will admit, while as an establishment for the training of youth for the varied branches of a Commercial or Professional life, it yields to none of a more modern foundation" (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 6 October 1837) and that there was no other school in the entire Colony, besides the South African College, where children could get such a thorough education for such a modest fee (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 28 September 1838).

4.19. Summary

This concludes the description of the 'Tot Nut's functioning as a school. In the following chapter I take a look at some of the educational policies and philosophies that impacted on the School.

CHAPTER 5: EDUCATION POLICIES AND PHILOSOPHIES THAT IMPACTED ON THE 'TOT NUT VAN HET ALGEMEEN' SCHOOL

Although schools in the 19th century such as the 'Tot Nut' did not necessarily have the same understanding of educational policies as we do today, they nevertheless were affected and controlled by them. The 'Tot Nut', as we have seen, had very clear aims, goals and objectives. I have argued that such a statement of intent is education policy. Then there were also government legislations that affected the School, and these will be looked at. Finally, I also discuss the issues of liberalism and democracy in so far as the 'Tot Nut' practised them as part of its policy.

5.1. Policies from within the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen'

5.1.1. Wetten van het Departement der Bataafsche Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen aan Cabo Goede Hoop: 1803

The aims and objectives of the 'Maatschappy' have already been clearly indicated, but will briefly be repeated for clarity: the non-denominational Christian education of the youth with the emphasis on virtue and morals, to produce useful citizens. The 'Wetten van het Departement der Bataafsche Maatschappy Tot Nut van het Algemeen aan Cabo Goede Hoop', 1803 (pp. 3, 14) spell these out clearly, but also indicate that no pupil was to be punished by corporal punishment: fairly progressive policy for the time.

5.1.2. Wetten der Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappij “Tot Nut van het Algemeen”: 1836

The ‘Wetten der Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappij “Tot Nut van het Algemeen”’ of 1836, pp. 3 – 4) discuss the rules of membership, as well as issues pertaining to education. The latter are referred to as the ‘School-reglement’. They reiterate the Society’s stance on non-denominational, moral, Christian education with an emphasis on scientific and useful subjects. The Society further aims to provide all the schoolbooks and necessary apparatus to accomplish this. The subjects to be taught are listed as: Dutch, English, Arithmetic, Geography, General and Biblical History.

All teachers appointed to the ‘Tot Nut’ had to prove their competence by passing an examination, and had to sign a contract for 3 years. The contract also stipulated the individual’s salary and the subject(s) that (s)he was responsible for. Before the contract became binding, the teacher was on probation for 1 month. Management reserved the right to terminate any contract if the teacher was incompetent or engaged in unseemly conduct. Teachers serving at the ‘Tot Nut van het Algemeen’ School could not become members of the Society. Any changes to these regulations would be discussed at the monthly meetings of the management.

Where the new ‘Tot Nut’ School differed from the early one, and where a departure in policy is evident, is that while the original School of 1804 was to provide education at an affordable rate, the new School quickly became expensive and exclusive. In his ‘Redevoering’ of 17 September 1836, Advocate JH Hofmeyr in his position as Acting Chairman, made no apologies for this, maintaining that the poor state of education provided by the colonial government necessitated in the citizens taking the education of

their children into their own hands (*Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift*, September/October 1836, pp. 325, 326). He compared the School with the 'Nutscholen' in the Netherlands, which were mostly 'poor schools', whereas the 'Tot Nut' in Cape Town was "... geene armen-school, of school voor volslagen behoeftigen ... maar veeleer eene school, op eenen economischen voet ingerigt en toegankelyk en geschikt voor den burgerstand ... en ... zelfs als eene voorbereidende school voor het Athenaeum" (*ibid*, p. 330).

5.2. Policies from outside

5.2.1. De Mist's School Ordinance: 1804

De Mist's School Ordinance of 1804 did not impact so much on the 'Tot Nut' than that it supported what the Society stood for, especially in favouring education as a function of the state rather than the church. While there was to be an overriding Christian flavour, the School placed greater emphasis on a moral upbringing and the teaching of virtues, rather than doctrinal and sectarian teachings (Du Toit, 1984, p. 16). The ultimate goal was always to produce young people who would be functional citizens.

5.2.2. Somerset's Anglicisation Policy: 1822

The Anglicisation policies of Governor Somerset in 1822 had a profound effect on the Colony, as has been seen. They led to an increase in the number of private Dutch schools and in particular to the revival of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' in 1832.

5.2.3. The Education Law: 1839

This law brought with it some changes from which the 'Tot Nut' benefited. The standardisation of education across so large a geographical area as the Cape Colony was difficult. Through the efforts of men such as Mr John Fairbairn, Sir John Herschel and Colonel John Bell (Colonial Secretary), James Rose Innes, previously teacher at Uitenhage and later Professor of Mathematics at the South African College was appointed the Cape's first Superintendent-General of Education in 1839 to co-ordinate education across the Colony. With the establishment of the Department of Public Education, education at the Cape finally became a function of the state (Centenary of the Education Department, 1939).

On his appointment, Rose Innes stated that the teaching of English was a minor consideration to the making of good citizens and good men. He was an ardent supporter of mother tongue instruction, which endeared him to the Dutch-speaking population (Pells, 1938, p. 23). For the 'Tot Nut', which had similar objectives, this was a good time, especially when Rose Innes granted state aid to schools. As already mentioned, the 'Tot Nut' received a government grant of £75 per annum from 1845 until it closed in 1870. The money was granted on condition that it would be used in its entirety to augment the salaries of the teachers (Educational Return, 1845, p. 251).

The 'Tot Nut' thus became a state-aided school. During Rose Innes's term of office (1839 – 1859), schools in the Cape Colony were divided into the following categories:

- First class public schools, offering elementary and secondary education; existing only in the larger centres, such as the Wynberg Public School (originally an English Free School);
- Second class public schools providing elementary education only; also in the larger centres;
- State-aided third class public schools, found mostly in the rural areas;
- State-aided, non-sectarian schools such as the South African College and the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen';
- State-aided mission schools – intended for coloured children, but also attended by white children;
- State-aided infant schools;
- State-aided industrial schools;
- State-aided 'Kosterskole';
- Private church schools;
- Ordinary private schools;
- Sunday schools;
- Evening schools.

(Borman, 1989, pp. 32, 39, 40, 41, 42).

Various factors were considered in determining the amount of aid, such as the location of the school, the competence of the teacher(s) and the range of the tuition offered (Borman, 1989, p. 41). In his 1854 Report on Public Education, Rose Innes makes special mention of the 'Tot Nut' School, namely that although it was listed under Mission Schools, it was regarded as being "... of a higher class". He also referred to its exceptionally high attendance rate (Report on Public Education, 1854). In 1856 the

average attendance at government schools was 62%; the 'Tot Nut' had 95% - the highest in the Cape Colony (Eybers, 1926, p. 46).

Several of the specific policies contained within the Law can be seen as having been implemented at the 'Tot Nut': the thorough teaching of the English language to Dutch learners through translation (a method favoured by Stephanus de Kock) and attention to the classical languages (Latin was introduced at the 'Tot Nut' in 1853). Others, such as limiting religious instruction to daily Bible readings, had been standard practice at the School for years.

One of the conditions of the grant was the right of the Superintendent-General to inspect the School (Memorandum of Conditions, 1841). Another was that schools receiving aid should be accessible to all (*op cit*). In the Educational Returns from 1853 to 1858, a recommendation is made that the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' should be made "... open to all classes of the community", suggesting that it was not. Whether this refers to the fact that it served mainly children from the Dutch community, or only white children, or only children from the wealthier classes, or all three, is not sure. Certainly, a change can be seen in the 1860s, where far more English names can be found on the register of the School (see Addendum C). In 1868, there is mention of a pupil, G Louis van Heerden, who was the son of disadvantaged parents. He was praised at the annual prize giving for his diligence and knowledge, and also awarded the prizes for English, Dutch and Mathematics. The editor of *De Volksvriend* (26 September 1868) commented that he hoped some kind benefactor would secure the boy's further education. The issue of race will be looked at briefly on pages 131 and 132.

5.2.4. The Education Act, No 13: 1865

The system of state subsidies for private schools was formalised in 1865, under Dr Langham Dale (Superintendent-General of Education: 1859 - 1892) when the Education Act (No. 13 of 1865) was passed. This Act recognised the principle of state aid, which had gradually developed over the last twenty-four years. In terms of this Act, the state aided schools were divided into three classes:

- **A** schools (A1, A2, A3) - non-sectarian public schools;
- **B** schools (B1, B2, B3) - mission schools for mostly coloured children;
- **C** schools (C1, C2, C3) - schools for black children (Borman, 1989, p. 96).

The 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' fell under none of these three classifications, and was considered a special case (Educational Return, 1864, Y2). From 1859 it was one of three schools (the other two being Robben Island and the Model Infant School) that received a special gratuity (Borman, 1989, p. 96; Cape Almanac, 1870). The amount it received was still £75, as it had been almost 15 years earlier.

Dr Langham Dale inspected the 'Tot Nut' on several occasions, usually during its annual examination. In his Report of 1867, Dale describes the School as embracing "... three departments – infant school, girls' school, and boys' school. There are two suites of classrooms, commodious and well ventilated" (Report of the Superintendent-General, 1867). He goes on to describe some of the exercises that the pupils were tested in during the public examination that he had observed over 3 days, as well as some of the textbooks used. He concludes his report with the words: "The instruction is

given through the medium of both the Dutch and the English languages; and there are classes in elementary classics (Latin – parenthesis mine) and mathematics. The work of the public examination appeared to me to be done creditably” (Report of the Superintendent-General, 1867).

Other conditions were that the school should provide adequate facilities for the pupils in terms of buildings, furniture, toilets and a playground (School Regulations, 1865, Y50). The ‘Tot Nut’ apparently fell short on the latter two (Report on Public Education, 1859, p. 32). Lastly, the medium of instruction should, as far as possible, be English (School Regulations, 1865, Y50), which is why the ‘Tot Nut’ made English the medium of instruction in the higher classes in the 1860s.

5.3. The School’s relationship with the Superintendents-General of Education

The first two Superintendents-General of Education, James Rose Innes and Langham Dale, were both familiar with the ‘Tot Nut van het Algemeen’ School. In 1832, Rose Innes, then Professor at the South African College, was present at the laying of the cornerstone of the new ‘Tot Nut’ School building (see p. 65). As Innes believed in mother-tongue education, he would have been sympathetic to the School’s stance on Dutch education. During his time of office, the ‘Tot Nut’ was granted state aid, and Innes was no doubt familiar with the School’s good work through inspection visits when he called it a “... higher class” institution (Report on Public Education 1854).

Langham Dale also knew the 'Tot Nut' School well. Not only did he inspect the School several times, but in the years 1862, 1863, 1864, 1866, 1867 and 1869 he was present at the annual examination and prize giving. On all occasions he also presented the prizes and his addresses were published in *De Zuid-Afrikaan* and *De Volksvriend*. They make interesting reading. The School appears to have had a good relationship with Langham Dale. He would have known the teachers and the management, and he was not unaware of the School's reputation, nor of the difficulties that beset the management in the last few years of the School's existence.

5.4. Liberalism

One of the philosophies that impacted on the 'Tot Nut' and that to a large extent shaped its policy was the new liberalism that came about in Europe in the 1840s.

In 1840, William II, more liberal than his father, came to the Dutch throne and immediately had the constitution reformed. The church too, was undergoing changes. Liberal theology was characterised by man trying to understand God, instead of just accepting him. This was to be achieved partly through studying nature. As the value of mankind increased, so less importance was attached to sin and redemption (Brown, 1981, p. 39; Mijnhardt and Wichers, 1984, p. 231, 232). This 'natural' form of religion was to come into conflict with Cape orthodoxy.

Many of the 'Tot Nut' School's pupils went on to study theology overseas. For many years, all the Cape ministers had been trained at universities in Utrecht or Edinburgh,

which were conservative. The University of Leiden was more liberal. Theologically, it had a bad name at the Cape because it was a heterodox university and the Cape was orthodox (Fauré, 1907, p. 21). Some of the younger theology students were exposed to a more liberal brand of theology than that practised at the Cape. On their return they were viewed with suspicion, and a watchful eye kept over them by the Dutch Reformed Church, which was opposed to liberalism.

The School produced both ardent, conservative reformed ministers such as Professor NJ Hofmeyr, Ds JH Neethling and Ds Servaas Hofmeyr; and more free-thinking churchmen such as the Rev JJ Kotzé, the liberal Dutch Reformed minister at Darling, and the Reverends DP Fauré and PV Vintcent, the founders of the Free Protestant Church in South Africa (Du Toit, 1984, p. 17). When the young Ds JJ Kotzé professed in 1863 at the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church that he did not believe that man was inclined towards evil at all times, especially while in the act of engaging in good works, this caused severe ructions in the church. Liberalism thus came into conflict with orthodoxy. It became a bitter struggle that was fought not only at the Synod, but also in the press and the courts of law (Kotzé, 1938, pp. 37 – 44).

One should not forget that the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen' was a liberal organisation, born out of the French Revolution. It subscribed to a form of liberalism in its philosophy, where Science played an important role and Bible teaching took a more neutral form than some denominations might have liked. Virtue and morals were more important than the confessional Christian faith. Du Toit (1984, p. 16) calls this a 'watered down Christianity'. In 1854, Ds NJ Hofmeyr, a past pupil, blamed the Maatschappy 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' as " ... 'n bondgenoot van die ongelooft"

(Hanekom, 1951, p. 204). The Society was also called 'Maatschappy tot Nut van't Algemeen Bederf' by De Zeeuw (in Du Toit, 1984, p. 16). The Rev Abraham Fauré, perhaps more enlightened than some of his compatriots, felt that the non-sectarian example set by the 'Tot Nut' School was good, and should be emulated by all schools (*De Volksvriend*, 20 September 1862).

The 'Tot Nut' School's leaders were practitioners of 'natural' religion in a free and tolerant spirit (Hanekom, 1951, p. 204). It is probably correct to say that the 'Tot Nut' had strong liberalistic tendencies, borne out of the philosophies described above, and which attracted a like-minded clientele (Brown, 1981, pp. 34, 35, 38). The School offered a liberally minded, progressive education, as did the South African College. Parents, writing on behalf of their sons for a scholarship to the College, frequently expressed their desire for a 'liberal education' for their children (File: Murray's Gift, 1864 – 1871).

5.5. Citizenship and democracy

Good citizenship was already a goal of early Greek education (Cole, in Du Toit, 1944, p. 45). Rousseau, in his *Emile*, believed that it was the duty of the state to educate every citizen from the earliest years. The 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School was founded on the democratic principles of Rousseau and the French Revolution as has been demonstrated. However, it is interesting to follow the School's mantra that its main function was to prepare its students for life beyond school and to fit them for work and society, being at all times useful citizens: "... en om bevorderlyk te zyn aan het

formeeren van nuttige leden onzer zamenleving” (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 16 September 1845). Furthermore, the School was recognised as offering a progressive range of subjects that were deemed necessary to build good citizens:

“De vakken bevatten alles wat tot eene goede burgerlyke opvoeding alhier behoort” (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 16 September 1845) and “Gene vakken van onderwys, dienstig in de onderscheidene betrekkingen der zamenleving, en tot eene goede en beschaafde burgerlyke opvoeding behoorende, schynen er uit het oog verloren te zyn” (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 16 September 1847).

The Dutch-speaking population at the Cape was fiercely patriotic. Despite speaking a European language, they regarded themselves as Africans – Afrikaners. They identified strongly with the Cape Colony and so did the School. There are frequent references to “... onzer Kaapsche jeugd” (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 16 September 1845) and “... ons geliefd Vaderland” (*Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift*, September/October 1836, p. 329) in the newspapers and other documents I have come across. John Golding, in his report ‘An Epitome of the State of Education’ criticised the colonial government for making little progress in education compared with Europe (Golding, 1841, p. 1). He held up the ‘Tot Nut van het Algemeen’ as an “... independent school of excellent means” and an example of democratic principles (*ibid*, p. 4). Golding had first-hand knowledge of the School; he taught there from 1838 – 1843.

One further point on the matter of democracy at the 'Tot Nut' School should be mentioned, namely the question of whether the School admitted pupils of other races. As already indicated, the Educational Returns from 1853 to 1858 recommended that the School should be made "... open to all classes of the community". The fact that the Department of Public Education made this statement suggests that the 'Tot Nut' was *not* open to all, and was perhaps considered something of an elitist school.

As has been shown, the fees were high and only the wealthier citizens could have afforded to send their children there. This made class distinction and segregation inevitable (Pells, 1954, p. 36). According to Ross (1883, p. 12), a labouring man could not afford to pay £12, £10 or even £5 tuition fees per annum for each member of the family. As the 'Tot Nut's' fees fell into the £10 - £12 bracket (see pp. 117, 118), the School would have been beyond the reach of all but the upper classes. Not only the 'Tot Nut', however: Ross states that First Class Schools and even most Second Class Schools during the 19th century were more or less the property of the aristocracy or ruling classes (*op cit*).

I have tried to determine whether any of the pupils at the 'Tot Nut' were coloured, but the list of pupils that I have managed to compile does not reveal any names of African, Khoi or free slave origins. By comparison, St George's Grammar School was also a private school and almost half its pupils were "... children of apprenticed Negroes, Hottentots and other persons of colour" (Educational Return, 1853, pp. 358, 359). It is doubtful whether the 'Tot Nut' would have refused any pupil on the grounds of race, but it would appear that the high school fees kept pupils of colour away.

5.6. Summary

From the presentations above, it is clear that the 'Tot Nut' did not stand in isolation, driven only by its own internal policies and influenced by the philosophies of liberalism and democracy. The School was affected also by educational policies promulgated at the Cape, and it appears to have taken most recommendations made to it, seriously. However, the day came when management took the fateful decision to close the School. In the next chapter, I seek to find the reasons for this decision.

CHAPTER 6: THE CLOSING OF THE SCHOOL: 1870

The closing of the School is a difficult matter to comprehend, and the reasons are complex and various. It is particularly vexing in the light of the School's many achievements. In this chapter I describe the events that led to the decision to close the School, and take issue with the reasons therefore. I conclude that financial difficulties, coupled with an aging management team and the sudden and catastrophic death of the Principal were the main reasons why it was decided to close the School.

As Cape Town became increasingly English, even Dutch-speaking parents saw the value of educating their children in English. With the exception of church schools, city children were no longer educated in Dutch (Hopkins, 1965, p. 237). This led to a decline in interest in the 'Tot Nut' School. In addition, the lack of finances began to cripple the School. The debt on the building was a great financial burden. Attempts such as the holding of bazaars, the rationalisation of staff and the raising of the school fees were unsuccessful, and the revenue as well as the numbers continued to decrease (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 17; *Die Burger*, 4 September 1937).

The Principal, Stephanus de Kock, fought a long and courageous battle, almost single-handedly, against the ever-growing difficulties. Towards the end, he even gave up his salary in an attempt to right the school. What agonies this man must have suffered. At last the fight proved too much for him, and one morning, between classes, he was found at his desk, exhausted. Despite remonstrances and demands to be allowed to die in harness, he was taken home and within a few days passed away on 4 May 1870, only 56 years old (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 21). The obituary to him in the *De Volksvriend*, 7 May 1870 mentioned the concerns

that troubled him regarding the financial difficulties of the School, and that a resultant nervous breakdown led to his death. Today we would probably call it teacher burnout. Mr RR Drossel took over as Principal for the last few months; testimonials given to pupils who wished to enter the South African College in the months of July and August, bear his signature above the title 'Principal' (File: Murray's Gift, 1865 – 1871).

In August 1870 it was decided to draw the final curtain on the 'Tot Nut' School. The Society 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' had its final annual general meeting on Wednesday morning, 12 August 1870. The results were quickly made known. I quote from a letter dd. 13 August 1870, written by Mr J Schonegevel to the South African College Council to admit his son, who was then "... at the Institution 'Tot Nut van't Algemeen', which is to be broken down at the end of this month". In *De Zuid-Afrikaan* of 15 August 1870, the following and final editorial on the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' appeared:

"It is with no ordinary degree of regret that we have to announce to our readers that at a meeting held on Wednesday last it was resolved to close this Institution. When all the advantages which have resulted to the very many who now occupy prominent and distinguished positions in this Colony, and received their preparatory training in that school, and the utility its existence might still exercise are considered, we deeply deplore that no means could be devised to prevent a dissolution of so noble an Institution. The want of means and other proper assistance needed, are alleged as reasons for the step taken. We had thought that sufficient spirit would have been displayed among the public, and especially those who have been benefited by the Institution – possessing property – as

also by persons who appreciate the advantages of a thorough Dutch education, to avoid so premature an end. As it is, the question is decided, and it is needless to say more beyond what we have expressed. Doubtless it will be very painful to those who have been connected with the Institution to see it discontinued; but at the same time it will be a source of much gratification for them – especially for Mr Servaas de Kock – the much respected Secretary to the “Protecteur”, to know that the school can point to very eminent gentlemen in this colony, who received instruction in the ‘Tot Nut van het Algemeen’, where the foundation was efficiently laid for their future successful career.”

It is somehow comforting that at least one voice lamented the decision taken by the management. I can't help wonder why the parents did not speak out against this decision. Were they even involved in the decision-making process? This perplexing question will be discussed later in this chapter.

From the above article it would appear that financial difficulties were the main reason for the decision to close the School. But the editor, who was none other than JJH Smuts, a past pupil of the School, also alludes to parent and community apathy, and from this perspective, the writing was on the wall already some years earlier. However, the reasons for the ‘Tot Nut’s’ closure are not as simplistic as that, and will be explored more fully in the next few pages.

Ds Servaas Hofmeyr, minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, past pupil and past teacher at the School, was present at the closing ceremony, which was also the final

prize giving. He made a speech in which he gave recognition to his own parents and teachers for the education he received at the 'Tot Nut'. His final words to the management were: "De Almachtige strekke Zijne zorg over u uit; Zijn woord zij uw licht en uw lamp; de zon der gerechtigheid bestrale u; en de Heer bekronde steeds uwe poginge voor onzen welvaart met Zijnen zegen". To the teachers he spoke: "Hij die gezed heeft: 'Ik zal raad geven, Mijn oog zal op u zijn', vervulle aan u deze belofte overvloediglijk, opdat ook wij er in deelen, tot vreugde van u, en tot eere van Hem" (Korte Levensskets en Nagelaten Geskriften van Servaas Hofmeyr, 1891, p. 5).

The building was auctioned by the Board of Executors on 29 September 1870 and was bought by the South African Fine Arts Association. The auctioneers initially planned to sell the property in three separate portions (*De Volksvriend*, 28 September 1870), but it appears as if the Association bought it as a whole. In 1880, it established the School of Art and Drawing there with aid from the government. The School offered comprehensive instruction in art, including painting, drawing, geometry, design, modelling and building construction (Borman, 1989, pp. 152 - 154).

In 1894 the building was taken over by the State, specifically the Education Department (Borman, 1989, p. 154). Parts of the old walls were later incorporated into the more elaborate building of the Cape Town Training Institute²⁶ that was built on the same site in Queen Victoria Street in 1898 and opened in 1900 (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 17; Goodwin, orally). Today the building is used as the Annex to the Cape High Court (Fig. 9).

²⁶ The original name of what later became the Training College, and later still, the Cape Town Teachers' College (Goodwin, orally).

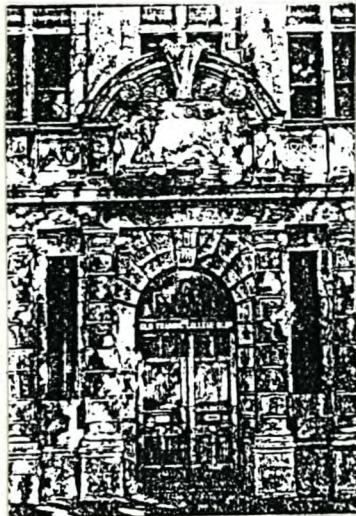


Fig. 9: The old Training Institute in Victoria Street, on the site where the 'Tot Nut' School stood.

What became of the pupils and teachers of the 'Tot Nut' when it closed? Many of the boys would have transferred to the South African College, the Diocesan College, St George's Grammar School and the Normal School. For the girls, there were various private 'Academies' or 'Seminaries' for 'Young Ladies' that ran in Cape Town. In April 1871, St Cyprian's School for Girls opened in a house that had once belonged to Sebastian Leibbrandt at 61 Burg Street, on the site that is now owned by the Cape Argus Newspaper (Thomson, 1971, p. 13). One of the first pupils that year was Mary Currey (Thomson, 1971, p. 14), whose brothers had been pupils at the 'Tot Nut' School. She herself may have been a past pupil of the 'Tot Nut'. Almost immediately, St Cyprian's was under pressure to provide accommodation for out-of-town scholars, and the very next year it converted part of its building into a dormitory. At the end of 1872, the school had 60 pupils, 26 of whom were boarders (Thomson, 1971, p. 15). Five Leibbrandt girls attended the school in the early days; they too may have been past pupils of the 'Tot Nut', given their family's connection with the School. The girls of

Dutch parents were more likely to have gone to the Good Hope Seminary when it opened in 1873. Other possibilities were the convents in Cape Town and Wynberg (St Mary's and Springfield respectively) that were also established in this period (Ross, 1883, p. 12).

The teachers who remained in the profession mostly moved on to other schools, although some of them continued to give private tuition in the building (*Het Volksblad*, 29 September 1870). Willem de Kock left the 'Tot Nut' at the end of the school year in September 1869 and spent the rest of his life in Stellenbosch (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 21). Mr WS Berry, although he left some time before the school closed, conducted the first boys' school in Sea Point in 1858 or 1859, in an old farm-house on the Bellwood Estate (Quinn, 1963, p. 7). Louis Corbitt opened a successful grammar school in Three Anchor Bay on the site of the present Ellerton Primary School, Ellerton being the Corbitt family home.

The 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen' disbanded with the closing of the School in 1870. However, according to new information that has come to my attention as recently as October 2003, a new version of the Organisation is alive and well in Mitchell's Plain. Apparently it was re-established in 1917, when it was known as the Welfare Committee of the St Stephen's Dutch Reformed Church. This is the same church that was founded in 1838 by the Rev GW Stegmann, friend and supporter of the 'Tot Nut' School. In 1961 the Organisation was renamed 'The Tot Nut van't Algemeen'. Today it raises funds for charitable organisations such as St Luke's Hospice, the Kensington Home for the Aged, the Elim 'Te Huis' for Handicapped children, the Peninsula Schools Feeding Scheme, the Society for the Blind, the

Leprosy Organisation, the Heat Foundation and various night shelters. It is made up of committed members from various denominations and its current chairperson is Mrs Veronica Gertze (160 Years of Blessings, 2003, pp. 88 – 89). *Dulce et decorum est*.

Reasons for the closure of the School

It seems such a contradiction in terms that the 'Tot Nut', on the one hand lauded for so many years as an educational institution of excellence, was forced to close its doors prematurely, while the South African College, that also had years of difficulty and struggle, should go on to become the three great institutions that are today the University of Cape Town and the two South African College Schools, better known as SACS Junior and SACS High School.

The established sources generally refer to 4 main reasons for the School's closure:

- The more conservative Afrikaans point of view is that the School lost its uniqueness by becoming dual medium
- Falling pupil enrolments
- The burden of debt and financial difficulties
- Competition from other institutions

To those I should like to add a few of my own:

- The persona of the Principal
- Management and governance
- Apathy on the part of the Dutch-speaking community

6.1. Competition from other institutions

Around 1860, when Cape Town was becoming increasingly English, the 'Tot Nut' was no longer unique and began to feel the effects of the competition of other fine educational institutions (Du Toit and Nell, 1970). Interest in the 'Tot Nut' began waning. This was mostly due to the fact that the state had brought about several government schools, so that the need for private schools declined (Olivier, 1975, p. 116).

Many parents believed that the classical languages (Latin, Greek and Hebrew), Mathematics and Natural Sciences were necessary for a good higher education (Kestell, 1911, p. 10). Schools that followed this trend were the South African College and the school that Dr ANE Changuion started in Strand Street²⁷ in 1842 (Kestell, 1911, p. 10). Changuion's school ran successfully for several years due to the support of Afrikaners who upheld him in his struggle against Anglicisation (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol II, 1971, p. 130). It provided instruction through the medium of Dutch and for a while the school rivalled the South African College. None the less, this little school soon became bilingual and eventually it too closed, but for financial reasons (*op cit*, p. 130).

Furthermore, it was common for children who lived outside Cape Town to board privately while attending school. Children such as the Cloete boys from Groot Constantia, Jacob and Henry, who attended the 'Tot Nut' School somewhere between 1860 and 1870 (File: Murray's Gift, 1864 – 1871) must certainly have boarded privately in Cape Town during the week, because a 30 km return journey from Constantia was

²⁷ Known as 'Het Witte School' or 'Die Wit Skool' because of the colour of the building (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol II, p. 130).

too far to attempt on a daily basis by horse and cart. In 1842 Changuion's Academy in Strand Street had a boarding establishment attached to it so that country Afrikaners could send their children to the School. The South African College and the Diocesan College in Rondebosch also followed this trend. There is evidence that the 'Tot Nut' School attempted to provide lodging for its pupils. The Principal, Stephanus de Kock, apparently had a boarding house for the boys on his property at the top of Kloof Street (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 23), but this was some way from the School and not on its premises. Gradually more and more schools made provision for the accommodation of their pupils, and the parents of out of town pupils supported them eagerly. This must have impacted on the 'Tot Nut'.

6.2. The dual-medium nature of the School

Du Toit (1984, p. 32) and Hofmeyr (2002, p. 43) argue that the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School lost its uniqueness because it became a dual medium school. Du Toit is highly critical of the way the 'Tot Nut' was anglicised, but in this the School had, in my opinion, very little choice. The Cape was under the political control of Britain, and to survive, and also to be true to its policy of preparing young people for life, meant that the School had to become dual medium. English assumed more and more importance and by 1847 English stood at the forefront of the 'Tot Nut' (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 16 September 1847). Those were the demands of the times and the School responded accordingly. Even Langham Dale, the Superintendent-General, felt the move to bilingualism was a positive step, and praised the School for it (*De Volksvriend*, 20 September 1862). He was also pleased to see so many English-speaking children

enrolled at the School and commented on the misguided belief among the modern Afrikaners to believe that as long as their children spoke Dutch at home, they did not necessarily have to be educated in Dutch (*De Volksvriend*, 19 September 1863).

Du Toit (1984, p. 18) cites the incident where Jan Hendrik 'Onze Jan' Hofmeyr received a book at the annual prize giving for Dutch with an English inscription, remarking that this would not have happened in earlier years. However, it is doubtful whether this worried the young Hofmeyr, who called himself John Henry when he went to the South African College. The tendency to polarise the opinions of people is one that researchers should avoid. The early Capetonians were more adaptable than the rural Dutch-speaking community. They had lived through 3 political takeovers and changes of government between 1795 and 1806, and they grew up in a multicultural and multilingual society. In 1838, one German visitor commented: "... there are probably few cities in the world which, within so narrow a space, could show a great variety of nations than Cape Town does" (Kraus, 1838 – 1840, in Worden *et al*, 1998, p. 89). Widely differing identities divided the Town's population by class, wealth, religion, gender and ethnicity (Worden *et al*, 1998, p. 89). To use the language issue alone is too simplistic an analysis.

6.3. Falling pupil numbers

Hofmeyr (1913, p. 17) quotes this as one of the main reasons for the closure of the School. However, the statistics in the Educational Returns show that for the last year before the School's closure, the opposite was in fact true. Certainly, the numbers had

fallen from 230 in 1856 to 130 in 1868, but in 1869, the enrolment was 182: an increase of 40%. I am not convinced that the falling number of pupils can be considered as a factor alone. It is my contention that the *fear that the numbers might fall* was greater than the numbers falling themselves, and this will be discussed below.

6.4. The persona of the Principal

Like his brother before him, Stephanus de Kock served as Principal of the 'Tot Nut' for a long time: 20 years, in fact. By this time, the School and the name De Kock were almost inextricably linked. Whether this is good for a school or not is debatable. On the one hand, of course, Stephanus gave a good account of himself and the management had no cause to be dissatisfied with him. Besides being a creative and thorough teacher, he was a good principal who had the respect not only of his employers and the parent body, but also of the community (*De Volksvriend*, 7 May 1870).

But in modern terms, 20 years as principal of one institution is probably too long. Identifying a school with the persona of the principal is a common occurrence, even today. It is one that school governing bodies should probably guard against, because it suggests a lack of vision. This lack of vision makes itself felt firstly in the closing stages of the 'Tot Nut'. The falling pupil numbers, in the first instance. No doubt remembering the exodus of pupils from 165 to 97 (*Educational Return*, 1850, p. 358) in 1850 when Servaas de Kock resigned, management probably feared that Stephanus' death would result in a similar loss of pupils – with resultant loss of revenue from school fees. Secondly, why was Mr Drossel, who became the Acting Principal in the last months,

not offered the principalship and given the chance to take the School into a new era? It would seem that those in charge of the School could not imagine it without Stephanus de Kock. The School's greatest strength thus became its greatest weakness, and it is my belief that his death was a major deciding factor in closing the School.

6.5. Management

An article in *De Volksblad* dd 30 September 1869 spells out what is clearly another cause for the School's downfall: a meeting scheduled for the shareholders of the School on Wednesday 29 September had to be cancelled because a quorum could not be summoned. Only 9 of some 50 members attended. Those that did come expressed the need to canvass for more membership in order to support the School, especially among past pupils and teachers. Clearly, the once popular 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen' was failing to attract newer, younger members. In 1861, management decided to reduce the school fees for children whose parents were members of the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen', hoping to attract membership to the Society. Despite this, there were no new subscribers (*De Volksvriend*, 20 September 1862).

Already for several years before, it had been impossible to summon a quorum at the annual meeting of the shareholders. As a result, no meeting of the shareholders had been held since 1860, which in turn meant that no new Board of Directors could be elected (*ibid*). Ds Fauré spoke out against the lack of interest on behalf of the public at the annual prize giving, and indicated that the present members of the management were reluctant to continue in their positions unless they were re-elected (*ibid*). Not

surprising, when one considers how long some of these men had held their positions by 1869: Mr JG Stegmann: 36 years; Mr WJA de Smidt: 24 years; the Reverends A Fauré and SP Heyns: 18 years; Dr J Abercrombie: 13 years; and Mr JP Fauré: 12 years (South African Almanac, 1832, p. 244; Cape of Good Hope Almanac, 1845, p. 181; Cape of Good Hope Almanac, 1852, p. 157; Cape Town Directory, 1868, p. 290; Cape Town Directory, 1869, p. 290). By then, these members were probably tired, old and barely enthusiastic. While elected, it was only the shareholders of the 'Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen' that could vote; not the teachers or the parents. The management was thus not represented constitutionally.

Today our concepts of management are more sophisticated and there are systems in place that prevent such stagnation. The South African Schools Act of 1996 (Act No. 84 of 1997) firstly disqualifies anyone who is not a parent, teacher or learner at the school from serving on the governing body, and secondly prohibits members from serving longer than 3 years without being re-elected. Furthermore, they can be removed from the governing body if they miss more than three meetings in a row. And more importantly, there are support systems in place to help schools in trouble (First Steps, 1997, pp. 12, 13, 17).

However, it would appear that in 1870, there were some new members on the board of Directors at the 'Tot Nut'. From a newspaper report, Mr PU Leibbrandt was the Chairman at the final meeting. The only other members present (14 in all) were: Dr SP Heyns (19 years Vice Chairman); Mr JP Fauré (13 years Secretary); Mr WJA de Smidt (25 years Director); Mr George Gie (15 years Director); Mr AH Hofmeyr (20 years Director); Mr JH Redelinghuys (19 years Director). New members were the Rev A

Murray jr, minister at the Groote Kerk since 1864 (Dictionary of South African Biography, 1968, p. 577); Mr J Brink Sz; Mr JA Smuts jr; Mr SV Hofmeyr; Mr JD Marquard; Mr P Marais and Mr HH Marais (*De Volksvriend*, 13 August 1870). But it is not clear from the article, which of the above were Directors and which were ordinary members. Where this information was known to me, I have indicated it in brackets. The Rev Abraham Fauré was not present, possibly being indisposed due to illness (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol II, 1972, p. 231), but officially he was still the Chairman (*op cit*).

In hindsight, one might question these 14 men's representivity of the parent body of the School. Most of them were elderly, so few if any would have had children at the School. In South Africa today, a governing body would not be allowed to take such a drastic step unilaterally. Of course, Parent Teachers Associations were unheard of in those days, but one might reasonably ask whether the parents were ever consulted as to closing the School? Unfortunately no records or minutes of this or any other remain or have been found, but I doubt it. Today, the South African Schools Act stipulates that governing bodies and school management teams must run the school in the best interests of *all the stakeholders* (italics mine) (First Steps, 1997, p. 7). This prevents the scenario I have sketched with the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'.

The above quorum obviously felt helpless in the light of the ever-increasing problems facing the School and probably acted in what they felt was the only option open to them. The proposal to close the School on 31 August 1870 was made, seconded and implemented unilaterally in a morning's meeting (*De Volksvriend*, 13 August 1870). And so, 14 men decided the fate of 180 pupils, a building they had been so proud of

less than 40 years ago and closed the book on a lively chapter in the history of education at the Cape.

6.6. Apathy on the part of the Dutch-speaking community

The above problems in summoning a quorum indicate some degree of apathy on the part of the members and the School community. Despite their patriotism and their loyalty to the 'Tot Nut' School over some 70 years, the parents of those days, as in modern times, occasionally became apathetic about the education of their children.

At the opening of the School building in New Street in 1833, the President of the Board of Directors, JH Neethling, cautioned the parents present "Dat dan geene onverschilligheid van uwe zijde onzen ijwer doe verflaauwert!" (*Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift*, September/October 1833, pp. 335 – 345). And from the platform of the annual prize giving in 1845, the Reverend Dr Adamson of the Scottish (Presbyterian) Church reminded parents of "... de verpligting van elke lid der zamenleving om mede aan de opvoeding en beschaving hunner medemenschen werkzaam of bevorderlyk te zyn" (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 16 September 1845).

At the prize giving in 1862, Ds Fauré, President of the Board of Directors, remarked on the few parents and visitors who had attended the exam and said that "... the interest in this excellent institution by citizens of Cape Town left much to be desired" and that it was becoming difficult, as a result, to choose new management. He continued, saying that he hoped this would change, or management might be compelled to disband the

School (*De Volksvriend*, 20 September 1862). These proved to be prophetic words. Langham Dale, who was present at the same event, responded that he had noticed that the Institution was not flourishing as it ought, and he blamed the parents, who were of the opinion that if their child did not receive a prize, the teachers and the school were no good. Dale further reassured everyone that he had experienced much the same apathy when he was still teaching at the South African College (*ibid*). Langham Dale's words suggest that maybe he did not fully understand the seriousness of the School's plight and chose to downplay it.

Some years later, at the inauguration of the new building for the Green and Sea Point Public Schools in 1895, Mr Thomas Muir, Superintendent-General of Education, addressed the parents and school body and stated that "... unless there was public spirit and public opinion", the officials could do very little. He went on to say that the public should be interested and that members of the public should be willing to give their time and energies to the promotion of education (Quinn, 1963, pp. 26 – 27). All of this would imply that parental and public apathy is not a distinctly modern phenomenon. But it must be said, in their defence, that by 1870 many parents were no longer interested in a Dutch education for their children. It was a transitional time, when the Afrikaans language movement began to take hold, and this was also now the spoken language alongside English.

Finally, *De Volksvriend*, 14 December 1870, had this to say about the 'Tot Nut': "It was no fault of the teachers ... but the public got tired of it; it gradually dwindled away, and had ultimately to be given up" (in Olivier, 1975, p. 116).

6.7. Financial difficulties and the burden of debt

I have already indicated that the 'Tot Nut' was an expensive school to run. The school fees were high when compared with other schools of the time. Between 1860 and 1865 the school fees at the 'Tot Nut' were between 2s (for the Infant class) and 9s (for the senior class) per pupil monthly (Cape Almanac, 1860, p. 61). For 1865 the total school fees collected by the School amounted to £694 5/ 0d (Report on Public Education, 1865, p. 81). By 1867 the fees had risen to between 2s and 14s, with a total of £498 14s 10d collected for the year (Annual Report on Public Education, 1867, p. 87).

From the Educational Return of 1865, it is evident that no other school collected anywhere close to that amount of school fees. The table below is a comparison of school fees collected by schools. The 5 schools listed had the highest intake of school fees for 1865 in the Colony:

Tot Nut van het Algemeen	Buitenkant Mission School	Murraysburg Public	Swellendam Public	Wynberg Public
£825 9/ 2d	£243 8/ 4d	£239 16/ 9d	£179	£102 5/
168 pupils	59 pupils	66 pupils	25 pupils	46 pupils

(Educational Return, 1865)

The First-Class Public School at Wynberg actually charged a higher fee than the 'Tot Nut', but had a much lower pupil enrolment. The following table is a comparison of

school fees asked in 1863 by the Wynberg Public School and the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen':

Year	Wynberg Public	Tot Nut van het Algemeen
1863	£12 per annum (Senior) £6 per annum (Junior)	± £10 10/ per annum (Senior) £3 15/ per annum (Junior)

(Advert for 'Wynberg Public School', 1863, in Linnegar, 1979; Report of the Superintendent-General of Education for the Year 1863)

Only the Wynberg Public School, the South African College and probably the Diocesan College charged more than the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'.

This illustrates one of the problems besetting private schools such as the 'Tot Nut': financial management. To provide quality education, the School offered a wide range of subjects. To be able to do this, more teachers were required than at ordinary public schools. The Educational Returns show that the 'Tot Nut' employed far more teachers than any other school in Cape Town. In 1856, for example, there were 20 schools in Cape Town. Of those, the 'Tot Nut' had 8 teachers on the roll. One school had 4 teachers; two had 3 teachers; three had 2 teachers; 8 had 1 teacher; and 5 had 1 teacher with an assistant or paid monitor²⁸ (Educational Return, 1856, pp. 464 - 468). Part of the problem at the 'Tot Nut' was that the boys and girls were educated separately, necessitating the duplication of teaching staff. These teachers required salaries and for this, school fees had to be collected, necessitating in turn an enrolment

²⁸ These statistics exclude the South African College; it was never included in the Educational Returns.

that could sustain the teachers' salaries as well as the day-to-day running of the School. The 'Tot Nut' was thus always in danger of tipping the balance towards the red

In addition, the debt of 5 477 Cape Guilders on the building from 1832 seems to have been a burden from which the Board of Directors never recovered. From reports in the newspapers of the time, and especially after 1860, it would appear that the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' Society and the School were in some financial difficulty.

Between 1867 and 1869 the School organised a bazaar after the prize giving to raise extra money. The editor of *Het Volksblad* regularly wished the School well with this initiative, hoping that it would allow the management to keep the School in good order (*Het Volksblad*, 24 September 1868). Initially the bazaar raised £100; the following year only £77 was realised, until in 1869 it only made £50 (*Het Volksblad*, 14 September 1867; *ibid*, 26 September 1868; *ibid*, 23 September 1869). During the annual examination and his inspection of the School in 1869, Dr Langham Dale, reminded those present that the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' was the oldest educational institution in the Colony. He knew of the School's financial struggle, and urged the more wealthy members of the Afrikaner community to dig deep into their well-filled pockets and put the management in a position to settle the School's debts, so that the holding of bazaars would not be necessary (*De Volksvriend*, 25 September 1869).

It is regrettable that Langham Dale did not use his authority to do more to secure the future of the 'Tot Nut'. He was, after all, familiar with its problems; he spoke openly about its excellence and he felt that it was a worthwhile school for parents to send their children to (*De Volksvriend*, 19 September 1863). Despite the £75 the 'Tot Nut van het

Algemeen' received from the state, it was not enough to see it through difficult times. By comparison, the South African College had received an injection of £3000 in 1837 from money collected for education by the Scholarchs. In addition, it received a state grant of £200 from 1834, which was later raised to £400 per annum (Pells, 1954, p. 21). This difference was to become the lynchpin that decided the fate of these two institutions. The College was able to grow and become one of the premier educational institutions in South Africa. Had a similar consideration been made to the 'Tot Nut', it too may have flourished. And, as the editor of *De Zuid-Afrikaan* (15 August 1870) pointed out, there was no last minute helping hand from the many past pupils of the School who had become successful. Had there been a Past Pupils' Union, the School might have survived. I am convinced that financial problems were the major cause of the decision to close the School. But I am also persuaded that it could have been avoided firstly by improving the management structures and exercising better control over the School's finances, and secondly by timely government intervention.

6.8. Summary

There is no doubt that the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' was a School worthy of saving. That it employed a series of good teachers over the years has already been alluded to. In the next chapter I aim to present cameos of some of the most influential educators at the 'Tot Nut'.

CHAPTER 7: INFLUENTIAL TEACHING STAFF AT THE 'TOT NUT' VAN HET ALGEMEEN'

The success of any school is dependent on the quality of its teaching staff. There is no doubt that, over the years, the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' had some excellent educators who influenced their learners and shaped the youth of the time. I use the term 'influential' cautiously, because by implication it could suggest that all the other teachers who served part of their careers at the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School were not influential or did not make a lasting impression. This is not my intention. From the various newspaper reports of the annual examinations and prize givings, as well as the various memoirs of the more successful past pupils, it is obvious that the parents of the school, as well as the community, held the teachers in high esteem. It is perhaps more correct to say that there was more written and more to be found about the teachers listed below than the others. It has been a source of frustration and disappointment to me, sadness even, that it was so hard to find anything on the female teachers. They were seldom listed as independent householders in the Cape Almanacs, especially when they were married, and so slipped into obscurity.

During the 1840s and 1850s, the 'Tot Nut' School became synonymous with the name De Kock. Four brothers by that name: Servaas Johannes (1813 – 1893), Stephanus Johannes (1814 – 1870), Willem Johannes (1829 - 1897) and Daniel Johannes (1831 – 1897) all taught at the School at some time or other (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 20). Servaas and Stephanus were consecutive Principals, and Willem was for many years the Head of the Junior Department.

The following is a list of teachers on whom it was possible to find information; it is chronological according to the individual's appointment at the 'Tot Nut' School:

7.1. Mr Jan Hendrik Brinkhoff

1804

Brinkhoff deserves mention as the School's very first teacher when it opened in 1804. He arrived at the Cape in 1801, having left Amsterdam, via North America, for Batavia. Here, according to him, the Governor of the Cape, Sir George Younge, had him removed from the ship in which he arrived and held as a prisoner of war. After various misunderstandings had been cleared up, Brinkhoff was freed but, finding himself in debt and out of pocket, he decided to remain at the Cape and asked to be usefully employed in educating the youth: "Wanneer myne wenschen mogte vervuld worden zoude de opvoeding in dezelfs geheelen omvang de voornaamste werkzaamheden van den overrest myns leven's levens moeten uitmaaken" (De Mist notes, in Du Toit, 1944, p. 105).

He appears to have been well educated (*ibid*) and was dedicated to the task at hand. However, he was also of a temperamental nature, and reports of a wild lifestyle put him in a bad light (Brown, 1981, p. 36). The 'Secrete Resolutien' of 1803 – 1805 (in Du Toit, 1944, p. 106) describes the peace and quiet experienced by the Colony since the departure of certain English rebels as well as the death of "... van een oproerig en, omdat hy by zyne kwade gezindheid eenige talenten voegde, gevaarlyk ingezetenen Jan Hendrik Brinkhoff".

7.2. Mr Francois Agron (1777 – 1828)

1804 - 1805

Francois Agron (also spelt Ageron - Hoge, Part I, 1937, p. 36) originally a sailor by trade, was brought to the Cape from Holland in 1792 by the riding master Johannes Munnik for the express purpose of teaching his children. This is one of only two cases where an individual had a teacher specially brought out from Europe (Hoge, Part II, 1937, p. 1). Agron was of French origin; spoke and wrote fluent French; and appears to have been teaching at the 'Tot Nut' between 1804 and 1805, when Andries Stockenström was a pupil at the School (from 1803 – 1808) and according to whom Agron taught Dutch and French (Hutton, 1887, p. 29).

According to a notice in the *Kaapsche Courant* of 14 September 1805, he planned to leave the Colony that year and left the 'Tot Nut'. However, he must have changed his mind, because in 1807 he was the teacher to a certain Johannes van Schoor in Cape Town, according to a receipt dated 1 May 1807 for the sum of 5 Rix Dollars for a month's tuition, and 6 stuiwers for 3 exercise books and 2 stuiwers for pens (Receipt in State Archives, quoted in Hoge Part II, 1937, p. 1). After 1821 he lived in Graaff Reinet for some years. He died in Cape Town in 1828 (Hoge, Part II, 1937, p. 1).

7.3. Mr Nicolaas van Es

±1805 – ±1808

Nicolaas van Es was a sailor who came to the Cape from Holland. He worked first as a junior salesman and then from 1785 to 1786 as the Secretary for Christian Ludolph Neethling (Hoge, Part I, 1937, p. 59) of the Council of Justice, the father of Adv JH Neethling (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol. 3, 1977, p. 655; Hoge, Part 1,

1937, p. 59). He was actively involved in the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen' and later became the teacher at the 'Tot Nut' School (Hutton, 1887, p. 29), probably replacing Brinkhoff when he died in 1804. On the death of Neethling sr, van Es married Neethling's widow (Hoge, Part I, 1937, p. 59). He was, thus, in effect, the stepfather of JH Neethling, the Chairman of the School's Management.

It was not unheard of that sailors became schoolmasters. Hoge (1937) cites several examples where a sailor was employed as a 'knecht' or foreman on a farm and also used as schoolmaster for the children. In some of the early contracts, the word 'knecht' or 'knegt' is later substituted by 'schoolmeester' (Hoge, Part 1, 1937, p. 37).

7.4. Rev Jan Christoffel Berrangé (1769 – 1827)

1819 – ?

Jan Christoffel Berrangé was the older brother of Daniel Fredrik Berrangé, President of the Orphan Chamber and Master of the Supreme Court (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol IV, 1981, p. 27). Jan Christoffel studied theology in the Netherlands and stayed there until 1815, when he received an invitation to become the minister of the Dutch Reformed congregation and Principal of the Latin School in Cape Town. However, because he had no working knowledge of English, the Governor did not confirm these appointments. In 1819 he accepted instead, the Headmastership of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' (*Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, Vol. XIII No. 676, 26 December 1818) while at the same time taking up the post as minister (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol II, 1972, pp. 54, 55).

7.5. Mr Johannes (Jan) Reynard Mostert

± 1832 - 1841

In 1833, when the 'Tot Nut' School moved to its new building in New Street, Johannes Mostert was the Principal, a position he held until 1841. However, from a report on the annual prize giving of the School in 1832, it is evident that he was already the Headmaster of the School then. He was also listed as the First Clerk of the Dutch Reformed Church from 1821 until at least 1839 (Educational Return 1839, p. 168).

Mostert lived in the apartment built for the Principal at the 'Tot Nut' School building. He was known as child loving ('Redevoering', 17 September 1836); a good teacher and a man who knew how to exercise discipline in his school (Brown, 1981, p. 41).

In 1837 he published a slim volume of school songs: *Verzameling van Schoolgeszangen: Dienende tot Dagelyksch Gebruik by het Aan- en Uitgaan der School, en by byzondere Gelegheden*. Mostert stated in his foreword that a shortage of songbooks for schools prompted him to compile it, and that he had used as his source the works of the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen', those of Prinsen and others that he had used successfully with his pupils (Mostert, 1837, introduction). The songs contained in the book are mostly hymns, but also songs for special occasions such as: 'By den aanvang der School', 'Na het speeluur', 'Voor het uitdeelen der eerepryzen by een examen' and 'By het begin der vacancie' (*op cit*). The book was available from him personally at the School ('Instituut der Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen'). He was succeeded as Principal by Servaas de Kock in 1841.

7.6. Mr Cornelius van Dyk van Soelen (1809– 1876)

1832 – 1835

Prior to 1832, Van Soelen was working as a missionary at the Cape and in 1832 he started teaching at the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'. In 1833 he published a useful schoolbook: *Grondbeginselen der Rekenkunde, ter dienste der scholen, met toegepaste sommen op iederen regel bijeengebracht* (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol II, p. 808). The book was written because of a shortage of Arithmetic books in Dutch (Van Soelen, 1833, p. 1) and was used with great success at the 'Tot Nut' School, where he taught Arithmetic and French (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol II, p. 808).

7.7. Mr Servaas de Kock (1813 – 1893) (Fig. 10)

1833 - 1850

Servaas Johannes de Kock was one of the first pupils at the South African College when it opened in 1829. He was then 16 years of age. He was an excellent student and at the College's first prize giving in 1830, he obtained a gold medal: one of three medals donated by Sir John Wylde (Chief Justice for the Cape Colony) for good conduct – one for each of the 3 professors' classes (*Die Burger*, 4 September 1937).

The medal was inscribed with the words:

*“Proemium hocce annuente Senatu Provincice Judex Supremus, D.D.
Austro Africanum Anno Cond primo Athenaeum
Morum Probitatis Ergo Macte virtute.
Bonae Spei die 24 Augusti 1830 Promontorium.
Sir John Wylde Knt, L.L.D. Chief Justice of the Colony”*

Translated:

"This award was given with the Senate's approval as the highest judge DD (Doctor of Divinity) in the first year of the South African College on account of the glorious virtue of the excellence of his morals on the 24 August 1830 at the Cape of Good Hope."

He also won the prize for Mathematics that year (Minutes of the 41st Meeting of the Senate of the South African College, 12 August 1830). In 1831 he won the prize for Dutch in the third class under Prof Changuion (Meeting of the Senate of the South African College, August 1831).

While still a student, he was invited to lecture at the College. His modest, friendly character and his great gift for teaching earned him the respect of his professors, his fellow students and his pupils (*Gereformeerde Maandblad*, Augustus 1893; Du Toit, 1984, p. 15). It is likely that he matriculated in 1832 aged 19 and joined the staff of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' when it opened in its new building in 1833 (*Die Burger*, 28 August 1937). At the 'Tot Nut', Servaas (Fig. 10) was known to the children as 'Lang Mijnheer de Kock' because of his height (Hofmeyr, 1913, p.20).

In 1837 Servaas (aged 24 and teaching at the 'Tot Nut), together with his younger brother Stephanus (aged 23) and a handful of friends²⁹ wrote to Governor D'Urban requesting a license to publish a Dutch periodical *Lees-Vruchten* on behalf of a society established by them in 1834 called 'Scientia et Amicitia' (Memorial dd 20 March 1837).

²⁹ George Gie; Justus Meyer; Michiel van Breda jr; F Smuts; H Brink and Jozua Hofmeyr (Memorial dd. 20 March 1837).

The prospectus was to contain "... useful and entertaining matter, both original and abstract; preference will be given to literacy and historical subjects". A member of the Colonial Government's Office wrote on the application that the applicants "... are a lot of juveniles – 'youths to fortune and fame unknown', who have laid themselves open to a penalty by their formation of a society without the Governor's permission ... This coming event certainly 'casts a shadow before' " (Memorial dd 20 March 1837); a rather harsh judgement of young men showing the enterprising spirit typical of the early inhabitants of the Cape. The *Lees-Vruchten* was published sometime during the period 1837 – 1839; in JJ de Kock's *Blygeestige Almanak en Naamlyst* of 1840 (p. 37), it is listed as finally 'overleden'.

When the Headmaster of the 'Tot Nut', Jan Mostert, resigned in 1841, Servaas de Kock was appointed in his place (*Die Burger*, 4 September 1937), a position he held until 1850. Described as a born teacher, enthusiastic and conscientious, he had a certain charisma that drew his pupils to him (Du Toit, 1984, p. 15). He also knew how to discipline without extreme measures. His cane, so recalls young Klaas Hofmeyr, was kept in the drawer of his desk and was seldom used (Kestell, 1911, p. 9).

He was an ardent advocate of the Dutch language and also of the Dutch Reformed Church, of which he was a member. When the Nieuwe Kerk was inaugurated in Bree Street in 1847, he organised the musical items, including the choir from the 'Tot Nut'. Until his death, aged 80, in 1893, he also served as the church's organist, a position he held for 46 years without any reward (Hofmeyr, 1913. p. 21). He even turned down an eldership of the church so that he could remain at his beloved organ (*Gereformeerde Maandblad*, August 1893, pp. 49, 50). At the 40th anniversary of the church in 1888, he

was greatly praised for the loyal service he had given as chief choirmaster and organist (Hopkins, 1965, p. 116). In his spare time he published articles in *De Zuid-Afrikaan* (*Die Burger*, 4 September 1937). Throat problems forced him to give up teaching in 1850 and take up a position at the Protecteur Fire Assurance Company. He was succeeded as Principal of the 'Tot Nut' by his brother, Stephanus.

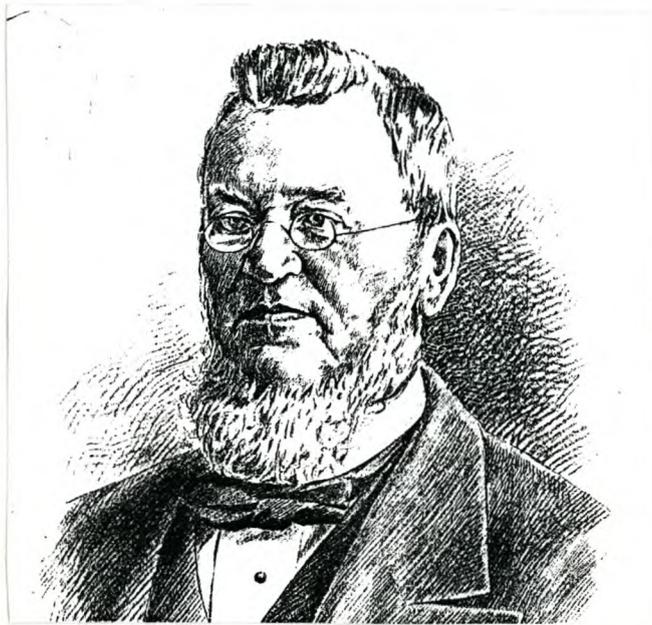


Fig. 10: Servaas 'Lang Mijnheer' de Kock, 1813 - 1893

Servaas de Kock was a well respected member of Cape society and was described variously as a Christian gentleman, broad-minded, friendly towards all, kind hearted and a good example to his pupils (*Gereformeerde Maandblad*, August 1893, pp. 49, 50). An example of the high esteem in which he was held is that he was occasionally asked to test the academic competency of and write testimonials for boys from the 'Tot Nut' who were planning to apply for the Murray Scholarships to the South African College more than 15 years after he had left the School. When the School closed in 1870, the

editor of the *De Zuid-Afrikaan* paid tribute to him for the many prominent citizens he had helped to shape: President Jan Brand, Prof NJ Hofmeyr, Ds JJ Kotzé, Prof JH Neethling, Ds JH Hofmeyr, Ds S Hofmeyr, Mr JA Bam and others (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 15 August 1870; *Gereformeerde Maandblad*, August 1893, pp. 49, 50). He grew old gracefully, and at the age of 80 still walked firm and upright, had hardly any grey hair, was in full possession of all his mental faculties and could still write in a beautiful hand (*Gereformeerde Maandblad*, August 1893, p. 50). He died of bronchitis in 1893. At his funeral, Prof Hofmeyr paid tribute to the influence this exceptional man had had on his life, second only to the Almighty (*Die Burger*, 14 July 1923).

7.8. Mr Leopold (Leo) Marquard Sr (1787 – 1867)

± 1835 – ±1838

Leopold Marquard was the first official missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church and also a pioneer in the field of education. Born in Germany, Marquard studied theology in the Netherlands. In 1815 he came to the Cape and worked at Clanwilliam for the Rotterdam Missionary Society. In 1816 he joined the Dutch Reformed Church in protest against the policy of the Amsterdam Missionary Society placing its missionaries under the control of the London Missionary Society. In 1826 he was ordained as a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church and from 1830 he was the reader and catechist of the Cape Town congregation (*Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa*, Vol 7, 1972, p. 215).

From 1831 to 1834 was a temporary lecturer in Dutch and German at the South African College. He was instrumental in the revival of the 'Tot Nut' School and taught there from 1835 until 1838, when he resigned because of a disagreement with the school authorities over administrative methods (*Het Volksblad* No 1583, 25 June 1867; Pretorius, 1976, p. 147; Dictionary of South African Biography Vol. III, 1977, pp. 583 – 584). The Educational Returns from 1838 and 1839 list him as having his own school at his home in Long Street, the 'Free School for persons of colour'. The classes given between 16:00 and 17:00 were for coloured people who wished to be baptised either in the Dutch Reformed or Lutheran faith (Educational Return, 1838, pp. 212, 213).

7.9. Mr John C Golding

1838 - 1841

John Golding was appointed as English Master to the boys at the 'Tot Nut' in 1838, a position he held for 5 years. During 1841 he published a paper on the state of education in Cape Town, entitled 'An epitome of the State of Education, Schools and Teachers at the Cape of Good Hope for the last 20 Years'. He dedicates it 'To the People (the source of all power)' and in it he describes the dismal state of public schooling, while upholding the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' as an example of democratic education (Golding, 1841, p. 2).

In 1851 he was still listed as a schoolmaster in Cape Town (Cape Almanac 1851, Directory: unpaginated), but in 1854 he was teaching at Caledon (Educational Return 1854, p. 412).

7.10. Mr Stephanus de Kock (1814 – 1870) (Fig. 11)

1840 - 1870

Stephanus Johannes de Kock started at the South African College in January 1830, as a pledge signed by his father to pay the College fees of £6 30/ for his tuition for the year 1830 in three installments, clearly indicates (Financial Agreement between the Treasurer of the South African College and Servaas de Kock, 1 September 1829). Stephanus was then 16 years old.

Like his brother Servaas, Stephanus was a good scholar and earned several awards at the annual College prize giving. In 1830 for Mathematics, Latin and English (Prospectus van het Openbaar Exam, 13 August 1830); in 1831 for Greek, Dutch Literature, English, Mathematics and Geography (Prospectus van het Tweede Jaarlyksche Openbare Exam, 15 August 1831); in 1832 for Latin, Dutch Literature, Mathematics and Geography (Prospectus of the Third Annual Public Exam, 17 December 1832); and in 1833 for Classical Literature, Dutch, English, German, Mathematics, Geography and Astronomy (Prospectus of the Fourth Annual Public Exam, 16 December 1833).

In October 1833 he was involved in a disagreement with another student whom he accused of purloining a book on ancient Geography from him. The matter came before the College Senate where the theft was proven and the book returned to De Kock (Minutes of the Meeting of the Senate of the South African College, 23 October 1833). His fascination with Geography lasted his whole life.

In 1834 he won the prize for German in the First Class (College Records 1835). He probably matriculated that year, as it is the last time his name appears in the College records. What he did immediately upon leaving school is unknown, but in 1840, he became Assistant Master at the 'Tot Nut', where his brother Servaas was the Principal. Himself a tall man, but a few centimetres shorter than his brother, he was known to the pupils as 'Kort Mijnheer de Kock' (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 20). Over thirty years a teacher, he was to be Principal of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' for 20 of those years until his untimely death in 1870, aged only 56 years.

Stephanus de Kock had a scientific approach to teaching. He wrote two books on Geography for use by his pupils: *Eerste gronden der Aardrykskunde, hoofdzakelyk ingerigt ten gebruike voor de Tweede-Klas Leerlingen der Maatschappy-School "Tot Nut van het Algemeen"* in 1837, and *Handleiding tot de kennis en het Gebruik van den Aard-Globe, met eene Tafel van Lengten en Breedten; vervaardigd, ten Gebruike der Scholen*, in 1838. A copy of latter book is in the Special Collections at the University of Stellenbosch. It was owned by Johannes Henoeh Neethling, a pupil of De Kock, who went on to become the Dutch Reformed minister at Stellenbosch.

Stephanus was also a fine Dutch scholar and teacher, and it was noted that both he and his brother Willem spoke the language with a remarkably pure accent. Prof NJ Hofmeyr describes him as a gifted teacher who knew how to impart knowledge to others (Kestell, 1911, p. 9). One of De Kock's favourite activities was the conjugation of verbs such as 'tirilieren', 'sausebollen' and 'knikkebollen'. He would say: "Wat is de derde persoon, enkelvoud, aanvoegendewijs van't werkwoord knikkebollen?" (*Die Burger*, 4 September 1937). Every morning he would write an incorrect Dutch sentence

on the blackboard, get his pupils to point out the mistake and read it with the correct pronunciation. It is related that his punishment for laziness was the writing out of lines in Dutch. Sir John Kotzé (1938, p. 75) recalls that after the thorough and inspiring teaching of Stephanus de Kock at the 'Tot Nut', he found Dr Heyns' method of instruction in Dutch at the South African College boring and "... quite a waste of time". In the 1860s, when the 'Tot Nut' was struggling to make ends meet, Stephanus was offered the professorship of Dutch at the South African College, a position he turned down due to his devotion to the 'Tot Nut' (Du Toit, 1984, p. 15; Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 21).



Fig. 11: Stephanus 'Kort Mijnheer' de Kock, teacher and principal
at the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'

Both Servaas and Stephanus de Kock are remembered by those whom they taught as having many eccentricities, but also as men of sterling character and undoubted ability. They also remembered Stephanus' swallow-tail coat, fancy waistcoat, flap trousers worn over top boots, black satin choker, black silk top-hat, spectacles, snuffbox and

red pocket handkerchief (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 21; Kotze, 1938, p. 35). JH 'Slim Jannie' Hofmeyr (Hofmeyr, 1913, pp. 20, 21) describes him as a born teacher and a cultured scholar with the nobility of character typical of the old Cape aristocrat. An elder of the Dutch Reformed Church, like his brother Servaas, he played a prominent part in the life of Cape Town (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 21).

One morning, between classes, he was found at his desk, exhausted and suffering from a mental breakdown. He died several days later on 4 May 1870, only 56 years old (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 21). Mr RR Drossel took over as Principal for the last few months, until the School was closed at the end of August. Three Cape Town newspapers carried obituaries of Stephanus de Kock: *De Zuid-Afrikaan*, *De Volksvriend* and *Het Volksblad*. The latter wrote:

“De overledene was zeer geacht als onderwijzer en heft vele jongelingen opgeleid, om nuttige betrekkingen in de maatschappij te vervullen. Hij was zeer gehecht aan de Maatschappij, voor welke hij zoo vele jaren met ijwer en zelfverloochening gearbeid heft, alle aanbiedingen van gemakkelijker werk van de hand wijzende. Toen hij eenige jaren geleden tot Ouderling gekozen werd, bestond het grootste bezwaar, dat hij maakte, in de bewustheid dat hij dan te veel tijd zou verliezen, om getrouw te kunnen zijn in zijn gewichtig ambt als hoofdonderwijzer. Zijn dood is een groot verlies voor de Maatschappij en zal betreurd worden door talrijke vrienden en vroegere leerlingen”

(*Het Volksblad*, 5 May 1870).

A large number of friends and admirers formed part of the cortège at his funeral (*Die Burger*, 14 July 1923), despite the continuous rain and the fact that his house in the Gardens was a long way from the cemetery. Ds Andrew Murray jr officiated at the funeral (*De Volksvriend*, 7 May 1870). Stephanus de Kock left his wife, an adult daughter and a minor orphaned grand-daughter (Death notice, 17 May 1870).

7.11. Mr Ludwig Heinrich Beil (1794 – 1852)

± 1843 - ±1847

A botanist and musician, the German born Beil came to the Cape in the 1820s. He became the organist at the Lutheran church and gave regular organ recitals. He also formed a respected choir called 'Harmonie et Eendragt'. His interest in choral singing was influenced by the new community singing in Europe. He also gave singing lessons at the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School and Dr Changuion's Seminary (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol II, 1972, p. 49).

In his singing lessons, Beil followed the principles of Wilhelm, the French reformer of the teaching of singing, and achieved outstanding results (*op cit*). At the 'Tot Nut's' annual public examination in 1843, the children were tested in this system, described as "... het elementaire stelsel door Wilhelm uitgevonden, en onlangs alhier ingevoerd" (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 26 September 1843). Beil's role as Singing Master is also mentioned at the 1844 examination (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 17 September 1844).

Ill health forced him to retire from teaching and public music life in 1847. He spent the last few years of his life at Somerset West and was the organist at the Dutch Reformed church there until his death (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol II, 1972, p. 49).

Beil made an important contribution to the development of the musical life of Cape Town and his teaching of singing in schools reflected the latest trends overseas. J. Suasso de Lima described Beil as the "... reformer of the art of singing" (*De Versamelaar* in Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol II, 1972, pp. 49 – 50).

7.12. Dr Servaas Hofmeyr (1830 – 1888)

1846 – 1849

Servaas Hofmeyr is one of three pupils of the 'Tot Nut' who became a teacher at the School. He was the younger brother of the twins NJ Hofmeyr and JJ Hofmeyr. A pupil at the School from 1836 to 1846, he was 16 when he became Assistant Dutch Master. He gave a good account of himself, and was respected and admired by the entire School community. Nowhere is this more strongly borne out than in a letter written to him by the Board of Directors when he announced in 1849 that he was leaving to follow a calling to the ministry, and asked to be released from his contract:

"Kaapstad, 30 Dec., 1849

"Mynheer – Met leedwezen is uwe brief door de Directie der
Maatschappij "Tot Nut van het Algemeen" gelezen worden, daar UEd

hen bekend maakt dat, uit hoofde van eene andere betrekking, gij verpligt zijt uwe betrekking als onderwijzer op te geven.

De Directie geeft u dierhalve op uw verzoek uw ontslag, maar zij doen zulks met leedwezen. Ik ben gelast UEd te melden dat zij niet nalaten kunnen UEd hunne volkomendste goedkeuring te betuigen voor uwe bewezen diensten en gehouden gedrag als onderwijzer, te meer daar gij zoo volkomen beantwoord hebt aan de verwachting welke zij van UEd gekoestert hebben, toen zij u als kweekeling der Maatschappij School, tot genoegen van uwe dierbare ouders, onderwijzers en het Bestuur, in die betrekking aanstelden, waarvoor wij u volkomen bekwaam beschouwden.

Het is der Directie hartenwensch en hoop dat uwe voorgestelde onderneming in allen deelen aan uwe verwachting moge beantwoorden, dat gij voorspoedig moogt zijn, en dat uw voorgenomen plan door Gods zegen moge bekroond worden.

U.Ed. Dw. Dienaar en Vriend,

CJC Gie, Sekretaris”

(Anon, 1891, pp. 5,6).

As Servaas did not see out the school year until September 1850, a teacher had to be found to replace him. It is possible that this was Daniel de Kock, who took the elementary classes until his brother, Willem de Kock, was appointed in October 1850.

Servaas studied Theology at Utrecht and, upon his return, took up a posting at Colesburg and later at Montagu (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol III, 1977, p. 405). When the School closed in 1870, he was present at the final prize giving and gave the final address and blessing. In a moving ceremony, he spoke the words quoted on p. 137 to the management, parents, teachers and pupils (*ibid*, p. 5).

7.13. Ludwig Heinrich Otto (Otto) Landsberg (1803 – 1905)

1849 – 1853

Otto Landsberg was born in Germany, but immigrated to the Cape Colony with his parents and siblings at the age of 12. Otto became a snuff manufacturer and set up a tobacco business in 1826. He supplemented his income by giving drawing and music lessons (Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa Vol 6, 1972, p. 532), and from 1849 to 1853 was the Drawing Master at the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School. In 1864 he was the co-founder of the Cape Town Musical Society together with GW Steytler, a past pupil of the 'Tot Nut'. Landsberg played the first violin in the Society's orchestra for many years (*op cit*).

Landsberg was a prolific painter, completing over 200 canvases and his name appears in all encyclopaedias on South African artists. His tobacco business flourished and his products were sold all over South Africa. Several of his sons entered the business (still in existence under the original name in the 1970s), but all pre-deceased him. He retired in 1880 to his home at Vredenburg in Mowbray, while his grandson Julius Otto Jeppe carried on the business.

Landsberg retained his faculties and remarkably good health until the year of his death, practising on the violin and painting until he was well over 100 years old. His widow and his surviving daughters, Julia Elizabeth D'Astre (1834 – 1911) and Sophia Theresa Henrietta Lithman, and the children of his deceased daughter Maria (Mimi) Jacoba Carolina Jeppe, inherited the bulk of his fortune (Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa Vol 6, 1972, p. 532). Maria's husband was Herman Jeppe, the first Jeppe in South Africa. He was employed by Landsberg and eloped with Maria to the Transvaal (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol II, 1972, p. 340). Julia's son, Auguste Frederick D'Astre, a resident of Potchefstroom, donated most of Landsberg's paintings to the Potchefstroom Museum (Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa Vol 6, 1972, p. 533). In 1868 and 1869 there was an F D'Astre enrolled at the 'Tot Nut' School. Given the rarity of the name, this might be a grandson of Landsberg, one of Julia's sons. Julia Landsberg and her sister Maria Jacoba Carolina were both at the 'Tot Nut' School in 1844 (see Addendum C). Sophia probably also, but I could not find her name. In 1862 a Charlotte Landsberg was at the 'Tot Nut'; possibly a granddaughter or a grandniece.

7.14. Mr Willem Johannes de Kock (1829 – 1897) (Fig. 12)

1850 - 1869

As Servaas de Kock sr was a shareholder of the 'Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen', his children were likely to have been pupils at the 'Tot Nut' School. From

the prize-giving lists it would appear that the youngest eight³⁰, including Willem Johannes and Daniel Johannes de Kock who both later became teachers at the School, were indeed there (see Addendum C). The years of their presence as pupils correspond with their dates of birth (Hofmeyr Genealogy, p. 16).

If this is so, Willem de Kock was a pupil at the School in 1842, 1843, 1844 and 1845 and possibly from as early as 1835 (I have found no prize winners lists from before 1838 or from 1846 to 1861). He won prizes 'in every branch of instruction', Dutch and English in 1842 and 1843 (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 20 September 1842 and 26 September 1843); for Geography, Arithmetic and English in 1844 (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 17 September 1844); and again for Geography and Arithmetic in 1845 (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 16 September 1845). In 1845 he would have been 16. He was thus 20 when he started teaching at the School in 1850, and his brother Daniel 19 when he took over from Servaas Hofmeyr. Presumably both Willem and Daniel completed their education at the South African College like their brothers Servaas and Stephanus.

Described as tall and thin and with long black hair, Willem Johannes de Kock was perhaps a less striking character than his older brothers, but with admirable qualities nonetheless. He was known as a strict disciplinarian and an excellent teacher.

Like his brother Servaas, he had a passion for music. He was an accomplished musician and received considerable acclaim for this from Cape Town's artistic society (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 22). His musical ability especially came to the fore during the school's public examinations. The children, carefully trained for the occasion, were

³⁰ Michiel (b. 1824); Cornelia Susanna (b. 1825); Nicolaas Jacobus (b. 1826); Hester Sophia (b. 1828); Willem Johannes (b. 1829); Johannes Jacob (b. 1830); Daniel Johannes (b. 1831) and Catharina Willemina (b. 1834) (Addendum C; Hofmeyr Genealogy, p. 16).

instructed to dress in their 'Sunday best' and, at regular intervals, choruses and songs were rendered, accompanied enthusiastically by Willem on the violin (*ibid*, p. 22). It was to Willem de Kock than 'Onze Jan' Hofmeyr referred when speaking at the opening of a school in Somerset West: "Whenever he entered a schoolroom, he began almost to imagine that his own school-days were not yet over" (*ibid*, p. 22). Willem built on the popularity of music at the 'Tot Nut' that had been established by Ludwig Beil.



Fig. 12: Willem de Kock, teacher at the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'

According to Fanie Hofmeyr, when Mr Willem de Kock announced, just before the close of school one afternoon, that he was leaving the 'Tot Nut' to teach in the Zwartland "... waar zoveel kinderen onopgevoed rondlopen", the boys only just managed to contain themselves; as soon as school was out they all cheered loudly (*Die Burger*, 4 September 1937). Willem de Kock left the 'Tot Nut' in 1869 to go to Stellenbosch, where he in worked at the *Pro Ecclesia* Bookshop³¹. What happened to his plans for the Swartland is uncertain. It may, of course, also be that the children

³¹ The sources in fact say "... at a bookshop in Stellenbosch". Mr Leon Vorster of the Stellenbosch Museum believes this could only have been the *Pro Ecclesia*.

were entirely mistaken in what he told them, and the passage of time did little to clarify the memory.

7.15. Mr William Stillerd Berry

1851 – 1858

William Berry was appointed as Head of the English Section at the 'Tot Nut' in 1851. He lived on the premises; Stephanus de Kock having no need for the Master's apartment, as his family home was close by in Kloof Street.

The Rev DP Fauré (1907, p. 14) describes Berry as "... a typical Englishman in that he ignored all languages except his own and thought it unnecessary to learn to pronounce and understand the name of the Institution in which he obtained his living". Apparently Berry always called the School "*Tot Nut*", with the accent on the first word (*op cit*).

When Berry left the 'Tot Nut' in 1858, he started the first boys' school in Sea Point in an old farmhouse on the Bellwood Estate (Quinn, 1963, p. 7).

7.16. Mr Jason B Wilson

1853 – 1862

Mr Wilson was appointed at the 'Tot Nut' in 1853 primarily to teach Latin (Fauré, 1907, p. 14), but he was also responsible for Arithmetic and Bookkeeping. He left the School

in 1862 to go to the South African College, where he taught Writing and Bookkeeping, but he had taught these two subjects at the College between 1856 and 1857 (Cape Almanac, 1856, p. 139), probably after his teaching hours at the 'Tot Nut' were over for the day (15:00). He was still at the College in 1866 (Cape Almanac, 1866, p. 82).

7.17. Mr Charles Fanning

1854 – 1870

Drawing Master at the 'Tot Nut' for some 16 years, Charles Fanning was a painter of some note. However, Charles Cowen wrote in the 'Schroeder Art Memento' (1894 in Gordon-Brown, 1975, p. 156): "Of Mr Fanning's paintings there were none which attracted public attention ... he was of modest and retiring habit and devoted to his art; a sound teacher and an accurate sketcher from nature". The artist WH Schröder, referred to above, and the poet Melt Brink were pupils of Fanning's at the 'Tot Nut' School and found their artistic inspiration from him (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol III, 1977, p. 731; Van der Westhuysen, 1934, p. 17). Fanning is listed in most encyclopaedias of South African artists.

Fanning's 1847 painting of Christoffel Brand in his Freemason's regalia hangs in the office of the Provincial Grand Master of South Africa, Cape Town (Gordon-Brown, 1975, p. 157).

7.18. Mr Samuel Short

1858 – 1865

Prior to his appointment at the 'Tot Nut', Samuel Short was teaching at the Trinity Church Free School (Educational Return for 1855, p. 442). He became the English Master at the 'Tot Nut' in 1858; a position he held until 1865. He also taught Mathematics and Latin. He left to take up the position of Head Teacher at the Tulbagh Public School (*De Volksvriend*, 2 September 1865).

There are several testimonials in the Archives of the University of Cape Town written by him to boys from the 'Tot Nut' when they applied for scholarships to attend the South African College. Like Mr Berry before him, he stayed on the premises of the School, in the apartment designed for the Principal (Kotzé, 1938, p. 35).

Sir John Kotzé remembers Short as a competent teacher, although not nearly so striking a character as Stephanus de Kock (Kotzé, 1938, p. 35). He appears to have been well liked by the children. When he left the 'Tot Nut' in September 1865, he was presented by some of his pupils with a hand-bound Bible and a copy of Tennyson's Poems. Short thanked them for their evidence of love and assured them that he would remember them forever. He was succeeded at the 'Tot Nut' by Mr Frederick Brice from the Wynberg Public School (*De Volksvriend*, 2 September 1865).

7.19. Mr Louis Corbitt (- 1917)

1862 – 1870

Not much is known about Louis Corbitt prior to his arrival at the 'Tot Nut' School in 1862, and it is possible that this was his first appointment. He was responsible for teaching Arithmetic, Bookkeeping and Writing. After the closure of the 'Tot Nut', Corbitt opened his own successful grammar school in Three Anchor Bay, the 'Green Point Grammar School', which, according to Murray (1964, p. 68), "... almost every boy in Green and Sea Point attended at some time or other" during the 1870's and 1880's.

Corbitt's father, a prosperous Cape Town businessman and Manager of the firm Letterstedt & Co., purchased a house in Glengarrif Road in 1868, and named it Ellerton. This is where Corbitt's school was: behind the family home in the upper portion of an old detached double-storeyed building (Murray, 1964, p. 68). The residents of Sea Point in those days remember him as lame and bald, never without his skullcap, and perpetually taking snuff. Every day he held forth on irregular Latin verbs and the important part they played in life. He coped with his young charges as best he could without an assistant. When the Undenominational Green and Sea Point Public Schools (now Sea Point High) opened in 1884, it gave Corbitt's private school serious competition and in the 1890's it closed. Corbitt became the lone teacher on a farm near Vlottenberg. He died at Ceres in 1917 (Murray, 1964, pp. 68 – 69). The name of the Corbitt family home is perpetuated in the Ellerton Primary School (Quinn, 1963, p. 7), which now stands on the site.

7.20. Rev Jan Lion Cachet (1838 – 1912)

1861

Jan Lion Cachet was the younger brother of the Rev Frans Lion Cachet. Born in Holland of Jewish parents who became Christians, both Jan and Frans studied for the ministry. In addition, Jan also wrote the teachers' examination. Following an appeal from the Cape of Good Hope for teachers and catechists for the Dutch Reformed Church, Jan followed his brother to the Cape in 1861, where he joined the staff of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School for a few months before taking on a position at the St Stephen's Church School in Bree Street.

He left the Cape in 1862 to join his brother in Natal (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol I, 1968, pp. 146, 147; 160 Years of Blessings, 2003, p. 88) and went on to become both minister and professor of the Gereformeerde Kerk. He is also known as one of the earliest Afrikaans writers and poets (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol I, 1968, p. 146).

7.21. Mr Frederick H Brice

1865 – 1866

Frederick Brice came to the 'Tot Nut' in 1865, succeeding Samuel Short as the English Master (*De Volksvriend*, 2 September 1865). He stayed just one year until 1866.

In 1863 he had been, for 9 months (from March to December), the teacher at the Wynberg Public School (now Wynberg Boys' High School), a position he obtained because the teacher for the past 22 years, John McNaughton, had retired. Brice came to the Cape from Christ's College, Cambridge, with the intention of starting a school for

boys. This thus solved the problem facing the Cape Colony that the resignation of McNaughton brought and where the closure of the school had already been proposed (Thomson, 1961, p. 47). The nine-month period of the school under Mr Brice is a blank except that on 30 December he was ordered to return the keys of the School to the Secretary of the Board of Managers.

This casts a dubious reflection on Mr Brice's teaching. Certainly, one gets the feeling that the management of the 'Tot Nut' was relieved to see the back of him. At the prize giving in 1866 the Chairman, Rev Fauré, announced that management was pleased to have secured the services of Mr RR Drossel – who came with excellent references – in place of "... the previous teacher in English Literature, Latin and Mathematics" (*De Volksvriend*, 22 September 1866), not even mentioning him by name.

After he left the School, Brice entered the government service and became the Head Teacher at the Uitenhage Public School (Thomson, 1961, p. 48).

7.22. Mrs JD Frieslich

1866 – 1870

Mrs Frieslich joined the staff of the 'Tot Nut' in 1866, and was, in all likelihood, still there when the school closed in August 1870. She taught the girls English, Piano and Needlework and was the Head of the Girls' Section. There is record of a Mrs Frieslich and her sister, Mrs Leibbrandt, running an Infant School at their house in St John's

Road, Sea Point somewhere between 1880 and 1900. Whether this is the same Frieslich could not be determined.

7.23. Mr RR Drossel

1866 - 1870

Mr Drossel joined the staff of the 'Tot Nut' in 1866 when he replaced Mr FH Brice as English Master to the upper classes. He was known as a strict disciplinarian and a good teacher.

In a list of *Inhabitants of Wynberg* (Cape of Good Hope Almanac, 1852, pp. 183), a Dr Drossell (*sic*) is listed as being at the Seminary, and in his memoirs, GG Munnik mentions his father attending Drossel's School in Wynberg (Munnik, 1916, p. 6). In 1855 the young John X Merriman, then a pupil at the Diocesan College in Rondebosch, wrote about his school's cricket team challenging 'Old Droosel's School (*sic*) – I have been unable to prove whether this was RR Drossel or not.

In 1868, Mr Drossel was seriously ill during the School's annual public examination. Consequently, his classes could not be examined and he was seriously missed (*Het Volksblad* 26 September 1868). He appears to have been well respected.

On the death of Stephanus de Kock in May 1870, Mr Drossel took over the duties of Principal for the remaining 4 months. To all accounts, he did the task admirably, but it could not have been easy to follow in the footsteps of legends such as Servaas and

Stephanus de Kock. And especially when the Board of Directors decided rather to close the School than to give him the chance of taking the School into the next era. In those last months, he wrote several testimonials for boys applying for the 'Murray's Gift' scholarships for the South African College. What happened to him when the 'Tot Nut' closed, is not known.

7.24. Summary

With so many competent teachers on its staff, it is not surprising that the pupils benefited from their education at the hands of these men and women. Many of them went on to take up high positions in Cape society and helped to shape the future of South Africa. This legacy will be explored in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 8: THE LEGACY OF THE 'TOT NUT VAN HET ALGEMEEN' SCHOOL

From the previous chapter and others, it is evident that the 'Tot Nut' employed good educators. Between the years 1840 and 1860, the 'Tot Nut' reached its highest point. Under the leadership of Servaas, Stephanus and Willem de Kock, the 'Tot Nut van't Algemeen', produced some of the finest scholars of their time and shaped South Africans who would later take up high positions in the State, Church, Law and Academia. The role they played in shaping the future South Africa is the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen's' legacy to this country. In this chapter I take a look at some of the most prominent scholars who helped to shape South African society. In the interest of gender equality, I also seek to address the issue as to why there is not a single woman mentioned.

From the list below, it is evident that the 'Tot Nut' produced a great number of Churchmen, and it prompts the question, why? It is not as if there were no other possibilities for careers in Cape Town for young men. One reason could be the emphasis the School placed on Bible Education and the morality of living according to Christian principles. Another might be that being a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church carried with it considerable status in Cape society; a situation which persisted into the late 20th Century. Well-to-do Cape families, including the parent body of the 'Tot Nut' School, would certainly have encouraged one, if not more, of their sons to study for the ministry. A further reason is the influence of the Reverend GW Stegmann (1814 – 1890), whose fiery sermons on conversion had a profound impact on the Cape's youth.

8.1. Prominent pupils

The 'Tot Nut' created men of great standing, thanks in no small part to the education through the medium of both Dutch and English, and its liberal approach to religion (Besselaar, 1914, p. 74). The following is a list of some of the best-known pupils:

8.1.1. Ds August Ahrbeck (1851 – 1935)

August Ahrbeck was at the 'Tot Nut' from about 1857 to 1867, after which he went to Martell's Commercial Academy. In 1880 he entered the Theological Seminary and was admitted as a minister in 1883. He served the congregations at Prieska, Calvinia, Umtata and Ugie. He was one of the founders and first Secretary of the 'Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol III, 1977, p. 5).

8.1.2. Mr Johannes Andries Bam:

The Bams were a well-known family of businessmen in St George's Street (Murray, 1964, p. 128). Johannes Andries (known as Andries) Bam was at the 'Tot Nut' School somewhere between 1836 and 1845, where he was a good student and featured prominently in the annual prize givings. From 1860 to 1870 he was the Director of the South African Bank, and also became a member of the Cape House of Assembly (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol. III, 1977, p. 46).

Bam was one of the few past pupils who took an interest in his old School. During the bazaars held from 1867 to 1869, he made his services as auctioneer available free of charge (*De Volksvriend*, 14 September 1867). From 1893 to 1899 he was Chairman of the Board of Managers of the Green and Sea Point Public School (Quinn, 1963, pp. 13, 157).

8.1.3. President Johannes Henricus (Jan) Brand (1823 – 1888)

Advocate, Academic, Politician and President of the Orange Free State 1864 – 1888 (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol. I, 1968, p. 111), Jan Brand was the son of Christoffel Josephus Brand, shareholder of the 'Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen'. The young Jan was educated in Dutch at the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School, where he was one of the 10 boys who helped Adv JH Neethling with the laying of the cornerstone at the School in New Street in 1832.

After the 'Tot Nut', he attended the South African College, where in 1838 he was among the prize winners (Report of the Senate of the South African College, 1838). He matriculated at Prof ANE Changuion's 'Witte School' in 1842 (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol. I, 1968, pp. 110, 111).

In 1843 he left to read law at the University of Leiden. He was admitted to the bar in London in 1845 and returned to Cape Town in 1849. In 1860 he was invited to start the new Law Department at the South African College. He set up a prosperous legal practice, while his academic pursuits took him to lecture at the South African College.

entered politics and in 1863 was asked to stand for the Presidency of the Orange Free State. He was sworn in in 1864 and remained President of the Orange Free State until his death in 1888. It is said that his strong personality and independent views were moulded by his father and by various teachers (*op cit*).

8.1.4. Mr Barnabas Gerhard Brecher (1851 – 1922)

Farmer, businessman and politician, Barnabas Brecher was at the 'Tut Nut' in 1862, and possibly some years both before and after that. On leaving school, he assisted his father at the mission station near Steinkopf and in 1876 he trekked to the Transvaal to become a farmer. He served in the Zulu War of 1879 and fought for the Transvaal Republic during the South African War. At the end of the War, Brecher settled in Natal and through his farming and commercial interests, became active in public life (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol V, 1987, p. 81).

8.1.5. Mr Melt Jacobus Brink (1842 – 1925)

Melt Brink, the popular Cape Dutch playwright and poet, Secretary and later Chairman of the 'Aurora'³² dramatic society (Koch, undated, unpaginated), grew up in Cape Town, Saldanha Bay and Hout Bay. He was taught the alphabet by a Dutch helmsman, and in 1856, at the age of 14, he was enrolled at the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'

³² This organisation was established in 1862 to celebrate Dutch literature and poetry. It was particularly active between 1866 and 1887, giving public performances in Cape Town, Paarl and Wynberg (at the Odd Fellows Hall in Church Street) of Dutch poems and plays (Koch).

School, where he stayed just over a year (South African Dictionary of Biography Vol I, 1968, p. 121).

At the 'Tot Nut', Brink met JM Hoffmann and JG Kotzé (Van der Westhuysen, 1934, p. 17). In addition to the core work done at the 'Tot Nut', the young Melt took drawing lessons with Charles Fanning, and this led to an awakening in the arts and a great desire to paint (*op cit*). It was also while at the 'Tot Nut' that he wrote his first poem that he describes as "Mijn eerste versje die ik geschreven heb of gemaakt in 1856" (*ibid*, p. 20). An extract from the poem is as follows:

"Op De Snijder Kakatoe

Daar was by ons 'n snijder klein
Hij hiede graag van 'n glasje wijn
Ook groot te praten kon hy goed
Maar hij bezat heel wenig moed" (*sic*)

(in Van der Westhuysen, 1934, pp. 37 – 40)

After completing his education, he worked as a baker and a butcher in his father's businesses, before accepting a permanent position as draftsman in the office of the Surveyor-General. He joined the Aurora Society in 1865, and it was during this period that he began writing plays, mainly comedies and farces. He published 21 plays and 10 dialogues. The plays were extremely popular, and Brink is, for this reason, regarded as the founder of Afrikaans theatre.

8.1.6. Mr Laurence Woodbine Cloete

One of the grandsons of Judge Hendrik Cloete, the young Laurence was at the 'Tot Nut' School in the 1860s. He became a well-known promoter of companies and changed his surname to Graham while living in England (South African Dictionary of Biography Vol V, 1987, p. 134).

8.1.7. Dr Hendrik Emmanuel Fauré (1828 – 1898)

One of the sons of the Rev Abraham Fauré, Hendrik Emmanuel was at the 'Tot Nut' School from about 1834 to 1843. He started his ministry in Natal, but was called to the St Stephen's church in Cape Town in 1858. In 1862 he went to Holland to try to raise funding for the Church and decided to stay there, and he lived out his days in Holland (Dreyer, 1907, pp. 80, 81).

8.1.8. Reverend David Pieter Fauré (1842 – 1916)

David Pieter Fauré started at the 'Tot Nut' in about 1848, and left some 5 years later to go to Dr Changuion's Seminary on scholarship. After matriculating in 1860, he left Cape Town to study Theology at the University of Leiden (Fauré, 1907, p. 21). Here his orthodox upbringing came under the influence of a more liberal religion and, on his return, he became the Minister of the Free Protestant Church in Cape Town. In 1868, many members left the Dutch Reformed Church to join Fauré's Free Protestant Church (Fauré, 1907, p. 24).

He records one event of his childhood in Cape Town, while he was at the 'Tot Nut', which gave him nightmares and sleepless nights: early in 1848 it was rumoured that a shipload of convicts would be arriving in Cape Town. The colonists protested vehemently against this, and it caused a huge outcry. The young David could not go to bed without first looking under it to see whether a convict was hiding there, and every night he dreamed that he was being tortured by "... merciless ruffians". This continued for some 18 months, until the situation was resolved in 1849 and the convicts were sent elsewhere (Fauré, 1907, pp. 7, 10).

Fauré remembers the four de Kock brothers: Servaas, Stephanus, Willem and Daniel, as well as Otto Landsberg the Drawing Master and Mr Berry the English Master (*ibid*, p. 14). He is full of praise for the thorough grounding he received in Geography, the use of globes, and simple Astronomy (*op cit*), courtesy of Stephanus de Kock. He also acknowledges that the training he received in grammatical Dutch was of incalculable advantage to him in his later career, and he is grateful for Stephanus de Kock's creative method of making his pupils correct and explain endless misspelt and ungrammatical passages written on the blackboard (*ibid*, p. 15).

8.1.9. The Honorable Abraham Fischer (1850 – 1913)

Advocate and politician, the young Abraham Fischer completed his education at the 'Tot Nut' in 1861 (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol. I, 1968, p. 290). By this time, instruction was in both English and Dutch, which probably is the reason for Abraham's good command of English, as can be seen in a letter he wrote on 30

December 1861 to the Council of the South African College, to apply for a scholarship to study there. Fischer's letter of application reads thus:

"Gentlemen,

With reference to the application of my older brother Peter Ulrich Fischer, who has applied to you for one of the vacant Murray Scholarships, I beg respectfully to say that if it shall be in the power of the Council to confer one of them upon me also, I shall gratefully endeavour to show myself worthy of the gift.

I am, Gentlemen,

Yours respectfully

Abraham Fischer"

He adds as a postscript:

"I have omitted to state above that I shall be 12 years of age next April, and that I have been hitherto at the School 'Tot Nut van't Algemeen'.
(Letter by Abraham Fischer, dd. 30 December 1861).

There can be little doubt that he believed the reference to the School would stand him in good stead at the College. The correctness of the English language and form, and the confidence with which this letter is written, bear some testimony to the good education Fischer received at 'Tot Nut van't Algemeen', and echo earlier comments about the pupils of the 'Tot Nut' having a high degree of bilingual competency.

Fischer was awarded the scholarship and completed his studies at the College, excelling in English, Classics, Dutch, Mathematics, Physics and Law. During initiation, his right eye was so badly damaged that it had to be removed. In 1875 he established himself in Bloemfontein as an attorney and advocate, and in 1879 he entered politics

by becoming a Member of Parliament of the Orange Free State. In 1907 he became its Prime Minister (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol. I, 1968, pp. 290 – 291).

Fischer's success both as an advocate and a politician certainly proved he was 'worthy of the gift' that gained him access to a higher education.

8.1.10. Dr Josias Mathias Hoffmann (1852 – 1904)

Described by van der Westhuysen (1934, p. 17) as a classmate of Melt Brink, he could have been at the 'Tot Nut' sometime between 1857 and 1860, although it is unlikely that he would have been in the same class as Brink, given the differences in their ages. After completing his schooling at the Stellenbosch Gymnasium, he planned to study theology, but was forced by lack of money to abandon his studies after obtaining a BA at the University of the Cape of Good Hope (Dictionary of SA Biography Vol II, pp. 307, 308).

From 1873 until 1875 he was the headmaster of the Paarl First Class Public School (later Hoër Jongenskool). However, he felt that he could better serve the community as a doctor and went to Edinburgh to study medicine. In 1881 he returned to Paarl and set up his practice. Because of his exceptional gift for comforting the sick spiritually as well as helping them physically, Hoffmann soon built up one of the largest practices in the country. Not only did he treat the poorer Coloured people for very little or nothing, he also took a deep interest in their affairs (*op cit*).

From 1898 until his death he was the Paarl representative in the Legislative Assembly; served on various commissions; and took an interest in education. In 1902 he became Secretary and Treasurer of the Council of the South African College. In his spare time he fought for the Dutch language, instilled in him no doubt at the 'Tot Nut' (*op cit*).

8.1.11. Mr Jan Christoffel Hofmeyr (1826 – 1898)

Notary, financier and benefactor, Jan Christoffel (known as Stoffel or 'Neusie') was at the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School from about 1835 to 1838, and the South African College from 1839 to 1841. He made his money as a notary and conveyancer at Burghersdorp, and on his return to Cape Town in 1863 became a moneylender. He served on the City Council; was Mayor from 1878 to 1879; and also served on many other boards and organisations. He gave generously to several charities, education and particularly the Dutch Reformed church. While still at school, Hofmeyr developed a great love for the Dutch language and culture (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol II, 1972, pp. 308, 309).

8.1.12. Ds Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr (1835 – 1908)

Minister in the Dutch Reformed Church, Somerset-East, he was educated at the 'Tot Nut' in the 1840s and later at the South African College (Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek, Deel III, 1977, p. 403). In 1853 he went to Utrecht to study Theology and

on his return, became the minister at Murraysburg (South African Dictionary of Biography, Vol III, 1977, p. 403).

8.1.13. Mr Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr (1835 – 1923)

Although perhaps not famous, I have included this story because it is so interesting and probably the only account of a past pupil of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' being shanghaied (although some sources say he ran away to sea!). Jan Hendrik was a pupil at the School in 1843 and 1844 (aged 8 and 9), and probably some years after that. A sickly boy with a weak chest, he was around 13 in about 1848 when he went down to the Cape Town docks, as young boys did in those days, to look at the tall ships. Someone called down to him: "Wil je aan bord kome?" to which he replied: "Graag, Mijnheer". The next thing he remembered was waking up at sea as a cabin boy. It would be 6 years before he returned home. During that time, he went around Cape Horn and was shipwrecked in the South Sea (Hofmeyr, 1992, unpaginated; Lombard, 2003, p. 3).

On his return home in ± 1854, Jan Hendrik walked to the family home at Welgemeend. The sickly child was now a strapping, robust young man. While he paused for a moment to sit on the steps leading to the house, his father galloped up on his horse, dismounted and, not recognising his son, said to him: "Hier, Jonge, houdt mijn paard" and went round to the back of the house. From the stables behind the kitchen, he could see his mother, Maria Adriana Tromp (Hofmeyr Genealogy, p. 24), going about her chores. She looked up but did not recognise him either. Nevertheless she dished

up a plate of food and gave it to him. Overcome with emotion, Jan Hendrik took his plate of food to the old fig tree near the kitchen and sat down and wept. It was some time before he was able to go inside and tell his parents his story (Hofmeyr, 1992, unpaginated; Lombard, 2003, p. 3). He returned home just in time, for his mother died later that year (Hofmeyr Genealogy, p. 24).

Jan Hendrik left Cape Town and farmed in the Riversdale area, where he saw out his days (Hofmeyr, 1992, unpaginated; Lombard, 2003, p. 4).

8.1.14. Mr Jan Hendrik (Onze Jan) Hofmeyr (1845 – 1909)

Journalist, statesman and co-founder of the Afrikaner Bond (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol II, 1972, p. 314), Jan Hendrik entered the 'Tot Nut' School at the beginning of 1853 when he was 7½ years old. Stephanus and Willem de Kock were cousins of his³³ and paid particular attention to him; in subsequent years he spoke of them with gratitude and fondness (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 20).

Of above average ability, Jan Hendrik was, throughout his school career, in a class with boys older than himself and was an industrious and successful pupil. He won a prize for Dutch in 1854, his second year; in 1856 he won prizes for both Dutch and English. In 1857 he again won a prize for Dutch – an English book entitled 'Ruins of Sacred and Historic Lands'. The inscription in it is in English, a fact that his nephew, JH 'Slim Jannie' Hofmeyr, draws attention to, commenting that ten years earlier, the

³³ Their father, Servaas de Kock sr, had married Alletta Geertruida Hofmeyr (Hofmeyr Genealogy, p. 16).

inscription would have been in Dutch (*ibid*, p. 23). The book is part of the Hofmeyr family's private collection.

Jan Hendrik was described as a spirited boy, fond of a joke and eager participant in sports and games. On one occasion he also took part in a schoolboy prank and helped break a water pipe on the property of Stephanus de Kock in Kloof Street (*op cit*).

In September 1858, aged 13, he passed his final examinations at the 'Tot Nut', distinguishing himself once again in Dutch and English. Before attending the South African College, Jan Hendrik was sent to Martell's Commercial Academy in Buitenkant Street for a few months (Boyce & Harrison, 1971; Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 26). From 1859 to 1861, he studied at the South African College, where he won a prize every year for either Dutch or English. Among his professors was Adv Jan Brand, himself a past pupil of the 'Tot Nut' (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 28). After leaving school, he became the editor of *De Volksvriend*, before going into politics (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol II, 1983, p. 314).

8.1.15. Mr Johannes Jacob Hofmeyr (1827 – 1883)

Founder of the well-known Cape Town auction firm JJ Hofmeyr & Son, and twin brother of Prof NJ Hofmeyr (*Gereformeerde Maandblad Deel III*, No. 6, October 1894, pp. 95 – 96), Johannes Jacob was at the 'Tot Nut' from about 1833 to 1843.

8.1.16. Professor Nicolaas (Klaas) Jacobus Hofmeyr (1827 – 1909)

Theologian and founding professor of the Theological Seminary, Stellenbosch in 1859 (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol I, 1968, p. 385; *De Kerkbode Deel XXVI*, 1910, p. 445), he was the twin brother of JJ Hofmeyr and the older brother of Servaas Hofmeyr.

Nicolaas (Klaas) was educated in Dutch at the 'Tot Nut' School, where he was a good student, top of his class and obtained several silver medals (Kestell, 1911, p 10). In 1843 he and Anna Hofmeyr won the medals for the pupils who had made the most progress in Dutch and English, while his best friend Johannes Henoch Neethling and Johanna Hofmeyr won the Rev Stegmann's prizes for the Geography competition (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 26 September 1843).

As a boy, Klaas Hofmeyr was a sensitive and physically weak child, but with a sharp and receptive mind for learning. At the 'Tot Nut' School he came under the mentorship of Servaas de Kock. The influence that this teacher had on him was highly beneficial. At latter's funeral, Professor Hofmeyr paid an emotional tribute to this gifted teacher (*Gereformeerde Maandblad Deel III*, No. 6, October 1894, p. 96).

It is thanks to the evangelical preaching of the Rev GW Stegmann that Klaas felt a calling to the ministry at the age of 17. He comments in his biography that many times, when he walked past the Rev Stegmann's home in Kloof Street on his way to school, he wished that the great man himself would come out and speak with him (Kestell,

1911, p. 11). Together he and his life-long friend, Johannes Henoch Neethling, studied theology at Utrecht.

On his return to the Cape, he accepted a call to Calvinia, where he served until the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church nominated him, together with the Reverend Dr John Murray, for a professorship at the Theological Seminary in Stellenbosch. Hofmeyr, Murray and Neethling formed a powerful triumvirate in Stellenbosch; for over 50 years these three moulded future ministers for the Dutch Reformed Church (South African Dictionary of Biography Vol. I, 1968, pp. 386, 388). As a student already, Hofmeyr preferred Biblical theology to modernism and joined a group of conservative students who opposed the influences of liberalism, which they saw as destructive (South African Dictionary Vol I, 1968, p. 386). In 1863 he was involved in the doctrinal dispute that arose with the young liberally minded Reverend JJ Kotzé of Darling.

Hofmeyr helped found the Stellenbosch Gymnasium in 1866 (today Paul Roos Gymnasium). He also served on the Dutch Reformed Church Missionary Commission (*Gereformeerde Maandblad Deel III*, No. 6, October 1894, p. 96).

8.1.17. Dr Servaas Hofmeyr (1830 – 1888)

Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at Colesburg and Montagu, Servaas was the younger brother of NJ and JJ Hofmeyr (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol. III, 1977, p. 405). Servaas attended the 'Tot Nut' between 1836 and 1846 and his time there is well documented in his biography *Korte Levensskets en Nagelaten Geschriften*

van Servaas Hofmeyr (Anon, 1891, p. 3). He said of the School: "Het was een goede school, voor jongens en meisjes afzonderlijk, met verskillende departementen en verscheidene onderwijzers. Aan bijbelonderwijs word vooral daar ruime plaats gegeven. Vele jaren lang heb ik daar onderwijs genoten."

In his first year at school he was disappointed to receive only a certificate at the annual prize giving. He vowed that the following year he would obtain a 'real' prize and told the management so! Both he and management were thrilled the following year when he received a book. Ever in the shadow of his older brother Nicolaas Hofmeyr, he strove to win the same prizes that his brother had achieved and almost always did. In the 10 years that he was at the 'Tot Nut', he added many others, among them a silver medal. When the time came for him to leave the Junior Department to be instructed in English, Servaas remembers being totally unwilling, but was persuaded by his parents that "... het is noodig voor uwe opvoeding". Afterwards, he was grateful to have received so bilingual an education (*op cit*).

In 1845 he was nominated the top pupil at the School, and in an article in *De Zuid-Afrikaan* (16 September 1845) he was praised not only for this achievement, but also for the mature, virtuous speech he made, and particularly in how he addressed his fellow students. He enjoyed the respect and trust of the teachers and management to the extent that after the holidays in 1846, at the tender age of 16, he became Assistant Teacher in Dutch at the School.

It was around this time that he became influenced by the preaching of the Reverend GW Stegmann, whom he hero-worshipped. He pays tribute to Stegmann's sermons as

being the strongest influence in his conversion (*Anon*, 1891, p. 4). When he informed the management of the School in 1849 of his intention to study theology overseas, the Secretary, Mr CJC Gie, wrote on behalf of the management what a loss his departure would be and thanked him for the honourable way in which he had attended to his duties as teacher (*ibid*, pp. 5,6). Hofmeyr was present at the closing of the 'Tot Nut' School in 1870, which was also the final prize giving.

8.1.18. Ds Stephanus Johannes Gerhardus Hofmeyr (1839 – 1905)

Stephanus Hofmeyr was one of nine children of Advocate JH Hofmeyr, who had a long association with the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'. His oldest sister was Johanna Jacoba Hofmeyr who made such an impressive speech at the School's annual prize giving in 1834 (*Die Burger*, 28 August 1937). As a child, Stephanus was rather uncontrolled and difficult and naughty (Neethling, 1907, pp. 2, 3).

He started at the 'Tot Nut' in 1846 at the age of 7, where he learned quickly due to his bright intelligence. He was caned often, but this had no effect and left no impression (*op cit*). In his biography he said of his time at the 'Tot Nut': "Toen ik zeven jaar oud was, ging ik naar het 'Tot Nut van't Algemeen'. Ik leerde goed, daar ik vlug was, en kreeg ook prijzen; doch hoe vele malen werd ik gestraft, o, mijn arme meesters!" (*ibid*, 1907, p. 3).

He left the 'Tut Nut' three years later, in 1849, when his father became insolvent, and he was home schooled for a few years before being sent to the South African College

(*op cit*). He left school in 1858 and worked on various farms for some years before having a religious experience. He sat for his religious teacher's exam at Stellenbosch in 1863 and thereafter became a Dutch Reformed missionary at the Soutpansberg (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol I, 1968, p. 389).

8.1.19. Ds Johannes Jacobus Kotzé (1832 – 1902)

Johannes Jacobus Kotzé was the liberal, controversial Minister in the Dutch Reformed at Darling; cousin of Dr JJ Kotzé below and brother of Sir John Gilbert Kotzé below (South African Dictionary of Biography, Vol. II, 1972, p. 373).

He was a pupil at the 'Tot Nut' in the 1840's, from where he proceeded to the South African College. In 1852 he was the Dux pupil at Professor ANE Changuion's Seminary. From 1853 to 1858 he studied theology at the University of Utrecht, and came under the influence of liberal theologians such as Scholten. On his return to the Cape, he and several of his contemporaries were viewed with suspicion by the Dutch Reformed Church, which was opposed to liberalism, and a watchful eye was kept over them. He accepted a call first to Heidelberg and then to Darling, where he served for the rest of his days (*op cit*).

In 1863 he was involved in the doctrinal dispute with the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church (Kotzé, 1938, pp. 36, 37) that has already been described.

8.1.20. Dr Johannes Jacobus Kotzé (1835 – 1899)

Minister in the Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Town, cousin of the Rev JJ Kotzé above and Sir JG Kotzé, he was at the 'Tot Nut' School in the 1840s before attending the South African College. In 1854 he went to study Theology at Utrecht. On his return to the Cape, he served the Richmond community from 1862 – 1877, and the Cape Town one from 1877 (South African Dictionary of Biography, Vol. V, 1987, p. 289).

8.1.21. Sir John Gilbert Kotzé (Johannes Gysbert) (1849 – 1940)

Sir John was the younger brother of the liberal Ds JJ Kotzé. He started at the 'Tot Nut' School in 1859 at the age of 10. Before that, he was home-schooled (Kotzé, 1938, p. 35). After the 'Tot Nut', he attended the South African College from 1863 and then studied law in London. In 1877 he was offered the position of Chief Justice in the Transvaal Republic by his friend, President TH Burgers. He was then only 27 years old (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol I, 1968, p. 438).

Two events stand out in Kotzé's childhood while he was at the 'Tot Nut' School. The one was the visit in 1860 by Prince Alfred (Duke of Edinburgh and Queen Victoria's second son) to lay the foundations of the Alfred Docks. All the schools in Cape Town were marshalled together and marched to witness the scene. Unfortunately the rather portly Lady Wynyard obscured the Prince from the view of the children as he tipped the load of sand (Kotzé, 1938, pp. 36, 37). The second event occurred during his last year at the School, 1863, and affected him personally. It concerned his older brother, the

Reverend JJ Kotzé, and the dispute between him and the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church (*ibid*, pp. 37 – 41).

8.1.22. Prof Johannes Izaak Marais (1848 – 1919)

Professor in Theology at the Theological Seminary, Stellenbosch (Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek Deel II, 1979, p. 321), he started at the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' in 1853, when he was 5 years old (Theron, 1982, p. 11) and left in about 1858. He made rapid progress, was at the top of his class and won several prizes (*Gereformeerde Maandblad Deel III*, No. 6, October 1894, p. 98). From there he went to ANE Changuion's Seminary for a year, until that was closed at the end of 1859.

In 1860 he went to the South African College, where he helped to found the debating society in his first year there, when he was only 12 years old. In 1866 he won the College's gold medal as the top student. He matriculated in 1867 and became a student at the Theological Seminary in Stellenbosch (*Gereformeerde Maandblad Deel III* No. 6, October 1894, p. 98). He was, for a while, the minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at Hanover. In 1877 he became the first student of the Theological Seminary to be inducted as a Professor. JD Kestell, the theologian and writer quoted in this work, was one of his students. He had a distinguished career at the Seminary. Of his first school, where he received his primary education, Professor Marais, wrote: "Het 'Tot Nut van't Algemeen' was een goede school; de onderwijzers waren bekwame mannen, binnen hun kring ... nooit kan ik vergeten, wat ik aan het 'Tot Nut van't Algemeen' te danken heb" (Kestell, 1911, p. 10).

8.1.23. Rev Nicolaas Meeser (1829 – 1910)

Nicolaas Meeser started at the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School in 1836 and stayed until about 1844. He was a good student, and won prizes almost every year.

From an early age he showed a leaning towards spiritual work and in 1852 he was appointed as chaplain of the convict stations at Bain's Kloof, Mitchell's Pass, Prince Alfred Pass and Montagu Pass. In 1861 he was ordained as a missionary in the Dutch Reformed Church. In 1881 he was appointed Principal of the Primary Department of Grey College in Bloemfontein. His last appointment before his retirement was in 1886 as chaplain to the poor white fishing community and prisoners at Hout Bay (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol III, 1977, p. 594).

8.1.24. Ds Johannes Henoeh Neethling (1826 – 1904)

Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, Stellenbosch and nephew of Adv JH Neethling (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol. II, 1972, p. 512). Jan Neethling and his sister Geertruida entered the 'Tot Nut' School in 1836, when he was 9 years old (Brown, 1981, p. 41). Although not a top scholar like his friend, Klaas Hofmeyr, Jan won a prize for Writing in 1842, as well as for the pupil who had made the most progress (Brown, 1981, p. 44). The School had a great influence on him (*ibid*, p. 34), and he was particularly responsive in later years to the teaching of Stephanus de Kock. In 1843 he won the Geography competition organized by the Rev GW Stegmann at the

annual prize giving (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 26 September 1843). It was the Rev Stegmann who was responsible for Jan's conversion at the age of about 15 (Brown, 1981, p. 46).

Together he and Klaas Hofmeyr studied Theology at the University of Utrecht (Kestell, 1911, p. 8, 10, 12) and remained life-long friends. On his return from Holland, Neethling accepted a call to the Prince Albert Dutch Reformed Church. In 1858 he transferred to the Stellenbosch congregation. At the inauguration of the Theological Seminary in 1859, he said the closing prayer (Brown, 1981, p. 26). At Stellenbosch, Neethling, his old friend Klaas Hofmeyr and John Murray formed a powerful triumvirate (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol II, 1972, p. 512).

8.1.25. Mr William Howard Schröder (1852 – 1892)

Portrait painter and cartoonist, William Schröder received his education at the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School, where he learnt drawing under Charles Fanning. As the family was poor, William had to start earning his living at the age of 14. He was employed by two Cape Town photographers: RBF Lowe in 1866 (the year he left school) to tint photographs; and by SB Barnard from 1866 to 1878 as errand boy. While working for Barnard, he studied part-time at the Roeland Street School of Art.

In 1871 he showed 3 oil paintings at the exhibition of the Fine Arts Association and the following year won their prize for the best watercolour by an amateur artist. He was appointed custodian of the Association's gallery in 1877 and he also served time as Drawing Master at the School of Art. Schröder is considered one of the best South

African portrait artists (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol III, 1977, pp. 731 – 732) and is listed in all encyclopaedias on South African artists.

8.1.26 Mr Jacques Jean Henry Smuts (1809 – 1873)

JJH Smuts was one of the early pupils at the 'Tot Nut' in about 1815. He later became a journalist and editor of *De Zuid-Afrikaan* from 1835 to 1871. Although an Afrikaner, he was not antagonistic towards the English language and used his newspaper to encourage Dutch teachers to become bilingual (Dictionary of South African Biography Vo. II, 1972, p. 679). Smuts remained a friend and supporter of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School until its closing in 1870.

8.1.27. Ds Johan Andrew Stegmann (1826 – 1908)

The younger (half)brother of the Reverend GW Stegmann (The South African Sendinggestig Museum, 1978, p. 30), Johan Andrew was at the 'Tot Nut' School between 1832 and 1842. He trained as a missionary at the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Zending Gesticht' in 1855 and was inducted as a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church in 1857. From 1859 until his retirement in 1882, he was the minister at Ceres (Wolpowitz, 1990, p. 106).

8.1.28. Ds Johan (John) Frederik Stegmann:

John Frederick was educated at the 'Tot Nut' School between 1865 and 1870. After this he went to Martell's Commercial Academy and the South African College. He later became a missionary at Pniël (Silberbauer, 1943, p. 57).

8.1.29. Sir Andries Stockenström (1792 - 1864)

Frontier administrator and politician (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol I, 1968, p. 774), Andries Stockenström was one of the earliest pupils at the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School, leaving there in 1808 (Dracopoli, 1969, p. 9). Stockenström was happy at the School, full of praise for its teachers, and regretted that he could not have stayed longer (Hutton, 1887, p. 29).

Upon finishing his schooling, he became a clerk in his father's office at Graaff-Reinet. He followed a military career and was appointed as magistrate of Graaff-Reinet in 1815 (Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol I, 1968, p. 774).

8.1.30. Mr Olof Johannes Truter (1829 – 1881)

Magistrate, politician and digger, Truter was the second son of Olof Johannes Truter, Consul for the Netherlands and shareholder of the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen'. He was recorded as a pupil at the 'Tot Nut' School in 1842, but was in all likelihood there both before and after that date. In 1852 he left for the Australian goldfields in Victoria. He returned in 1859 and became the Magistrate at Kroonstad.

When diamonds were discovered in 1870, Truter was appointed Commissioner and Inspector-General of the diamond fields. In 1872 he became the Magistrate at Bloemfontein (South African Dictionary of Biography, Vol. III, 1972, p. 788).

6.1.31. Mr Jeremias Frederick Ziervogel (1802 – 1883)

Magistrate and member of the Cape House of Assembly, Ziervogel was one of the earliest pupils at the 'Tot Nut' School, starting there probably in 1809. After entering the public service and serving as a sworn translator in the Supreme Court, he moved to Graaff-Reinet, where he bought the Drostdy as his private residence and set himself up as a lawyer and translator. From 1854 to 1873 he served in the House of Assembly and was active in the public life of Graaff-Reinet for many years. Throughout his career Ziervogel paid tribute to the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol III, 1977, p. 859).

8.2. The 'invisible pupils': the girls at the 'Tot Nut'

The absence of the names of any of the female students in the above list deserves comment. During the 'Tot Nut's' existence, there were almost as many girls as there were boys enrolled. After 1853, however, the number of girls dropped sharply, remaining about half that of the boys until the School closed.

The girls featured prominently in the School's annual prize giving, where they appear to have done very well. It is from these reports in the local newspapers that I have found most of the information on the female students at the 'Tot Nut'.

At the 'Tot Nut' School, the girls were educated thoroughly and were given every opportunity to excel. In 1862, at the annual prize giving, Ds Abraham Fauré was complimentary about the girls' work in general, and in particular about the beautiful items of needlework on exhibition. He said: "... en dat het Instituut zyn oude goeden naam ook als eene meisjeschool niet onwaardig is" (*De Volksvriend*, 20 September 1862). However, he goes on to lament the lack of fathers and men present on the day that the girls were publicly examined, indicating that the progress of the girls was not viewed in general as being as important as that of the boys.

And there was also a subtle imbalance in the education provided them by the School. Dr Langham Dale, the Superintendent-General of Education, made the observation at the 1864 prize giving, that the girl pupils at the 'Tot Nut' were expected to commit too many facts to memory and were not allowed enough cognitive development through Science, Mathematics and the classical languages. He urged the School to consider this in future (*De Volksvriend*, 17 September 1864).

The path of the girl pupils at the 'Tot Nut' through life after school is even more difficult to trace, as there is almost no material on them. What happened to bright little Johanna Jacoba Hofmeyr, who at the age of 9 was already a gifted poet? Did she achieve her potential? Did she find fulfilment in adult life? The girls seemed to slip away from sight after school. It is a sad reflection of a time when women were considered second-class

citizens, and almost never went into public life after school. They were not able to achieve the success their male counterparts could in any sphere outside the home.

Professor ANE Changuion, champion of education at the Cape, was outspoken in his belief that women had an important role to play in shaping society (Olivier, 1975, p. 123). He started a small morning class for girls between the ages of 12 and 16 at his Seminary in Strand Street in the 1850s. He believed in female education and encouraged parents to educate their daughters. He found that girls were lacking in rudimentary education and spoke out against the frivolous activities (such as needlework and music – parenthesis mine) with which girls were expected to occupy their time (*ibid*, pp. 122, 124). Reading alone was not sufficient without a good grounding in History, Geography, biography and a good general knowledge, he said. While he acknowledged that girls should be educated to the “... important task of raising boys and running households”, they should also be “... suitable partners for their husbands”, and that young men preferred female companions who could provide “... educated conversation” (*ibid*, p. 123).

Thus we see a different angle on the role of the woman as the wife, mother, lady and hostess, that suggests that women were not as passive as might be assumed. And maybe their influence in the home is not to be underestimated, for it was here that they prepared their sons and daughters for life, often assuming the role of preparatory teacher. The ‘raising of boys’ is an issue I should like to dwell on, because there is much evidence that the educated women of the time did just that.

Advocate Johannes de Wet (1794 – 1875), father of the more famous Marie Koopmans de Wet, was educated by his mother, Margaretha Jacoba Smuts (South African Dictionary of Biography, Vol I, 1968, p. 240). He went on to study law in Leiden and was known as one of the most learned and cultured Capetonians of his time (*ibid*, p. 241).

'Onze Jan' Hofmeyr's first teacher was his paternal great-grandmother Alletta Geertruida de Kock (mother of Servaas, Stephanus and Willem de Kock), who is described as a "... most remarkable woman, possessing the highest qualities of mind and heart. Ever taking a prominent interest in political and social matters, she continued until her death to direct the affairs of the home" (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 13). It was she who taught the 6-year-old Jan his ABC, and later his grandmother, Hester Sophia Joubert, instructed him in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic to prepare him for school (*ibid*, p. 14). His mother, Rykie Hester Roos, also had a profound influence on him, particularly by her example of "... sobriety of temperament and solidity of character" (Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 26).

'Onze Jan's' grandmother, Hester Sophia Joubert, was also Professor Nicolaas Hofmeyr's mother. She is described as "... eene van die teerdere moeders die geheel voor hare kinderen leefde" (Du Toit, 1984, p. 10). She was watchful and conscientious regarding their education and it was thanks to her influence that their father was prepared to bestow on each of their children a good education, to which she contributed generously (*op cit*). His grandmother Alletta de Kock, who was also 'Onze Jan' Hofmeyr's great-grandmother, also played a role in his education (*ibid*, p. 11).

Ds Stephanus Hofmeyr mentions in his biography that his oldest sister always set a good example in the home. Almost every day she led the family worship times (Neethling, 1907, p. 2). She was Johanna Jacoba Hofmeyr, who won the silver medal for the top female student at the 'Tot Nut's' annual prize giving in 1834 (*Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift*, September/October 1834, pp. 316 – 320).

The Reverend DP Fauré, a pupil at the 'Tot Nut' School in the early 1850's, writes in his autobiography, "... while I was still too young to be sent to school, my mother (Dorothea Susanna de Villiers; parenthesis mine) instructed me in the elementary subjects" (Fauré, 1907, p. 14). Before that he knew Van Alphen's *Kinder Gedichten* by heart, the result of an aunt who lived with them repeating them to him over and over, until they were committed to his memory (*ibid*, p. 5). He also gives credence to his lifelong religious beliefs as "... ideas I had imbibed at my mother's knee" (*ibid*, p. 27). When he left the 'Tot Nut' at the age of 12, he was top of the first (senior) class (Fauré, 1907, p. 15).

Sir John Gilbert Kotzé was home schooled by his sister before he was sent to the 'Tot Nut' School: "My early education was entrusted to my elder sister, fifteen years my senior; she taught me English and Dutch until I was nine, when I was sent to school". He goes on to say that his sisters were accomplished also in French, German and Music, and had had the benefit of the best tuition procurable at the Cape (Kotzé, 1938, p. 34), but does not mention where they received it. There were two Kotzé girls at the 'Tot Nut' in 1845: Johanna and Susanna, but I have not been able to prove their relationship to John. Kotzé also describes his paternal grandmother, Johanna Cornelia

Kotzé (née Van Asten), as a "... very intelligent and clever woman, and a French scholar" (*ibid*, p. 35).

There is no evidence that the women mentioned above, other than Johanna Jacoba Hofmeyr and possibly the two Kotzé girls mentioned above, were pupils at the 'Tot Nut' School. I use their cases simply to illustrate a point. Namely that the fact that they were educated meant that they often were the first teachers that the children of the prominent Cape families had. They poured much time and energy into nurturing, motivating and inspiring their children, particularly their sons, so that these could achieve what they themselves could not.

The 'invisible' pupils, it seems, had to be content with working silently behind the scenes. And yet, their influence is felt through the work they did with their offspring. It might then be argued that the education invested in the girls was not wasted, as they gave back so much of what they had received by raising and educating the next generation. In this way they too made a contribution to South African society. That the system worked is evident from the many success stories documented.

8.3. Other influences

The 'Tot Nut' also inspired the establishment of a school in Swellendam. In 1833 there was a request from some of the residents of Swellendam³⁴ to establish a branch of the 'Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen' to "... diffuse knowledge and promote moral

³⁴ Marthinus Steyn; Marthinus van As; Sebastiaan Rothman; Johannes Möller and others (Memorial dd. 31 December 1833).

and liberal education among the children of the different classes of the community” (Memorial dd. 31 December 1833), signed by Mr CJ Brand, one of the Directors of the Cape Town branch. The licence was given in 1834 and the Governor of the Cape, Sir Benjamin D’Urban, granted land in Swellendam for this purpose. In 1838 a ‘practising school’ (‘Oefeninghuis’) was built for free slaves on this land. It was used for “... het waarnemen van Godsdiens oefeningen ... Bedenstonden en het onderwijzen der Heidenen” (Tomlinson, 1943, pp. 24 - 25). This education did not refer alone to catechisation, but also to elementary schooling (Van Lill, 1998, p. 61). The school continued until 1922. The building still exists; it has been declared a National Monument and is now the tourist office of the town. No record could be found of a branch of the ‘Maatschappij tot Nut van’t Algemeen’ in Swellendam.

8.4. Summary

This chapter has highlighted the legacy that the ‘Tot Nut van het Algemeen’ School left South Africa. The influence that this one School had in moulding functional and successful citizens is nothing short of remarkable. It points to the importance of relevant educational policy, sound management at school level, skilled and dedicated teachers, and the important role of the parents and the home in motivating and encouraging their children. The conclusion follows in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

This study has aimed to present a comprehensive narrative of the history of a unique school, borne out of a unique political and philosophical climate and struggling for survival against many more such changes during its lifetime. And yet, it can be said, the School achieved much at a time when there was no precedent and little security for innovation and independence.

As I indicated in the previous chapter, the fact that the School did achieve so much is due to relevant educational policy, sound school management, skilled and dedicated teachers, and the important role of the parents and the home in motivating and encouraging their children. I have also shown that the School managed to adapt its policy and curriculum in response to the political, social and philosophical changes that occurred around it. There are lessons for today's schools, especially as South Africa is presently in a time of transformation, calling on schools to make enormous changes and adaptations. Governing bodies assume an important role and under the South African Schools Act have limitations placed on their power and re-election that were not in place during the time of the 'Tot Nut' School. Independent Schools, especially, can learn from the mistakes the 'Tot Nut' made in fiscal management to avoid debt and over-stretching the resources of the school. Avoiding parent apathy is difficult, but I believe schools should constantly strive to inform and involve the parents in the life of the school. They are dependent on the parents for support.

The 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School was a unique school. The link that it had with the beginnings of formal, state-aided primary, secondary and tertiary education in South Africa, and the contribution it made to the cultural development of an isolated community at the

southern-most tip of Africa should not be underestimated. It gave excellent service in the promotion of education at the Cape and exercised great influence on the lives of the individuals that attended it.

In many ways, the 'Tot Nut' was ahead of its time. Its liberal ideas, especially those of separating education from the state, and the teaching of religion from a non-denominational basis rather than linked to any particular church, would maybe have found much more support in today's society than it did in its own. Also the holistic approach to educating the child for life and work would have been highly acceptable today.

In 1911, Kestell said of the 'Tot Nut' School that: "Deze inrichting leeft nog in de herinnering van het Afrikaansche element in Zuid-Afrika, en haar invloed blijft voortduren" (Kestell, 1911, p. 8). Today, almost a hundred years later, the same can no longer be said. A few of the older academics and educationists sometimes respond positively when the name 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' is mentioned, but otherwise the School has all but faded from memory.

Or maybe not. Scholars and masters come and go, schoolrooms and buildings are erected and demolished, but the entity that is the school continues, gathering to itself as the years pass, customs and traditions (Quinn, 1963, preface). The tone and character of each school leaves an indelible imprint on the community that it serves. The influence of the 'Tot Nut' School may just have been far-reaching enough that one can say it built men and women of character who in turn were able to make a valuable contribution to other institutions that do still survive, like the South African College, as well as to the development of the nation as a whole, whether in the workplace or the home.

As I have stated in my study, it is a pity that the Colonial government did not do more to save this School from closure. It can be argued that, as a private school, the state had little jurisdiction over it. But the Department of Public Education supported the School financially, and through the eyes of the Superintendent-General, knew its value. I am of the opinion that it failed in its duty and missed a valuable opportunity of growing an educational institution that would have been difficult to surpass even today.

The South African College lives on in the legacy of some of the men mentioned in the previous chapter. It is the originator of the University of Cape Town and the South African College Schools (SACS). Earlier in 2003, the SACS Junior School celebrated its centenary, while SACS High School celebrates its 175th anniversary in 2004. They owe their early success, if only in part, to the pioneering work done by the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'. In the early years, when the South African College was floundering, the 'Tot Nut' provided not only capable and well-grounded students, but also lecturers such as Adv JH Brand, who helped to raise the standard of the College and contributed to its eventual success. It is particularly fitting that Neil Veitch, in his book 'SACS 175: A Celebration', pays tribute to the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' with the words: "For years the South African College and the 'Tot Nut' worked harmoniously together, the latter school providing particularly well-prepared candidates for the College " (Veitch, 2003, p. 33).

As a researcher, I am aware that my work, though concluded on these pages, can never be complete. There are quite possibly some primary sources that have been overlooked or that are reposing in some archive undiscovered. Some things will remain hidden and lost forever. Such is the fabric of history. *Het zij zo*. It is my sincere wish that some of the open questions I have posed might interest readers of this study and stimulate new research possibilities.

Finally, as part of this study, an exhibition of some of the primary resource material pertaining to the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School will be set up in partnership with the Education Museum and Special Collections at the Gericke Library of the University of Stellenbosch between January and February 2004.

Ms Sigi Howes

EDUCATION MUSEUM

Cape Town

January 2004

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Pictures, Paintings, Plans and Photographs:

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2. Building Plan No. 1, 2 & 3: 'Cape Town Art School', 15 November 1899. Public Works Department, Cape Town. Bldg No. 8104.
3. Diagram: Front View of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School. Cape Town Archives Repository. Ref. AG 2459.
4. Diagram of Erf 3608, Cape Town, 7 September 1703. Later subdivisions indicated 1816, 1819, 1824, 1825. Office of the Surveyor-General, Cape Town. No 5/1703.
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10. Painting by Samuel Davis, ca. 1790: *A Burgher Dwelling at the Corner of Burg Street and Strand Street*. William Fehr Collection, Castle Good Hope, Iziko: Museums of Cape Town (reproduced in Fehr, 1955, Plate 10).
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13. Painting by TW Bowler, ca. 1852: *Strand Street*. Property of the Cape Town Municipality, Cape Town.
14. Photograph of Servaas J de Kock in 'Ou Kaapse Inrigtings: die "Tot Nut van het Algemeen", Tweede Periode: 1835 – 1870', *Die Burger* 14 July 1923. Library of Parliament, Legal Deposit Section, Acc. no. 16521 (I).

15. Photograph of Stephanus J de Kock in 'Ou Kaapse Inrigtings: die "Tot Nut van het Algemeen", Tweede Periode: 1835 – 1870', *Die Burger* 14 July 1923. Library of Parliament, Legal Deposit Section, Acc. no. 16521 (I).
16. Photograph of Willem J de Kock in 'Ou Kaapse Inrigtings: die "Tot Nut van het Algemeen", Tweede Periode: 1835 – 1870', *Die Burger* 14 July 1923. Library of Parliament, Legal Deposit Section, Acc. no. 16521 (I).
17. 'Plan of Cape Town and Environs, Lithographed for G. Grieg's Cape of Good Hope Directory & Almanac', Cape of Good Hope Directory & Almanac, George Grieg, Cape Town, 1833.
18. 'Plan of Cape Town and Environs, Lithographed for G. Grieg's Cape of Good Hope Directory & Almanac', Cape of Good Hope Directory & Almanac, George Grieg, Cape Town, 1834.
19. Plan of Cape Town Municipality BHSX – 13211. Office of the Surveyor-General, Cape Town, 1986. Trig Sheet No. 3318.
20. Plan of Cape Town Municipality BHSX – 11832. Office of the Surveyor-General, Cape Town, 1987. Trig Sheet No. 3318.
21. Plan of Cape Town Municipality BHSX – 11833. Office of the Surveyor-General, Cape Town, 1988. Trig Sheet No. 3318.

Sites visited:

1. Cape Sun Hotel, cnr of Strand and Burg Street. Site where the building of the 'Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen' stood, which also housed the School from 1804 – 1822.
2. Annex of the High Court, 38 Queen Victoria Street, Cape Town. Formerly the Old Training Institute; site where the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School stood from 1833 - 1898.
3. South African Mission Museum, Long Street, Cape Town. The 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School used these premises for its annual public examinations, as well as for special occasions, before the School occupied its own premises in New Street, 1833.
4. St Martini Kindergarten, cnr Orphan and Long Street, site of the Orphan House and the South African College.
5. Hiddingh Hall Campus, UCT, Orange Street, Cape Town. Formerly the South African College.

ADDENDUM A:**LIST OF MEMBERS (SHAREHOLDERS) OF THE MAATSCHAPPY 'TOT NUT VAN HET ALGEMEEN', 1832**

Those written in *italics* were also shareholders of the School Building.
Those listed in **bold** are women.

Name of member	Profession
Ackerman, C Joel	
Anhuyzer, Johan Valentyn	Retailer
Anhuyzer, Leonardus Fredricus	Carpenter
Auret, Pieter	Deputy Superintendent of Police
Auret, Abraham	Draftsman; clerk to the Civil Commissioner-General
Bam, Johannes Andreas	Businessman (corn chandler)
Bam, Johannes Henricus	Baker; wine-merchant
Bartman, Johannes Arnoldus	Auctioneer (Wolff & Bartman); appraiser to the Master of the Supreme Court
Beck, Lodewyk Willem Christiaan	Jeweller
Bergh, William F	
Berning, Barend Cornelius	Haberdasher
Berning, Fredrik Simon	Wine merchant
<i>Berrangé, Daniel Fredrik (1775 – 1845)</i>	Younger brother of JC Berrangé; Advocate; Secretary of the Council of Justice; Deputy Fiscal; President of the Orphan Chamber; Master of the Supreme Court; together with PB Borchers, he codified all laws of South Africa; champion of Afrikaner cause
Borchers, Petrus Borchardus (1786 – 1871)	Public servant; clerk to the Council of Justice; Deputy Fiscal; member of Council of Justice; Superintendent of Police; Magistrate; Civil Commissioner
<i>Botha Sr, Johannes Samuel Frederik</i>	Gunsmith (supplier of every caliber of gun used in SA); the shop was closed down during the SA War and taken over by William Rawbone (still in existence)
<i>Brand, Sir Christoffel Josephus (1797 – 1875)</i>	Advocate; journalist; academic; politician; First Speaker in Parliament (1854); co-owner and publisher of <i>De Zuid-Afrikaan</i> (1830 - 1930); Freemason: Grand Master of the De Goede Hoop Lodge; member of the Council of the SA College; champion of Afrikaner cause and the Dutch language
Brand, Phillippus Albertus	Brother of CJ Brand; printer; co-owner and editor of <i>De Zuid-Afrikaan</i> ; general agent and conveyancer
<i>Brink, Abraham</i>	Retailer
<i>Brink, Andries (Cornelis z)</i>	Wine merchant
Brink Sr, Andries	Wine merchant
Brink, Petrus Michiel	Wine merchant
<i>Brink, Stephanus (Jz)</i>	Retailer
Buissinné, Wilhelm Susius	Notary; sworn translator; Receiver of Revenue
<i>Buyskes, EA</i>	General agent and conveyancer
<i>Carstens, Adam Fredrick</i>	

Name of member	Profession
Cloeté, Hendrik (1792 – 1870) (Pz)	Grandson of the first Cloete to own Groot Constantia; advocate; judge; Deputy Secretary to the Court of Justice
De Kock, Kenne Nicolaas	Baker
<i>De Kock, Michiel</i>	
<i>De Kock, Servaas (Servaas z)</i>	Clerk at the Protecteur Assurance Company; father of the De Kock teachers
De Kock Sz, WJ	
De Roos, Balthazar	Bookbinder
De Villiers, CLJ	
<i>De Villiers, Johannes Petrus (Jz)</i>	Haberdasher
De Wet, Fredrik William	First clerk in the police office
De Wet, Johannes (1794 – 1875)	Jurist; politician; writer; businessman; founder of the SA Association for the Administration of Estates; active in the Anti-Convict movement; member of Council of the SA College; first Registrar of the SA College; member of the Legislative Council; collector of Cape antiques; father of Marie Koopmans-De Wet
<i>De Wet, PJ</i>	
Echardt, H (widow)	
Fauré, Abraham (1795 – 1868)	Advocate; cousin of the Rev A Fauré
Fauré Sr, Rev Abraham (1795 – 1875)	Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, Cape Town; archivist; journalist; publisher of <i>Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift</i> and various ecclesiastical publications; administrator of funds; established the DRC Synod; established the first Sunday School in SA; preached regularly at the 'ZA Zending Gesticht'; founded the Theological Seminary in Stellenbosch; Chairman of the 'ZA Christelijke Boeken Vereniging' Chairman of the SA Bible Society, British and Foreign Bible Society and the SA Evangelical Alliance; founder of the 'Riebeeck Instituut' for higher learning; one of the founders of the SA College in 1829; Professor in Classical Languages at the SA College; served on the Council of the SA College until 1873; served on Bible and School Commission which controlled education in the Cape Colony; Chairman of the Board of Directors of the 'Tot Nut' School from 1851 until 1870; awarded honorary doctorate in Theology by Rutgers College in 1862
Fischer, Johannes Jacobus George (1807 – 1861)	Clerk in the High Sheriff's office; father of Abraham Fischer
Garisch, Carel Jacob	General agent and collector of accounts; compositor
Gaum, Fredrik Lodewyk	
Gerber, Jan	Butcher
Gie, Coenraad Johannes Carolus (Michiel z)	Secretary and cashier: Board of Executors
<i>Gie, Johan Coenraad (Michiel z)</i>	Banker, brother of CJC Gie

Name of member	Profession
Greybé, Johannes Jacobus	
Grové, Pieter J	Architect; builder and contractor
Hammes, Fredrik	Grocer
<i>Heldzingen, WF</i>	
Hertzog, Dirk Willem	Agent; grandfather of Gen JBM Hertzog
Hertzog, Willem Fredrik (1792 – 1847)	Surveyor; Assistant Surveyor-General; brother of Dirk Willem; founding member of SA College
Heyneman, Joachim Wilhelm (widow)	
<i>Hoets, Rynier Christiaan</i>	
<i>Hofmeyr, Arend Hermanus (Jz) (b. 1802)</i>	Accountant: SA Bank
<i>Hofmeyr, Hendrik Johannes (1798 – 1866) (Jz)</i>	(Weltevreden)
<i>Hofmeyr, Jan Hendrik (1796 – 1877) (Jz)</i>	Advocate
Hofmeyr, Jan Hendrik (1789 – 1862) (Stephanus z)	(Welgemeend); wine merchant; grandfather of JH 'Onze Jan' Hofmeyr
<i>Hofmeyr, Stephanus Johannes (1800 – 1840) (Jz)</i>	(Uitvlugt)
Hurter, Jan Willem	
Janson, JA	
<i>Jurgens, Johannes Tobias</i>	
Keeve Jr, Petrus Johannes	Undertaker; sexton at the DRC
<i>Keytel, Petrus Willem</i>	General dealer
Kirsten, JJ Frederik (Fz)	
Klerk, Johan Reinhard Gerhardus	Clerk to the Central Roads Board
<i>Kuys, Daniel Johannes</i>	
Lehman Jr, DF	
Leibbrandt, Johann Sebastian (1793 – 1855)	Wine merchant; father of HCV Leibbrandt, the archivist
Ley, Anthony Jasper	
<i>Ley, Nicolaas J</i>	Government Tax Department
Loedolff, Hugo Henry (1804 – 1864)	Sculptor; legal agent; controversial elder in DRC in Malmesbury
Loedolff, JR	
Loedolff, Ryk Johannes	Chief Clerk in the Master's Office
Lötter, Willem Godfried	Silversmith; son of Matthias Lötter, the famous Cape silversmith
Louw, Aletta J	
Louw, Adriaan (Az)	
Maasdorp, Dr Gijsbert Henry (1776 – 1849)	Director of the SA Bank
<i>Marquard Sr, Leopold (1787 – 1867)</i>	Missionary in the DRC; lecturer in Dutch and German at SA College; reader at the DRC; teacher at 'Tot Nut' in 1830s; ran own private school
<i>Meeser, Johannes Nicolaas</i>	Attorney and notary
Meyer, GH	

Name of member	Profession
Mocke, Christiaan Carel	Retailer (Mocke & Co: Dealers in Forage)
<i>Möller, HP</i>	Businessman (Bros Gerhardus, Michiel, Henoch & Willem)
Mostert, Johannes Reynard	Head Master at the 'Tot Nut' School
Muller, David Andries	
Müller, Johannes Georg	
<i>Munnik, HG</i>	
<i>Muntingh, HG</i>	
Neethling, Christiaan Nicolaas	Clerk; brother of JH Neethling
<i>Neethling, Johannes Henoch (1770 – 1838)</i>	Jurist; advocate; Deputy Fiscal; member of the Council of Justice; member of various literary, scientific and agricultural societies; Freemason; founder member of the Freemason's Education Fund; shareholder, president and member of the Council of the SA College
Neethling, Marthinus L	Brother of JH and CN Neethling
Nelson, Willem	Sworn translator
Olthoff, Ayett Gerrit	Haberdasher
<i>Overbeek, Gerhard Ewout (1767 – 1854)</i>	Naval officer; trader; civil servant; Chairman of the Orphan Chamber; Secretary of the 'ZA Zending Gesticht'; founder of SA Bible Society; elder in the DRC; promoter of education and the Dutch language; influential in starting the 'Tot Nut' School
Overbeek, Jan Daniel	Distributor of stamps
Pentz, James Fredrick	Attorney
<i>Pentz Sr, Petrus Johannes</i>	Wine merchant
<i>Plouvier, AJL</i>	Notary
Poupart, Paulus Abraham	Attorney
Rabe (widow)	
Rauch, Willem Tobias	Carpenter
<i>Redelinghuys, Johannes Hermanus</i>	Attorney; notary and conveyancer (Redelinghuys & Wessels)
<i>Redelinghuys Jr, Petrus Johannes</i>	Butcher
Richert, Johannes	
Rorich, Nicolaas	
<i>Roux Jr, Paul</i>	General agent and conveyancer
<i>Roux Sr, Paul</i>	Wine merchant
Royal, Dina	
Russouw, Fredrick (Fz)	
Russouw, Johannes Nicolaas	Wine merchant
<i>Ruysch, Mynhardus</i>	Land surveyor
Sandenbergh, HA	
Scholtz, Jacob	
Schönberg, Vespasius	General agent and conveyancer
<i>Serrurier, Johannes Petrus</i>	Son of the Rev JP Serrurier
Smit, Hendrik Andries	Messenger in the Master's Office
<i>Smuts, Johannes Adriaan</i>	Wine merchant
Smuts, Michiel	
Smuts, WJ	

Name of member	Profession
<i>Spengler, Georg Wolfgang</i>	Shop owner
<i>Staedel, FH</i>	
<i>Stegmann, Georg Frederick</i>	Iron merchant
<i>Stegmann, Johan Godlieb/Georg</i>	Tanner; milliner; merchant; father of the Rev GW Stegmann; served on Building Commission of the 'Tot Nut' School for 36 years
<i>Stoll, Joachim Wilhelm</i>	Member of Advisory & Legislative Council; Treasurer & Auditor-General
Stockenström, Sir Andries (1792 – 1864)	First baronet; frontiersman; Magistrate at Graaff-Reinet
Tesselaar, Petrus Michiel	
<i>Thalwitzer, Maximillian</i>	General dealer; Consul for the Free and Hanseatic Cities of Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen
Teubes, Hendrik	Builder
Theunissen, Jan	
Truter, Fred (Hz)	Son of HA Truter below
Truter, Hendrik Andreas	Brother of JA Truter (Chief Justice)
<i>Truter, Oloff Johannes (1797 – 1867)</i>	Attorney; notary; Honorary Consul of the Netherlands; son of JA Truter (Chief Justice of the Colony); Secretary of the Bible and School Commission at Wynberg; elder in the DRC; Director of the Board of Executors; Chairman of the Church Defense Association; Freemason: Provincial Grand Master of all Lodges in South Africa
Truter, Petrus Johannes (Hz)	Clerk to the Attorney-General
<i>Van Breda Sr, Michiel (1775 – 1847)</i>	Farmer (Oranjezicht); grower of exotic plants; businessman; politician; member of Burgher Senate
Van Breda, P (Arend z)	
<i>Van den Burgh, CA</i>	General dealer
Van der Riet, Lieve William Nicolai	
<i>Van der Riet, Ryno Johannes</i>	
<i>Van de Sandt, Bernardus Josephus (1798 – 1850)</i>	First South African-born printer; printer of almanacs, newspapers and books; stationer; father of BJ van de Sandt de Villiers
Van Niekerk, HH (widow)	
Van Schalkwyk, Theunis Dirk	Ironmonger
Villet, Charles Mathurin (1778 – 1856)	Impressario; teacher; baker; seedsman and trader in animals; donated specimens to SA Museum 1823
Volsteedt, Johan Pieter	Confectioner
Vos, Florentina Catherina, neé Meeser	Widow of Jacobus Johannes Vos – baker, builder, agriculturalist and holder of public office
Wahl, Jan Adam	Linen and wool draper
Wagner, JG	
Watermeyer, Frederik Godfried (1797 – 1847)	
Werdmuller, Georg Andries	
Wolff, Michiel Cornelius Fransiscus	Auctioneer (Wolff & Bartman)
Wolhuter, Christoffel Paul	Watchmaker

Name of member	Profession
Wolhuter, Simon Petrus	
Wrensch, JF	
Zastron, Carel Mauritz	
Zeederberg, Roelof Abraham	

('Acte van Deelneming' dd 14 March 1835)

(African Court Calendar of 1829, pp. 125 – 128)

(Cape Almanac of 1849, pp. 203 – 205, 207, 209 – 211, 213 – 225)

(Dictionary of South African Biography Vol I, pp. 171 – 173, 240, 241, 290, 379, 429, 774, 809)

(Dictionary of South African Biography Vol II, pp. 69, 70, 72, 78 – 83, 229 – 235, 309, 377, 385, 409, 654, 679, 808, 832 – 834,)

(Dictionary of South African Biography Vol III, pp. 46, 202, 326, 538, 594, 754, 755, 822, 840)

(Dictionary of South African Biography Vol IV, pp. 27, 365, 401, 402, 662, 663)

(Dictionary of South African Biography Vol V, pp. 462, 558, 559, 856)

ADDENDUM B:**ENROLMENTS AT THE 'TOT NUT VAN'T ALGEMEEN' SCHOOL**

YEAR	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	SCHOOL FEES & GRANTS	SOURCE
1804			50		• Kaapsche Courant, 8 October 1803
1805			50		• Du Preez van Wyk, 1947, p. 40
1807			50+		• Educational Report of the Bible and School Commission for 1807, quoted in the Report by the Watermeyer Commission of 1863
1831			250		• Die Burger, 28 August 1837
1832	139	109	248		• De Zuid Afrikaan, 12 October 1832. • De Hoeksteen van het Skolgebou, 1832 • Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift, September/October 1832.
			250		
1833			300		• De Zuid-Afrikaan, 20 September 1833
1834			360		• Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift, September/October 1834. • Du Toit and Nell, 1970
1835					
1836					
1837					
1838			300		• Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 16
1839					
1840	-	-	-		• Educational Return for 1840
1841	-	-	-		• Educational Return for 1841
1842	-	-	-		• Educational Return for 1842
1843	91	81	172		• Educational Return for 1843
			190		• Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift, November/December 1843 • De Zuid-Afrikaan, 26 September 1843
1844	78	86	164	-	• Educational Return for 1844
1845	80	82	162	unknown +£75 Gov	• Educational Return for 1845
1846	77	88	165	unknown + £75 Gov	• Educational Return for 1846
1847	77	88	165	unknown + £75 Gov	• Educational Return for 1847
1848	77	88	165	unknown £75 Gov	• Educational Return for 1848
1849	77	88	165	unknown £75 Gov	• Educational Return for 1849
1850*	65	32	97	£372 + £75 Gov	• Educational Return for 1850
1851	65	32	97	£372 + £75 Gov	• Educational Return for 1851

YEAR	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	SCHOOL FEES & GRANTS	SOURCE
1852	72	78	150 180	£389 15/ + £75 Gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1852 • Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 20
1853	152	68	220	£722 15/ + £75 Gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1853; • Report on Public Education for 1853
1854	160	80	240	£761 5/ +£75 Gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1854
1855	160	80	240	£761 5/ + £75 Gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1855 (no return; 1854 figures)
1856	- - 114	- - 64	230 173 178	£718 5/ 8d + £10 10/ + £75 Gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 20 • Report on Public Education for 1855/1856 • Educational Return for 1856
1857	114	64	178	£75 Gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1857 (no return; 1856 figures)
1858	114	64	178	£75 Gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1858 (no return; 1857 figures)
1859	- -	- -	158 158	£75 Gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1859 • Report on Public Education 1859
1860	111 -	46 -	157 173	£75 Gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1860 (No return rendered) • Special Report by the SG 1860
1861	115	35	150	£574 8/ 8d £ 1 9/ 10d + £75 Gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1861
1862	115 121	35 41	150 162	£640 10/ 4d £ 2 17/ 11d + £75 Gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Report by the Watermeyer Commission 1863; • Educational Return for 1862 • Report of the Superintendent-General of Education for 1862
1863	112 112	40 40	152 152	£640 6/ 7d £38 15/ + £75 Gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Report of the Superintendent-General of Education for 1863 • Educational Return for 1863
1864	117	43	160	£731 18/ 2d + £75 Gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1864
1865	124	44	168	£750 9/ 2d + £75 Gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1865
1866	108	42	150	£640 9/ 3d + £75 Gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1866
1867	96	48	144	£638 2/ 5d + £75 Gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1867
1868	84	46	130	£542 15/ + £75 Gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1868
1869	120	62	182	£592 17/ 7d + £75 Gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1869
1870	-	-	-		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1870 (School abolished 30 September)

ADDENDUM C:

INCOMPLETE LIST OF PUPILS WHO ATTENDED THE 'TOT NUT VAN HET ALGEMEEN'

Alphabetical order. Female students are written in **bold**. Those written in italics probably were at the 'Tot Nut' by virtue of their fathers being shareholders or their siblings having attended the School, but no proof exists.

NAME	YEAR(S) ATTENDED
Adams, Elizabeth	1862, 1863, 1864
Adams, Helena	1862
Adams, Sarah	1862, 1863
Ahrbeck, August (1851 – 1935)	± 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867
Albertyn, Hendrik	1864
Allen, Richard	1869
Almyda, Manuella (De Almeida?)	1862
Anhuyzer, C	1838
Aspeling, M	1838
Aspeling, S	1838
Asschen, Margaretha	1844
Auret, J	1838
Ball, William	1863, 1864, 1865, 1866
Bam, Andries	1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845
Bam, Andries	1863, 1864, 1865
Bam, Andrew	1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869
Bam, Gerhardus	1862, 1863, 1864
Bam, Hendrik	1869
Bam, Johanna Maria	1843, 1844, 1845
Bam, Johannes (Jan) Andries	1842, 1843, 1844, 1845
Bam, H	1838, 1839
Bam, Maria	1843, 1844, 1845
Bam, Maria	1845
Bam, Sophia	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845
Bam, Wilhelmina	1845
Barry, Ann	1845
Barry, C	1845
Barry, James	1843
Bartholomew, John	1865, 1866
Bartholomew, W	1865, 1866
Beck, C	1838, 1839
Beck, J	1838, 1839, 1840
Bergström, Hendrik	1869
Be(o) (u)rcher, Albert	1865, 1866, 1867
Berrangé, Magdalena	1869
Berrangé, Peter Hendrik (b. 1855)	1867

NAME	YEAR(S) ATTENDED
Berrangé, Rheinholdt Wilhelm Carl Theodor (called Reynard) (b. 1852)	1861, 1862, 1863, 1864
Beyers, Marthinus	1862, 1863, 1864
Blankenberg, Hendrik (Henry) Emanuel (b. 1851)	1863, 1864, 1865
Blankenberg, Scholtz	1862, 1863, 1864, 1865
Bodewich, Augusta	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844
Borcher, A	1867
Borcherds, John	1863
Borcherds, Maria	1844
Borgström, H	1869
Bösenberg, Alida	1842
Bösenberg, Alletta	1842, 1843, 1844, 1845
Bösenberg, Elizabeth	1866, 1867, 1868, 1869
Bösenberg, R	1845
Bosman, Daniel	1864
Bosman, Jacob B	1863
Bosman, Jacob Isaac (b. 1851)	1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868
Botha, Michiel	1866
Botha, Pieter	1862
Brand, Andries	1845
Brand, Christoffel J	1863
Brand, CC	1863
Brand, George	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842
Brand, George	1863, 1864, 1865, 1866
Brand, Johannes Hen(d)ricus (1823 – 1888)	1832, 1833, 1834, ± 1835, and some years before 1832
Brand, Rykie	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845
Brecher, Barnabas Gerhard (b. 1851)	± 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862
Brecher, J	1862
Brecher, Samuel	1862
Bresler, Anna	1844
Brink, A (Pz)	1838, 1839, 1840
Brink, Elizabeth	1845
Brink, Hendrik	1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866
Brink, Josua	1832
Brink, J	1862
Brink, Maria	1845
Brink, Melt Jacobus (1842 – 1925)	1856, 1857
Brink, P	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843
Brink, Stephanus	1863, 1864
Brink, S	1838
Brown, Christiaan Fleck (b. 1855)	1865, 1866, 1867, 1868
Brown, Dora	1863
Brunt, PFR	1868, 1869
Buchanan, Ann	1845
Buys (or Boys), William	1865

NAME	YEAR(S) ATTENDED
Buyskes, Gerrit (Gert)	1865, 1866
Buyskes, John	1862, 1863, 1864
Byrne, Lawrence	1862, 1863
Carstens, Christiaan	1844
Cerfontyn, Anna	1844
Clark, F	1868
Clark, J	1869
Clark, Johan	1865
Cloete, Jacob Peter (b. 1848)	1861
Cloete, Henry Arthur (from Groot Constantia)	1869
Cloete, William	1863
Cloete, Laurence Woodbine	1863, 1864, 1865
Combrinck, Maria	1843
Combrink, Willem	1865, 1866, 1867
Courtis, John	1863
Currey, John George (b. 1857)	1870
Currey, William Arthur (b. 1856)	1868, 1869
D'Astre, F	1868, 1869
De Grier, Albert	1863, 1864, 1865, 1866
De Kock, Catharina	1869
De Kock, Catharina (Cato) Wilhelmina (b. 1834)	1845
De Kock, Cornelia Susanna (b. 1825)	1842
De Kock, Christiaan	1868, 1869
De Kock, Daniel Johannes (b. 1831)	1843, 1844, 1845
De Kock, Elizabeth	1869
De Kock, Hester Sophia (b. 1828)	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845
De Kock, Jan	1865, 1866
De Kock, Johannes Jacob (b. 1830)	1844, 1845
De Kock, Kenneth	1843
De Kock, Michiel (b. 1824)	1838
De Kock, Nicolaas Jacobus (b. 1826)	1842
De Kock, Servaas	1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869
De Kock, Willem Johannes (b. 1829)	1842, 1843, 1844, 1845
De Leeuw, Charles	1867, 1868, 1869
De Nyssen, Stephanus	1862
De Smidt, Adam	1845
De Smidt, Adamina	1843
De Smidt, Andries	1843
De Smidt, Sara	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842
De Smidt, Pieter	1843, 1844
De Smidt, Willem	1843, 1844, 1845
De Smit, Adriana	1842
De Smit, S	1838
Desvages, Elizabeth	1844, 1845

NAME	YEAR(S) ATTENDED
De Villiers, Beatrix	1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866
De Villiers, Coenraad	1866, 1867
De Villiers, Deborah	1862
De Villiers, H	1865
De Villiers, Frans	1863, 1864, 1865, 1866
De Villiers, Gideon	1865
De Villiers, John GS	1862, 1863, 1864, 1865
De Villiers, Sebella	1845
De Vos, Aletta	1844, 1845
De Vries, Marthinus Christiaan (b. 1852)	1867, 1868, 1869
De Wet, Clement	1863, 1864
De Wet, Frederick William (b. 1856); son of SJ de Wet	1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870
De Wet, Jacobus Petrus (b. 1854)	1867
Diederick, Henry	1864
Dixie, Joseph	1864
Dreyer, M	1838
Duminy, Cato	1842, 1843
Eckard, Cornelis	1865
Eckard, Jacob	1865, 1866
Eckard, Willem	1863, 1864, 1865, 1866
Eckhard, Geertruida	1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866
Ellis, John	1845
Esterhuyzen, Anna	1845
Evans, Elizabeth	1862, 1863
Fauré, David Pieter (1842 – 1916)	±1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, ± 1853
Fauré, Hendrik Emmanuel (son of Rev. A. Fauré) (1828 – 1898)	± 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843
Ferney, Fanny (or Furney)	1863, 1864, 1865
Fick, Anna (Johanna?)	1862, 1863, 1854, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869
Fick, Carolina	1862
Fick, Christina	1866, 1867, 1868, 1869
Fick, Johanna	1863, 1864, 1865
Fick, Maria	1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869
Fischer, Abraham (1850 – 1913)	1861 and before
Fischer, Helena	1842
Fischer, Peter Ulrich (brother of Abraham)	Late 1850's
Fischer, Ryk	1842
Flaherty, James (b. 1855)	1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869
Flaherty, William	1869
Flight, Helen	1862
Furney, Fanny	1864
Gerber, Elizabeth	1844
Gie, Elsabé Antoinette Jacoba	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843

NAME	YEAR(S) ATTENDED
Gie, Johan Coenraad (b. 1827) (JC z)	±1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845
Gie, Johanna Sophia Aletta (JC d)	1843, 1844, 1845
Gie, Sebastiaan Valentyn	1832
Graham, Walter	1865
Green, Edward	1863, 1864, 1865
Green, Frederick	1864
Green, P	1865
Groenewald, Coenraad	1864, 1865, 1866
Groenewald, Pieter	1864, 1865, 1866
Gunning, George	1845
Hall, Charles	1866
Hancke, Carel (Charles)	1843, 1844
Hawthorne, Charles	1863, 1864
Hawthorne, G	1863
Heckroodt, Jacob	1869
Heldzingen, Catherina	1842, 1843
Heldzingen, Christina	1843, 1844
Heldzingen, J	1843
Hendricks, Cornelis	1865
Henry, Charles	1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866
Herbst, Johan (John) Horak (b. 1854)	1866, 1867, 1868
Herbst, Petrus Johannes Francois	1868
Herholdt, Abraham Peter (b. 1856)	1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870
Heydenrych, Maria	1844, 1845
Heyne, Henry	1864
Hiddingh, Willem (William)	1862, 1863, 1864, 1865
Hoets, Jan Marthinus	1832
Hoffmann, Josias Mathias (1852 – 1904)	± 1857, 1858, 1859, ±1860
Hofmeyr, Aletta Johanna (b. 1821) (JJ d)	± 1832 to maybe 1836
Hofmeyr, Anna Marthina Catherina (1828 – 1890) (Adv Jan Hendrik d)	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843 and probably some years before
Hofmeyr, Anna Sophia (b. 1846) (JH d)	± 1852 onwards
Hofmeyr, Andries Brink (b. 1851) (Andries z)	± 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866
<i>Hofmeyr, Arend Hermanus</i> (1837 – 1903) (Arend Hermanus z)	± 1843 onwards
Hofmeyr, Catharina Florentina (b. 1827) (Stephanus Johannes d)	± 1833 onwards
Hofmeyr, Catharina (Cato) Maria (b. 1835) (Adv Jan Hendrik d)	± 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845 and probably some years after that
Hofmeyr, Catharina Sebastina (b. 1840) (Hendrik Johannes d)	± 1846 onwards
Hofmeyr, Daniel Johannes (b. 1825) (Jan z)	1838 and possibly some years before and after that

NAME	YEAR(S) ATTENDED
Hofmeyr, Elizabeth (<i>Sebastiaan d</i>)	± 1850s/1860s
Hofmeyr, Elizabeth Jeanetta (b. 1850) (<i>Steph d</i>)	± 1856 onwards
Hofmeyr, Elisabeth Margaretha (b. 1826) (<i>Adv Jan Hendrik d</i>)	± 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842
Hofmeyr, Elisabeth Margaretha (b. 1837) (<i>Hendrik Johannes d</i>)	± 1843, 1844, 1845 and some years after that
<i>Hofmeyr, Fredrik Willem</i> (1833 – 1881) (<i>Jan z</i>)	± 1839 onwards
<i>Hofmeyr, Gideon Johannes</i> (b. 1845) (<i>Andries z</i>)	± 1851 onwards
Hofmeyr, Geertruida Alletta (b. 1828) (<i>JJ d</i>)	± 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838 and some years after that
Hofmeyr, Hendrik Johannes (<i>Sebastiaan z</i>)	1869, maybe 1870, and some years before that
Hofmeyr, Hendrik Johannes (b. 1834) (<i>Hendrik Johannes z</i>)	± 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845 and some years after that
Hofmeyr, Hendrina Sophia (b. 1845) (<i>Steph z</i>)	± 1852 onwards
Hofmeyr, Hester Sophia (b. 1853) (<i>Andries d</i>)	± 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, possibly 1870
Hofmeyr, Hester Sophia (b. 1844) (<i>Steph d</i>)	± 1850 onwards
Hofmeyr, Hester Sophia (b. 1848) (<i>JH d</i>)	± 1854 onwards
Hofmeyr, Hester Sophia (b. 1854) (<i>Daniel d</i>)	± 1860 onwards
Hofmeyr, Jan Christoffel (<i>Stoffel; Neusie</i>) (1826 – 1898) (<i>Hendrik Johannes z</i>)	± 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838
<i>Hofmeyr, Jan Hendrik</i> (b. 1824) (<i>Hendrik Johannes z</i>)	± 1832 onwards
<i>Hofmeyr, Jan Hendrik</i> (b. 1824) (<i>Stephanus Johannes z</i>)	± 1832 onwards
Hofmeyr, Jan Hendrik (b. 1833) (<i>Adv Jan Hendrik z</i>)	± 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1849 and possibly some years after that
Hofmeyr, Jan Hendrik (1835 – 1923) (<i>Steph z</i>)	1843, 1844 and possibly some years after that
Hofmeyr, Jan Hendrik (1835 – 1908) (<i>Arend Hermanus z</i>)	1843, 1844, 1845
<i>Hofmeyr, Jan Hendrik</i> (b. 1844) (<i>Andries z</i>)	± 1850 onwards
Hofmeyr, Jan Hendrik (<i>John Henry</i>) 'Onze Jan' (1845 – 1909) (<i>JH z</i>)	1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858
Hofmeyr, Jan Hendrik (b. 1855) (<i>Daniel z</i>)	± 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, possibly 1870

NAME	YEAR(S) ATTENDED
<i>Hofmeyr, Johan Ludwig (b. 1861) (Daniel z)</i>	± 1867, 1868, 1869, possibly 1870
Hofmeyr, Johanna Jacoba (1825 - 1878) (Adv Jan Hendrik d)	± 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838
<i>Hofmeyr, Johannes Augustus Bresler (b. 1844 (JJ z)</i>	± 1850 onwards
Hofmeyr, Johannes Jacob (1827 – 1883) (twin brother of NJ Hofmeyr) (Jan z)	±1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843
<i>Hofmeyr, Johannes Jacob (b. 1842) (JJ z)</i>	± 1848 onwards
<i>Hofmeyr, Johannes Tromp (b. 1840) (Steph z)</i>	± 1846 onwards
Hofmeyr, Johannes Wynand (b. 1847) (Josua Gideon z)	± 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864
Hofmeyr, Jonathan Calf (b. 1851) (Daniel z)	± 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865
Hofmeyr, Magdalena Christina Maria (b. 1841) (Adv Jan Hendrik d)	± 1848, 1849 (possibly removed due to father's bankruptcy)
Hofmeyr, Margaretha Johanna (b. 1839) (Jozua Gideon d)	± 1845 onwards
Hofmeyr, Margaretha Johanna Elizabeth (b. 1844) (Arend Hermanus d)	± 1850 onwards
Hofmeyr, Margaretha Louisa Johanna (b. 1842) (Andries d)	± 1848 onwards
Hofmeyr, Margaretha Maria Johanna (b. 1852) (Daniel d)	± 1858 onwards
Hofmeyr, Margaretha Louisa Johanna (b. 1847) (Steph d)	± 1853 onwards
Hofmeyr, Maria Johanna (b. 1830) (Adv Jan Hendrik d)	± 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844
Hofmeyr, Maria Wilhelmina (b. 1838) (Steph d)	± 1844 onwards
Hofmeyr, Mary Burnett (b. 1860) (Daniel d)	± 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, maybe 1870
Hofmeyr, Nicolaas 'Klaas' Jacobus (1827 – 1904) (twin brother of JJ Hofmeyr) (Jan z)	± 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843
<i>Hofmeyr, Paul Andrew (Sebastiaan z)</i>	± 1860s
<i>Hofmeyr, Paul Johannes (JH z)</i>	± 1860s
Hofmeyr, Rykie Hester (b. 1855) (JH d)	± 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, maybe 1870
Hofmeyr, Sara Christina (1851 – 1859) (JH d)	± 1857, 1858, 1859
Hofmeyr, Sebastiaan Valentyn (b. 1830) (Hendrik Johannes z)	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844 and possibly 2 years before that

NAME	YEAR(S) ATTENDED
<i>Hofmeyr, Servaas Johannes (b. 1823) (JJ z)</i>	± 1832 onwards
Hofmeyr, Servaas (1830 – 1888) (younger brother of NJ & JJ Hofmeyr) (Jan z)	1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846
Hofmeyr, Stephanus Johannes Gerhardus (1839 – 1905) (Adv Jan Hendrik z)	1846, 1847, 1848, 1849 (removed due to father's bankruptcy)
Hofmeyr, Stephanus 'Fanie', Johannes (brother of 'Onze Jan') (b. 1859) (JH z)	± 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, maybe 1870
Hofmeyr, Sophia Janetta (Sebastiaan d)	± 1850s/1860s
Hofmeyr, Susanna Johanna (b. 1856) (JH d)	± 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, maybe 1870
Hofmeyr, Susanna Maria (b. 1858) (Daniel d)	± 1864 onwards
Hofmeyr, Tielman Johannes Roos (b. 1849) (JH z)	± 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864
Hopkins, John	1845
Hugo, Cornelis	1862
Janson, P	1838
Joubert, Jan	1845
Joubert, Margaretha	1842, 1843
Jurgens, Anna	1845
Jurgens, Adriaan	1868, 1869
Jurgens, Jan	1844
Jurgens, Sara	1842, 1843, 1844, 1845
Jurgens, Susanna	1843, 1844, 1845
Keal, Mary	1863, 1864, 1865
Kearns, W	1863
Keeve, H	1838
Keytel, Carolina	1842
Keytel, Hermanus	1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869
Keytel, Petrus	1862, 1863, 1864, 1865
King, William	1842
Kirsten, M	1865
Kirsten, Sophia	1862
Klerck, George	1865
Klerck, Jan	1844
Klerck, Jan Cornelis Willem Hendrik (b. 1855)	1869
Klerck, Wilhelmina	1843, 1844
Klinck, Daniel	1843, 1844
Klinck, Marthinus	1843, 1844
Kloek (?)	1842
Knobel, Gysbert	1869

NAME	YEAR(S) ATTENDED
Knobel, J	1862
Kotzé, Johannes Gysbert (Sir John Gilbert) (1849 – 1940) (Pz)	1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863
Kotzé, Johannes Jacobus (1832 – 1902)	1840s
Kotzé, Johannes Jacobus (1835 – 1899)	1840s
Kotzé, Johannes Jacobus	1863
Kotzé, Kenne	1865
Kotzé, Johanna	1845
Kotzé, Susannah	1845
Kreibman, Johanna	1863
Krutzmann, Johanna	1862, 1863
Kuys, JB	1844
Kuys, Maria	1842, 1843, 1844
Kuys, Willem	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843
Kuys, W	1868
Landsberg, Charlotte	1862
Landsberg, Julia Elizabeth	1844
Landsberg, Maria (Mimi) Jacoba Carolina	1844, 1845
<i>Landsberg, Sophia Theresa</i>	<i>1840s</i>
Langerman, Carel	1845
Langerman, Jan	1845
Langerman, F	1845
Langerman, Johanna	1843
Lawrence, J	1863
Le Mordant, CMB	1838, 1839, 1840
Leeuwner, Christoffel	1843, 1844, 1845
Leeuwner, JC	1844
Leeuwner, M	1838
Leibbrandt, David	1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869
Le Roux, Charles	1867
Le Roux, Francois (Frans)	1867, 1868, 1869
Le Roux, Maria	1865, 1866
Le Roux, Petrus	1867, 1868, 1869
Le Sueur, Alida	1843, 1844, 1845
Le Sueur, Engela (daughter of Mr JJ le Sueur, President: Board of Directors)	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845
Le Sueur, Helena	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845
Le Sueur, Jacobus	1842, 1843, 1844, 1845
Le Sueur, Jan	1842, 1843, 1844, 1845
Liebenberg	
Liebentrau, L	1838
Liebentrau, S	1838, 1839, 1840
Lind, Francisca	1843, 1844, 1845
Littlewort, C	1868, 1869
Livingstone, C (G?)	1866
Livingstone, George	1865

NAME	YEAR(S) ATTENDED
Loubser, E	1862
Louw, Adriaan	1864, 1865, 1866
Louw, A	1838, 1839, 1839
Louw, Jacobus (Jac)	1842, 1843, 1844, 1845
Louw, Jan	1842
Louw, Jan	1864, 1865, 1866
Louw, Jan Paul (L z)	1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869
Louw, Lambertus	1862, 1863
Louw, Martha	1865
Louw, Tobias	1864, 1865
Luyt, Frederik	1865
Lyon, C	1863
Maasdorp, Elizabeth	1843
Marais, Johannes Izaak (1848 – 1919)	1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858
Marais, P	1864
Marais, Rachel	1845
Marquard, Jan	1835
Marquard, Jan	1865, 1866, 1867
Marquard, Leopold	1866
Meeser, Fredrik	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842
Meeser, Johannes	1843, 1844, 1845
Meeser, Nicolaas (1829 – 1910)	1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844
Meeser, Thomas	1842, 1843, 1844, 1845
Meyring, Arnoldus	1843, 1844, 1845
Meneses, Maria	1862, 1863
Mocke, Johan Godfried (b. 1848)	1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864
Möller, Jan	1866
Moller, Willem C	1863, 1864
Morgenroodt, B	1867
Morgenroodt, Frederick Heinrich (Hendrik/Henry) (1856 - 1905)	1867, 1868, 1869, 1870
Mostert, Christina	1866, 1867, 1868, 1869
Mostert, George	1869
Mostert, Sybrandt	1862
Mostert, Tobias	1863, 1864, 1865, 1866
Myburgh, Philip	1864, 1865, 1866
Myburgh, Tobias	1865, 1866
Neethling, Anna M	1843, 1844, 1845
Neethling, Engela	1845
Neethling, Geertruida (sister of JH Neethling below)	1836, 1837, 1838, 1839
Neethling, Johannes Henoeh (1826 – 1904) (Jz)	1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843
Olthoff, P	1838
Osmon(d), John (Jan)	1842, 1843, 1844

NAME	YEAR(S) ATTENDED
Pedder, Maria	1862
Pentz, Michiel Christiaan	1832
Pentz, Michiel (Michael?) Christiaan (b. 1851); son of PJ Pentz jr	1865, 1866, 1867
Pentz, Tobias	1865, 1866, 1867
Pfeiffer, H	1869
Pfeiffer, Peter Adrian Harmsen (b. 1858)	1870
Pitou, Carel	1845
Prince, Charles	1866, 1867
Prince, George	1866
Rabe, Christina	1842, 1843, 1844
Roos, JA	1864
Roos, Paul	1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869
Roos, Petrus	1869
Roper, Jan	1864
Ross, James A	1864
Roux, Elizabeth	1835 (and before)
Roux, Isabella (Sibella)	1843, 1844
Roux, Paul	1865
Roux, Ryno	1842
Russo, Frederik	1863
Ruysch, Johanna (Anna?)	1864, 1865, 1866, 1867
Sandenbergh, Hercules	1843
Schenck, H Beil	1844
Schierhout, M	1869
Schmidt, Maria	1866, 1867, 1868, 1869
Schonegevel, Christian Carstens (b. 1857)	1870
Schonegevel, Josephine	1869
Schonegevel, Ockert	1866, 1867, 1868, 1869
Schrader, W	1863
Schröder, William Howard	± 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866
Schultz, H	1838, 1839, 1840
Schultz, Petronella	1843
Schwabe, Johan	1862
Serrurier, Johannes Petrus	1832
Serrurier, Louis	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842
Shepherd, James	1862, 1863
Short, George	1865, 1866
Short, William	1864, 1865
Sieberhage, W	1862
Silkston, E	1862
Smit, Adriaana	1842
Smith, Johan	1867
Smith, George	1864

NAME	YEAR(S) ATTENDED
Smith, James	1843
Smuts, Adriaan	1837, 1838
Smuts, G	1838, 1839
Smuts, Jacques Jean Henri (1809 – 1873)	1815 -
Smuts, Johannes	1832
Smuts, James	1868, 1869
Smuts, M	1838, 1839
Smuts, Michiel (Michael) (b. 1851)	1862, 1863, 1864, 1865
Smuts, Petrus (Pieter)	1868, 1869
Solomon, Daniel	1866
Spengler, Abraham	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843
Spengler, Fredrik Willem	1838
Spengler, G	1868, 1869
Spengler, George W	1844
Spengler, Hendricus (Hendrik)	1843, 1844, 1845
Spengler, J Abraham	1842
Spolander, Maria	1869
Stadler, Anna	1843, 1844, 1845
Stadler, Johanna	1844, 1845
Steensma, A	1866
Steensma, Rosina	1868, 1869
Steensma, Wilhelmina	1863
Stegmann, Johannes Albertus (d. 1910) (JG z)	1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842
Stegmann, Johan Andrew (1826 – 1908)	1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842
Stegmann, John Andrew	1865
Stegmann, Johan (John) Frederik	± 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870
Stegmann, John William (b. 1852)	1864, 1865
Stein, Edward	1862, 1863, 1864, 1865
Steytler, G W	
Steytler, Helena	1844, 1845
Steytler, Petronella	1844, 1845
Stockenström, Andries (1792 – 1864)	1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808
Stone, Richard	1842
Teitz, P	1866
Teubes, Daniel	1834, 1835
Teubes, Henry (b. 1850)	1863, 1864
Teubes, Johannes	1864, 1865
Theunissen, Philip Hendrik (b. 1850)	1865
Theunissen, Sara	1842
Tiellemans, A	1862
Tier, Jacobus	1864
Tinley, Louis or (Lewis)	1863, 1864, 1865
Tinley, S	1867

NAME	YEAR(S) ATTENDED
Truter, Egbert	1843
Truter, Olof Johannes (1829 – 1881)	1842 and some years before that
Upton, A	1866
Van Breda, Alida	1844
Van Breda, C	1838
Van Breda, Daniel Frederick (b. 1851)	1862, 1863, 1864, 1865
Van Breda, Margaretha	1844
Van Breda, P	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843
Van der Byl, Andries	1862, 1863, 1864, 1865
Van der Lith, Carel	1845
Van der Spuy, Andries	1866
Van der Spuy, Geertruida	1842, 1843
Van der Spuy, Jan	1867, 1868
Van der Spuy, Katje	1842
Van der Spuy, Tobias	1868, 1869
Van der Vliet, Jan	1862
Van Driel, Andries	1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866
Van Driel, Roelof	1867, 1868, 1869
Van Driel, S	1866
Van Driel, Wilhelmina	1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869
Van Heerden, G Louis	1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869
Van Hou, Jan	1845
Van Niekerk, R	1838
Van Re(e)nen, Dirk	1842
Van Renen, George	1866
Van Reenen, Johan	1866, 1867, 1868, 1869
Van Schalkwyk, F	1838, 1839
Van Schoor, Melt	1844, 1845
Van Sittert, C	1865
Van Sittert, Elizabeth	1867
Van Sittert, S	1866
Villet, Amelia	1864
Villet, Anna	1862, 1863
Villet, A	1863
Villet, E	1838
Villet, Emily	1862
Villet, H	1838, 1839, 1840
Villet, Louis	1862, 1863, 1864, 1865
Villet, Margaretha	1868, 1869
Villet, Richard	1862, 1863
Villiers, J	1868
Vintcent, PC (- 1873)	± 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, ± 1856
Vlotman, Christina	1845
Voigt, C	1838, 1839
Volkwyn, J	1864

NAME	YEAR(S) ATTENDED
Volsteed, Elizabeth	1845
Volsteedt, Johanna	1842
Vos, H	1838, 1839
Vos, John Henry (b. 1856)	1870
Vos, W	1838
Wahl, Coenraad	1864, 1865
Wahl, Kenne	1865, 1866
Wassung, Johannes	1863, 1864
Wells, Richard	1862, 1863, 1864, 1865
Wessels, Johannes	1844
Whitta, John B	1862, 1863
Wicht, Alletta	1843, 1844, 1845
Wicht, Hendrik	1869
Wicht, Henriette	1843, 1844, 1845
Wicht, Jeanette	1844, 1845
Wicht, Johanna	1843, 1844, 1845
Wicht, Maria	1843, 1844, 1845
Wiegman, Susannah	1862
Wiehahn, Gerrit	1869
Wiehahn, Jacob	1862, 1863
Wiehahn, J	1863, 1864, 1865
Wiehahn, Maria	1863, 1864
Wiehahn, Susannah	1863, 1864
Wiid, Jacobus	1868, 1869
Wiid, Johannes	1868, 1869
Wiid	1869
Willemburg, Henriette	1866
Willemburg, J	1865
Willemburg, Jan	1865
Wilters, J	1867, 1868, 1869
Woeke, Fredrik	1843, 1844
Wolff, Aletta	1845
Wolff, Francina	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842
Wolff, M	1838
Wolff, Margaretha	1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844
Wolff, Maria	1869
Wolff, Michiel (Michael) Cornelis (b. 1853)	1866, 1867, 1868, 1869
Wolff, Sophia	1843, 1844, 1845
Wolhuter, F	1867
Wolhuter	1868, 1869
Woudberg, C	1838, 1839
Ziervogel, Jeremias Frederick (1802 – 1883)	± 1808 onwards

(543 names)

ADDENDUM D:**INCOMPLETE LIST OF TEACHERS WHO TAUGHT AT THE 'TOT NUT VAN HET ALGEMEEN'**

Alphabetical order. The Principals are indicated in bold:

NAME	SUBJECT(S) TAUGHT	YEARS AT 'TOT NUT'	
Mrs Adney, E		1842 – 1843	1
Mr Agron, Francois	Dutch & French	1804 – 1805	2
Miss Baard, JCM	Infant School	1861 – 1870	9
Mrs Beck	English	1843 – 1844	1
Mr Beil, Ludwig Heinrich (1794 – 1852)	Singing	1843 – ±1847	4
Rev Berrangé, Jan Christoffel		1819 – ?	?
Miss Berry, E	English Assistant	1856 – 1859	3
Mr Berry, William Stillerd	English	1851 – 1858	7
Mr Brice, Frederick H	English Grammar & Literature; Classics (Latin); Mathematics	1865 – 1866	1
Mr Brinkhoff, Jan Hendrik	Science & Mathematics	1804	1
Mr Brumfield, J	English	1842 – 1844	2
Miss Byrne, AE	Infant School	1859 – 1861	2
Mr Clementz, Petrus Hendrik	German; French	1856 – 1870	14
Mr Corbitt, Louis WE	Arithmetic; Bookkeeping; Latin; Writing	1862 – 1870	8
Mr De Kock, Daniel Johannes (1831 – 1897)	Junior classes	1849 – 1850; possibly to replace Mr S Hofmeyr	½ - ¾
Mr De Kock, Servaas Johannes (1813 – 1893)	Dutch; English; Geography Principal from 1841 – 1850	1833 – 1850	17
Mr De Kock, Stephanus Johannes (1814 – 1870)	Dutch Grammar & Literature; Geography; Principal from 1850	1840 – 1870	30
Mr De Kock, Willem Johannes (1829 – 1897)	Elementary Classes in Dutch; Vocal Music	1850 – 1869	19
Miss De Villiers, B	Elementary classes?	Possibly replaced Mr WJ de Kock 1869 – 1870	1
Mrs Doel, E	English (Girls); Needlework	1861 – 1864	3
Mr Drinkwater, Henry Felton	English	1842 – 1845	3
Mr Drossel, RR	English (Upper Classes) Principal, May – August 1870	1866 – 1870	4
Miss Eyre	English (Girls)	1838 – 1839	1
Mr Fanning, Charles	Drawing	1854 – 1870	16

NAME	SUBJECT(S) TAUGHT	YEARS AT 'TOT NUT'	
Mrs Frieslich, JD	English (Girls) Head of the Girls' Section; Piano; Needle- and Fancy Work	1866 – 1870	4
Mr Golding, John C	English (Boys)	1838 – 1843	5
Miss Gunn, M	English (Girls)	1843 – 1845	2
Miss Haupt, SM	Infant School	1852 – 1858	6
Mr Hofmeyr, Servaas (1830 – 1888) past pupil of the School	Assistant Teacher: Dutch	1846 – 1849	3
Mr Landsberg, Ludwig Heinrich Otto (1803 – 1905)	Drawing	1849 – 1853	4
Mr Langerman, Frederick		1833 – 1834	1
Rev Lion Cachet, Jan (1838 – 1912)		1861	½
Miss Lippert, CJ		1832 – 1837	5
Mr Marquard, Leopold (1787 – 1867)	Possibly German	1835 – 1838	3
Mr Mathew, A	English (Boys)	1845 – 1850	5
Mr Mestaer, John Everitt	English (Girls)	1833 – 1837	4
Mr Meyer, Justus W	Dutch	1834 – 1841	7
Mr Mostert, Johannes (Jan) Reynard (also spelt Rynhard).	Principal Dutch; Geography	±1832 – 1841 possibly before	9
Miss Mostert, WJ	Dutch (Girls)	1832 – 1841	9
Mr Newbegin, T	English	1850 – 1851	1
Mrs Osmitius	Dutch (Girls)	1842 – 1850	8
Miss Rabe, C	English, Juvenile Classes (Girls)	1850 – 1861	11
Miss Rykheer, Janette (also spelt Rijkheer)	Third Class: Dutch	1832 – 1837	5
Mr Roselt, Henry	English French	1832 – 1833 1854 – 1856	1 2
Miss Sapsford, EM	Infant School	1851 – 1852	1
Miss Schonegevel, J	Infant School	1858 – 1859	1
Mrs Savage	English	1842 – 1843	1
Mr JF Schrikker		1834 – 1835	1
Mr Short, Samuel	English; Mathematics; Latin; Greek	1858 – 1865	7
Mr Smit, NJ	Dutch; English	1832 – 1836 1843 – 1845	4 2
Mrs Solomon, R	English (Girls)	1864 – 1866	2
Mrs Thwaites, Ellen	English (Girls)	1845 – 1851	6
Mr Van Es, Nicolaas	Dutch; possibly French	1805 – ±1808	3?
Mr van Soelen, Cornelius van Dyk (1809 – 1876)	Dutch; Arithmetic; French	1832 – 1835 possibly earlier	3
Mr Versveld, M	English (Boys)	1833 – 1837	4
Miss Webster	English (Girls)	1839 – 1841	2
Mr Wilson, Jason B	Arithmetic; Bookkeeping; Latin	1853 – 1862	9

ADDENDUM E:**ANNUAL STAFF LIST AT THE 'TOT NUT VAN HET ALGEMEEN' SCHOOL***(Italics indicates that the educator's presence is likely, but not proven)*

Oct 1866 – Sept 1867	Oct 1867 – Sept 1868	Oct 1868 – Sept 1869	Oct 1869 – Sept 1870
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1866, p. Y2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1867, p. Y2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1868, p. Y2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1869, p. Y2 • Recollections of Fanie Hofmeyr (<i>Die Burger</i>, 4 September 1937) • Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 20 • Testimonials, File: Murray's Gift 1864 – 1871
Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch; Geography)	Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch; Geography)	Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch; Geography)	Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch; Geography) Died May 1870
Mr RR Drossel (English: Boys)	Mr RR Drossel (English: Boys)	Mr RR Drossel (English: Boys)	Mr RR Drossel (Principal from May 1870) (English: Boys)
Mr LWE Corbitt (Arithmetic, Bookkeeping & Writing)			
Mr W de Kock (Elementary Classes & Vocal Music)	Mr W de Kock (Elementary Classes & Vocal Music)	Mr W de Kock (Elementary Classes & Vocal Music)	<i>Miss B de Villiers (Elementary Classes)</i>
Mrs JD Freislich (English, Piano, Needle- and Fancy Work: Girls)	Mrs JD Freislich (English, Piano, Needle- and Fancy Work: Girls)	Mrs JD Frieslich (English, Piano, Needle- and Fancy Work: Girls)	Mrs JD Frieslich (English, Piano, Needle- and Fancy Work: Girls)
Miss JCM Baard (Infant School)			
Mr PH Clementz (French & German)	Mr PH Clementz (French & German)	Mr PH Clementz (French & English)	Mr PH Clementz (French & German)
Mr C Fanning (Drawing)			

Oct 1861 – Sept 1862	Oct 1862 – Sept 1863	Oct 1863 – Sept 1864	Oct 1864 – Sept 1865	Oct 1865 – Sept 1866
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Educational Return for 1861, p. Y2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Educational Return for 1862, p. Y2 De Volksvriend, 20 Sept 1862 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Report of the Superintendent-General for 1863, Table IV Educational Return for 1863, p. Y2 De Volksvriend 19 Sept 1863 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Educational Return for 1864, p. Y2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cape Almanac for 1866, p. 83 Educational Return for 1865, p. Y2
Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch & Geography)	Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch & Geography)	Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch & Geography)	Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch & Geography)	Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch & Geography)
Mr S Short (English, Mathematics & Latin: Boys)	Mr S Short (English, Mathematics & Latin: Boys)	Mr S Short (English, Mathematics & Latin: Boys)	Mr S Short (English, Mathematics & Latin: Boys)	Mr FH Brice (English Language & Literature; Latin & Mathematics: Boys)
Mr JB Wilson (Arithmetic, Bookkeeping & Latin)	Mr LWE Corbitt (Arithmetic, Bookkeeping & Writing)	Mr LWE Corbitt (Arithmetic, Bookkeeping & Writing)	Mr LWE Corbitt (Arithmetic, Bookkeeping & Writing)	Mr L WE Corbitt (Arithmetic, Bookkeeping & Writing)
Mr W de Kock (Elementary Classes, Singing, Violin)	Mr W de Kock (Elementary Classes, Singing, Violin)	Mr W de Kock (Elementary Classes, Singing, Violin)	Mr W de Kock (Elementary Classes, Singing, Violin)	Mr W de Kock (Elementary Classes, Vocal Music & Violin)
Mrs E Doel (English & Needlework: Girls)	Mrs E Doel (English & Needlework: Girls)	Mrs E Doel (English & Needlework: Girls)	Mrs R Solomon (English: Girls)	Mrs R Solomon (English: Girls)
Miss JCM Baard (Infant School)	Miss JCM Baard (Infant School)	Miss JCM Baard (Infant School)	Miss JCM Baard (Infant School)	Miss JCM Baard (Infant School)
<i>Mr PH Clementz (French & German)</i>	<i>Mr PH Clementz (French & German)</i>	1 additional male teacher according to the SG's Report <i>Mr PH Clementz (French & German)</i>	Mr PH Clementz (French & German)	Mr PH Clementz (French & German)
Mr C Fanning (Drawing)	Mr C Fanning (Drawing)	Mr C Fanning (Drawing)	Mr C Fanning (Drawing)	Mr C Fanning (Drawing)

Oct 1856 – Sept 1857	Oct 1857 – Sept 1858	Oct 1858 – Sept 1859	Oct 1859 – Sept 1860	Oct 1860 – Sept 1861
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1857, p. 122; Advertisements p. 45 • Educational Return for 1856, p. 464 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1858, p. 102; Advertisements, p. 64 • Educational Return for 1857, p. T2 • Hofmeyr, 1913, p. 20 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1859, p. 134; Advertisements, p. 73 • Educational Return for 1858, p. Y2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cape Almanac & Annual Advertiser for 1860, p. 61 • Educational Return for 1859, p. Y2 • Report on Public Education for 1859, p. 32 (7 male; 3 female teachers) • Kotze, 1938, p. 35 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1860, p. Y2 • Report on Public Education for 1860 • Dictionary of SA Biography Vol 1, p. 146
Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch & Geography)	Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch & Geography)	Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch & Geography)	Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch & Geography)	Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch & Geography)
<i>Mr WS Berry (English: Boys)</i>	Unnamed male teacher: Latin, Greek and Mathematics, probably <i>Mr WS Berry (English: Boys)</i>	Mr S Short (English, Latin, Greek & Mathematics: Boys)	Mr S Short (English, Latin, Greek & Mathematics: Boys)	Mr S Short (English, Latin, Greek & Mathematics: Boys)
Mr JB Wilson (Arithmetic, Bookkeeping & Latin: Boys)	Mr JB Wilson (Arithmetic, Bookkeeping & Latin: Boys)	Mr JB Wilson (Arithmetic & Bookkeeping: Boys)	Mr JB Wilson (Arithmetic, Bookkeeping: Boys; English in Elementary Classes)	Mr JB Wilson (Arithmetic & Bookkeeping: Boys)
Mr W de Kock (Elementary Classes & Vocal Music)	Mr W de Kock (Elementary Classes & Vocal Music)	Mr W de Kock (Elementary Classes & Vocal Music)	Mr W de Kock (Elementary Classes; Dutch & Vocal Music)	Mr W de Kock (Elementary Classes & Vocal Music)
Miss C Rabe (English: Girls)	Miss C Rabe (English: Girls)	<i>Miss C Rabe (English: Girls)</i>	<i>Miss C Rabe (English: Girls)</i>	<i>Miss C Rabe (English: Girls)</i>
Miss SM Haupt (Infant School)	Miss SM Haupt (Infant School)	Miss J Schonegevel (Infant School)	Miss AE Byrne (Infant School)	Miss AE Byrne (Infant School)
Mr H Roselt (French)	Mr H Roselt (French)	<i>Mr H Roselt (French)</i>	One other male teacher	One unnamed male teacher: probably <i>Rev Jan Lion Cachet (early 1861)</i>
Mr PH Clementz (German)	Mr PH Clementz (German)	Mr PH Clementz (German)	Mr PH Clementz (French & German)	Mr PH Clementz (French & German)
Mr C Fanning (Drawing)	Mr C Fanning (Drawing)	Mr C Fanning (Drawing)	Mr C Fanning (Drawing)	Mr C Fanning (Drawing)
Miss E Berry (English Assistant)	Miss E Berry (English Assistant)	Miss E Berry (English Assistant)	<i>Miss E Berry (English Assistant)</i>	-

Oct 1851 – Sept 1852	Oct 1852 – Sept 1853	Oct 1853 – Sept 1854	Oct 1854 – Sept 1855	Oct 1855 – Sept 1856
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cape Almanac 1852, p. 157 • Educational Return for 1851, p. 358 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1852, p. 358 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1853, p. 358 • Gereformeerde Maandblad Deel III, No. 6, October 1894, p. 96 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1854, p. 394 • Cape Almanac for 1855, p. 148; Annual Advertiser p. 32 • Hofmeyr, 1913, p.p. 18 - 19 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1855, p. 438 • Cape Almanac for 1856, p. 139; Advertisements, p. 38 • Annual Advertiser 1855, p. 32 • De Zuid-Afrikaan, 30 August 1855
Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch & Geography)	Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch & Geography)	Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch & Geography)	Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch & Geography)	Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch & Geography)
Mr WS Berry (English: Boys)	Mr WS Berry (English: Boys)	Mr WS Berry (English: Boys)	Mr WS Berry (English: Boys)	Mr WS Berry (English: Boys)
-	-	Mr JB Wilson (Arithmetic & Bookkeeping)	Mr JB Wilson (Arithmetic & Bookkeeping)	Mr JB Wilson (Arithmetic & Bookkeeping)
Mr W de Kock (Elementary Classes & Vocal Music)	Mr W de Kock (Elementary Classes & Vocal Music)	Mr W de Kock (Elementary Classes & Vocal Music)	Mr W de Kock (Elementary Classes & Vocal Music)	Mr W de Kock (Elementary Classes & Vocal Music)
Miss C Rabe (English: Girls)	Miss C Rabe (English: Girls)	Miss C Rabe (English: Girls)	Miss C Rabe (English: Girls)	Miss C Rabe (English: Girls)
Miss EM Sapsford (Infant School)	Miss SM Haupt (Infant School)	Miss SM Haupt (Infant School)	Miss SM Haupt (Infant School)	Miss SM Haupt (Infant School)
-	-	-	Mr H Roselt (French)	Mr H Roselt (French)
-	-	-	-	Mr PH Clementz (German)
Mr O Landsberg (Drawing)	Mr O Landsberg (Drawing)	-	Mr C Fanning (Drawing)	Mr C Fanning (Drawing)

Oct 1846 – Sept 1847	Oct 1847 – Sept 1848	Oct 1848 – Sept 1849	Oct 1849 – Sept 1850	Oct 1850 – Sept 1851
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1846, p. 296 • Dictionary of SA Biography Vol II, p. 49 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1847, p. 296 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1848, p. 342 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1849, p. 358 • Cape Almanac for 1849, p. 197 • Cape Almanac for 1850, p. 237 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1850, p. 358 • Cape Almanac for 1851, p. 193 • Fauré, 1907, p. 14
Mr S de Kock (Head Master) (Geography & Mathematics)	Mr S de Kock (Head Master) (Geography & Mathematics)	Mr S de Kock (Head Master) (Geography & Mathematics)	Mr S de Kock (Head Master) (Geography & Mathematics)	Mr S de Kock (Principal) (Geography & Mathematics)
Mr St de Kock (2. Master) (Dutch)	Mr St de Kock (2. Master) (Dutch)	Mr St de Kock (2. Master) (Dutch)	Mr St de Kock (2. Master) (Dutch)	Mr St de Kock (Principal) (Dutch)
Mr A Mathew (English: Boys)	Mr A Mathew (English: Boys)	Mr A Matthew (English: Boys)	Mr A Matthew (English: Boys)	Mr T Newbegin (English: Boys)
Mrs Osmitius (Dutch: Girls)	Mrs Osmitius (Dutch: Girls)	Mrs Osmitius (Dutch: Girls)	Mrs Osmitius (Dutch: Girls)	Mrs C Rabe (Dutch: Girls Juvenile Classes)
Mr S Hofmeyr (Dutch Assistant)	Mr S Hofmeyr (Dutch Assistant)	Mr S Hofmeyr (Dutch Assistant)	Mr S Hofmeyr (Dutch Assistant) (to Dec 1849) <i>Mr Daniel de Kock</i>	Mr W de Kock (Dutch Elementary Classes)
Mrs Thwaites (English: Girls)	Mrs Thwaites (English: Girls)	Mrs Thwaites (English: Girls)	Mrs Thwaites (English: Girls)	Mrs Thwaites (English: Girls)
<i>Mr LH Beil (Singing)</i>	-	-	Mr O Landsberg (Drawing)	Mr O Landsberg (Drawing)

Oct 1841 – Sept 1842	Oct 1842 – Sept 1843	Oct 1843 – Sept 1844	Oct 1844 – Sept 1845	Oct 1845 –Sept 1846
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cape Almanac for 1843, p. 269 • De Zuid-Afrikaan, 20 September 1843 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1843, p. 248, 249 • De Zuid-Afrikaan, 26 September, 1843 • Dictionary of SA Biography Vol II, p. 49 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1844, p. 244 • Cape Almanac for 1845, p. 181 • De Zuid-Afrikaan, 17 September 1844 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Return for 1845, p. 250 • De Zuid-Afrikaan, 23 September 1845
Mr S de Kock (Head Master) (Geography & Mathematics)	Mr S de Kock (Head Master) (Geography & Mathematics)	Mr S de Kock (Head Master) (Geography & Mathematics)	Mr S de Kock (Head Master) (Geography & Mathematics)	Mr S de Kock (Head Master) (Geography & Mathematics)
Mr St de Kock (2. Master) (Dutch: Boys)	Mr St de Kock (2. Master) (Dutch: Boys)	Mr St de Kock (2. Master) (Dutch: Boys)	Mr St de Kock (2. Master) (Dutch: Boys)	Mr St de Kock (2. Master) (Dutch: Boys)
Mr JC Golding (English Boys)	Mr JC Golding (English: Boys)	Mr H Drinkwater (English: Boys)	Mr H Drinkwater (English: Boys)	Mr A Mathew (English: Boys)
	Miss Osmitius (Dutch: Girls)	Miss Osmitius (Dutch: Girls)	Miss Osmitius (Dutch: Girls)	Miss Osmitius (Dutch: Girls)
		Mr NJ Smit (Dutch Assistant)	Mr NJ Smit (Dutch Assistant)	Mr S Hofmeyr (Dutch Assistant)
	Mr J Brumfield (English Assistant: Boys)	Mr J Brumfield (English Assistant: Boys)	Mr J Brumfield (English Assistant: Boys)	-
	Mrs Savage (English Assistant: Girls)	Miss Beck (English: Girls)	Miss M Gunn (English: Girls)	Mrs Thwaites (English: Girls)
	Mrs Adney (English Assistant: Girls)	Miss M Gunn (English: Girls)	-	-
		Mr LH Beil (Singing)	Mr LH Beil (Singing)	<i>Mr LH Beil (Singing)</i>

Sept 1836 – Aug 1837	Sept 1837 – Aug 1838	Sept 1838 – Aug 1839	Sept 1839 – Aug 1840	Sept 1840 – Aug 1841
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Brown, 1981, p. 41 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> De Zuid-Afrikaan 28 Sept 1838 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cape Almanac 1840, p. 206 De Zuid-Afrikaansche Blygeestige Almanak 1840, pp.36, 189 	
Mr JR Mostert (Head Master)	Mr JR Mostert (Head Master)	Mr JR Mostert (Head Master)	Mr JR Mostert (Head Master)	Mr JR Mostert (Head Master)
Mr S de Kock (Dutch)	Mr S de Kock (Dutch)	Mr S de Kock (Dutch)	Mr S de Kock (Dutch)	Mr S de Kock (Dutch)
Mr M Versveld (English: Boys)		Mr JC Golding (English: Boys)	Mr JC Golding (English: Boys)	Mr JC Golding (English: Boys)
Mr JW Meyer (Dutch)	Mr JW Meyer (Dutch)	Mr JW Meyer (Dutch)	Mr JW Meyer (Dutch)	Mr JW Meyer (Dutch)
Miss WJ Mostert (Assistant: Senior Girls' Dutch Classes)	Miss WJ Mostert (Assistant: Senior Girls' Dutch Classes)	Miss WJ Mostert (Assistant: Senior Girls' Dutch Classes)	Miss WJ Mostert (Assistant: Senior Girls' Dutch Classes)	Miss WJ Mostert (Assistant: Senior Girls' Dutch Classes)
Miss CJ Lippert (Assistant: Senior Girls' Classes)		-	-	-
Miss Rijkheer/Rykheer (Assistant: Junior Classes)				
Mr JE Mestaer (English: Girls)		Miss Eyre (English: Girls)	Miss Webster (English: Girls)	Miss Webster (English: Girls)
Mr L Marquard (German)	<i>Mr L Marquard (German)</i>	-	-	-

Sept 1831 – Aug 1832	Sept 1832 – Aug 1833	Sept 1833 – Aug 1834	Sept 1834 – Aug 1835	Sept 1835 – Aug 1836
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gereformeerd Maandblad Deel III, No. 6, October 1894, pp. 95 – 96). Du Toit, 1984, p. 14 De Hoeksteen van de Schoolgebouw, 1832 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Du Toit, 1984, p. 14 Die Burger 28 August 1937 Het Nederduisch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift No. IV Deel X, July – Augustus 1833 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Het Nederduisch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift No. V Deel XI, September – October 1834. 	
	Mr JR Mostert (Head Master) (Dutch & Geography)	Mr JR Mostert (Head Master) (Dutch & Geography)	Mr JR Mostert (Head Master) (Dutch & Geography)	Mr JR Mostert (Head Master) (Dutch & Geography)
	-	Mr S de Kock (Assistant: Dutch & English)	Mr S de Kock (Assistant: Dutch & English)	Mr S de Kock (Assistant: Dutch & English)
	Mr H Roselt (English: Boys)	Mr M Versveld (English: Boys)	Mr M Versveld (English: Boys)	Mr M Versveld (English: Boys)
	Mr NJ Smit (Assistant: Junior Classes)	Mr NJ Smit (Assistant: Junior Classes)	Mr NJ Smit (Assistant: Junior Classes)	Mr NJ Smit (Assistant: Junior Classes)
	-	Mr JE Mestaer (English: Girls)	Mr JE Mestaer (English: Girls)	Mr JE Mestaer (English: Girls)
	Miss CJ Lippert (Assistant: Senior Girls' Classes)	Miss CJ Lippert (Assistant: Senior Girls' Classes)	Miss CJ Lippert (Assistant: Senior Girls' Classes)	Miss CJ Lippert (Assistant: Senior Girls' Classes)
	Miss WJ Mostert (Assistant: Girls' Classes)	Miss WJ Mostert (Assistant: Girls' Classes)	Miss WJ Mostert (Assistant: Senior Girls' Classes)	Miss WJ Mostert (Assistant: Senior Girls' Classes)
	Miss J Rykheer (Assistant: Junior Classes)	Miss Rykheer (Assistant: Junior Classes)	Miss Rykheer (Assistant: Junior Classes)	Miss Rykheer (Assistant: Junior Classes)
	Mr C van Dyk van Soelen (Assistant: Senior Boys' Classes: Arithmetic)	Mr C van Dyk van Soelen (Assistant: Junior Classes)	Mr C van Dyk van Soelen (Assistant: Junior Classes)	
		Mr F Langerman (Assistant)	Mr JW Meyer (Dutch)	JW Meyer (Dutch)
			Mr JF Schrikker	Mr L Marquard (German)

1826	1827	1828	1829	1830

1821	1822	1823	1824	1825

1816	1817	1818	Jan – Dec 1819	1820
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cape Town Gazette & African Advertiser January 1919 	
			Rev JC Berrangé	

1813	1812	1813	1814	1815

Jan – Dec 1808	1809	1810	1811	1812
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hutton, 1887, p. 29 				
Mr N van Es (Dutch)				

Jan – Dec 1804	Jan – Dec 1805	Jan – Dec 1806	Jan – Dec 1807
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hutton, 1887, p. 29 Du Toit, 1944, p. 106 Kaapsche Courant, 27 August 1803 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hutton, 1887, p. 29 Kaapsche Courant, 14 September 1805 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hutton, 1887, p. 29 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hutton, 1887, p. 29
Mr JH Brinkhoff (Science & Mathematics)	Mr N van Es (Dutch)	Mr N van Es (Dutch)	Mr N van Es (Dutch)
Mr F Agron (Dutch & French)	Mr F Agron (French)		

ADDENDUM F:

SUBJECTS TAUGHT AT THE 'TOT NUT VAN'T ALGEMEEN' SCHOOL 1804 – 1870

1804 - 1810	1811 - 1820	1821 - 1832	1833 - 1840	1841 – 1850	1851 - 1860	1861 – 1870
Bible Education		Bible Education	Bible Education	History: Sacred (Biblical) & Universal (Classical)	History: Sacred (Biblical) & Universal (Classical)	History: Sacred (Biblical) & Universal (Classical)
Dutch		Dutch Grammar & Literature	Dutch Grammar & Literature	Dutch Grammar & Literature	Dutch Grammar & Literature	Dutch Language & Literature
Mathematics		Mental & Practical Arithmetic	Mental & Practical Arithmetic; Higher Arithmetic	Mental & Practical Arithmetic; Higher Arithmetic; Elementary Mathematics	Mental & Practical Arithmetic; Higher Arithmetic; Elementary Mathematics	Mental & Practical Arithmetic; Commercial & Higher Arithmetic; Mathematics
-	-	-	English (1833)	English Grammar, Spelling, Composition & Literature	English Grammar & Literature	English Grammar, Composition & Literature
		Geography	Geography	Geography	Geography: Ancient & Modern (with the use of globes)	Geography (with the use of globes)
Science				Natural History (Nature Study)	Natural History (Nature Study)	Natural History (Nature Study)
French					French	French
			German (1835)		German	German
					Latin (1853)	Latin
					Greek (1858 - 1860)	
					Bookkeeping	Bookkeeping
					Elementary Astronomy	Elementary Astronomy

1804 - 1810	1811 - 1820	1821 - 1832	1833 - 1840	1841 - 1850	1851 - 1860	1861 - 1870
				Drawing (intro 1846)	Drawing	Drawing
			Singing	Singing	Singing	Vocal Music
				Music	Pianoforté & Violin	Pianoforté & Violin
			Handwork		Plain & fancy Needlework	Sewing (Girls)
Writing			Writing	Writing	Writing	Writing (using copy books)
Reading			Reading	Reading	Reading	Reading
					Infant classes (1851)	Infant classes

ADDENDUM G:

INCOMPLETE LIST OF TEXTBOOKS AND MATERIALS USED AT THE 'TOT NUT'

1. Dutch

- *Spel en Lees-Boekjen voor Eerst Beginnenden* (De Villiers, 1934, p. 27);
- *Trap der Jeugd* (De Villiers, 1934, p. 27; Besselaar, 1914, p. 224);
- Hagoort's *Nederlandsche Spraakkunst* (Kotzé, 1938, p. 35);
- Changuion's *De Nederduitsche Taal in Zuid-Afrika Hersteld. Zijnde eene Handleiding tot de Kennis dier Taal. Naar de Plaatselijke Behoefte van het Land gewijzigd* (Changuion, 1854, p. xiv).

2. English

- Lennie's *Grammar* (Testimonial presented to Abraham Herholdt by Louis Corbitt, 1871);
- Chambers' *Moral Class Book* (Report of the Superintendent-General, 1867, p. 132).

3. Mathematics

- The books of Euclid
- Chambers' Series of Arithmetic (Testimonial presented to Abraham Herholdt by Louis Corbitt, 1871);
- Van Soelen, Cornelius van Dyk (1833): *Grondbeginselen der rekenkunde, ter dienste der scholen, met toegepaste sommen op iederen regel bijeengebracht* (Dictionary of South African Biography Vol. II, p. 808).

4. Geography

- De Kock, Stephanus: *Eerste Gronden der Aardrijkskunde*, Victoria Press, Cape Town, 1841 (*Die Burger*, 14 July 1923);
- De Kock, Stephanus: *Handleiding tot de Kennis en de Gebruik van den Aard-globe*, Victoria Press, Cape Town, 1838 (*Die Burger*, 14 July 1923);
- Lord's *Europe* (Report of the Superintendent-General 1867, p. 132).

5. History

- Nieuwenhuyzen, M & Loosjes, A: *Levensschetsen van beroemde mannen en vrouwen* (Besselaar, 1914, p. 186);
- Helmar Curas: *Korte Begrip der Algemeene Geschiedenis* – in 4 parts (Minutes of the Senate of the South African College, 27 January 1832);
- *Universal History* (Report of the Superintendent-General 1867, p. 132).

6. Latin

- Jacob's *Latin Reader* (Testimonial to Arend Steyn, 1867).

7. Religious and Moral Education

- *De Bijbel* (Hoge, 1937, p. 28);
- *Schoolboekjen van Nederlandse Deugden* (Besselaar, 1914, p. 186);
- JH Campe: *Beknopte Zedelen* (Minutes of the Senate of the South African College, 27 January 1832).

8. Singing

- Mostert, JR (ed): *Verzameling van Schoolgezangen* (Die Burger, 14 July 1923);
- *Bekroonde Volksliederen* (publ. By Maatschappy Tot Nut van't Algemeen, Amsterdam, 1835) (Special Collections, Gericke Library, University of Stellenbosch, Kas 6 E PAM 9 MAA).

9. Writing materials

- Slates and slate pencils (Kotzé, 1938, p. 87);
- Darnell's Copy Book (Kotzé, 1938, p. 87).

10. Other resource materials

- Globes;
- Ornery (likely);
- Leesplankie (possibly).