

1855-1863: A DIVIDING POINT IN THE EARLY
DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

by

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The years from 1855 to 1863 were crucial ones in the development of African education in the Cape Colony. This was the period when the educational policies of Governor Sir George Grey were in force, policies which, as part of a wider scheme for settling affairs on the eastern frontier, introduced new dimensions and new resources into the field of African education and provided it with a greatly expanded operating base. The purpose of this paper, then, is to assess the changes that took place in African education as a result of these new dimensions and new resources, and to determine their importance in the light of developments in the preceding decades. Its starting point will be an overview of African education prior to 1855.

The real origins of African education lay with the inception of sustained missionary activity in the eastern Cape in the 1820s, for larger-scale mission work led to a greater continuity and permanence in the schools than had existed with the intermittent missionary efforts of the first two decades of the century. (1) Of even more importance was the appearance of Xhosa-language printed material, beginning in 1824, which allowed instruction in the vernacular in addition to that in the medium of a foreign language. Schooling during the twenties and early thirties was confined largely to the mission stations, where the students usually were the children of converts or people who had otherwise accepted missionary authority. (2) There were also limited efforts at carrying instruction to non-residents of the mission stations. The number of students varied considerably, but it rarely exceeded 50. (3) At first, the missionaries and their wives were the only teachers, which curtailed the possibilities of school expansion. The Glasgow Missionary Society (GMS) had used industrial missionaries from the start, but the Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS) did not appoint a lay teacher until 1828. The same year, the GMS employed its first African teachers, Robert Balfour and Charles Henry, both of whom had been members of the initial group of Scottish converts. (4) The use of African teachers was a significant step, for it ultimately enabled African education to move beyond the confines of the mission stations.

War in 1834-35 brought a brief hiatus to nearly all missionary activity in the Ciskei, but after 1835 there was a general increase in mission work, accompanied by new developments in African education. Although the number of Africans in school remained small and the amount of education they received

continued on a limited scale, a major departure took place from the earlier unstructured approach to education with the initiation of a more ordered school system. One of the key new factors was the creation of out-station or location schools attached to the central mission stations. At first this process occurred mainly in the Ciskei. Children other than those of mission people began to receive some education, and the number of Africans attending school increased above pre-war levels. (5) Yet, European-style education still reached few school-age Africans, and, especially at the out-stations, it remained very elementary. The better students from the out-stations might come to the central station school, where, having already learned to read in Xhosa, they could obtain an education which one observer described as on "par, in point of general education, with [that afforded] the mass of European children in the humbler walks of life". (6) Overall, however, perhaps only a minority of the African students in the first half of the nineteenth century became literate. The majority never achieved functional literacy, for their school life was too short and they left school to live in largely non-literate communities.

A second major new factor was the employment of trained African workers (the so-called native agency) to carry out teaching and religious duties at the local level, under the supervision of missionaries from the central stations. In fact, the growth of out-station schools depended on the availability of African instructors. While a few Africans began teaching in the late 1820s, another decade passed before the missionaries thought that they had enough African aides to embark upon an out-station programme. The GMS took the lead when in 1838 it appointed two Africans, including a son of Ngqika, to teach at its Burnshill out-station schools. About three years later, another GMS station established four location schools under African teachers who earned £10 annually. (7) At approximately the same time, the London Missionary Society (LMS) began to employ three or four African teachers at its King William's Town complex. (8) By 1842 the Wesleyans had also engaged African teacher-evangelists. (9) Much of the progress of African education soon came to depend upon the ability and skill of these African teachers. Some, who possessed only a rudimentary education themselves, were ineffective teachers, but others, with a sound schooling, were better elementary teachers than Europeans, if merely because they were teaching among their own people.

The establishment of specialized educational institutions provided a third major aspect of the evolving school system. The missionaries' need for more and better trained African workers served as the impetus. While other purposes, such as educating the children of leading Africans and those of missionaries, also fitted in, the chief function of these schools was to train teachers and related mission personnel. As a GMS spokesman put it, the requirement was for "an educational establishment for the training ... of schoolmasters and catechists ... from among [the children] of the Caffres, for the upholding of Christ in this country, when we are in our graves". (10) The curriculum at the institutions was essentially that of a so-called normal English education, which included the three Rs, other general subjects, and, of course, religious instruction. Although the Wesleyans used both Xhosa and English for classroom purposes, and the Scots only English, this was a minor difference. The students, who were generally boarders, had already supposedly acquired a basic education before entering the institution. Manual training, especially designed for the circumstances of the eastern Cape, was also part of the curriculum. Partly because the students were to be harbingers of civilization and partly because they came from a background of "barbarism" and needed to learn so-called habits of industry, the institutions offered agricultural and vocational education. Such courses also provided necessary physical exercise in an otherwise sedentary existence. Then, too, there was the

additional problem of "civilizing" the students enough to be useful missionary agents, but not to a point where they would aspire to something more than the missionaries had in mind. That is, precautions had to be taken to prevent the students from adopting "such habits as would render a future residence among the uncivilized tribes of Caffraria irksome". The South African missionaries were not alone in their problems of how to structure institutional education. Missionaries everywhere faced the question of how to develop a "native agency" and yet keep it subservient to their own goals. (11)

Though the WMS and the GMS had the idea of building an institution at about the same time (12), the Wesleyans acted first when, in 1834, they designed a teacher training programme, designated the Watson Institution, for their Grahamstown school. Plans called for an enrolment of ten to twelve students with capital expenditures of £300 for buildings and an annual operating budget of £300. The WMS launched its Watson programme after the 1834-35 war, but soon revised it to include teacher training, the education of chiefs' sons, agricultural instruction, and the preparation of preachers. In its new form, a Watson Institution was appended to several Ciskei stations around 1848. The programme continued until 1865, producing a number of teachers and establishing several model farms. At best, however, it was a qualified success, for lack of adequate funds and sufficient European support, a dearth of personnel which overburdened the missionaries, and intermittent warfare, hindered its growth. (13)

Influenced by Alexander Duff's pioneer education work in India (14), the GMS began serious planning for its institution in 1839, and in 1841 opened Lovedale Seminary. In addition to training Africans, Lovedale also served as an advanced school for missionaries' children. Thus, its first class contained four African boarders, seven African day pupils, and nine European boys. The school soon added instruction for European girls, and in 1868 became the first to offer advanced education to African girls. Between 1841 and 1846, when another frontier war forced a temporary suspension of operations, Lovedale achieved many of its original goals. (15) It proved to be much more successful than the Watson Institution, a success that indicated the proper path for African higher education and which other institutions later attempted to emulate. A big advantage was its adequate financial support, which began with an initial investment of £1500 in its physical plant as compared to the £300 originally proposed for the Watson Institution. (16) The appointment of William Govan, an experienced and well educated teacher, as principal of the Institution was another important factor, for he was able to spend full time on educational matters. Another important reason behind Lovedale's success was the GMS decision to educate Europeans as well as Africans at the Institution. European parents, who came to include colonists as well as missionaries, had a direct interest in the educational quality and financial health of Lovedale. This provided a base of active European support which was missing from other institutions. Such support was especially valuable until Lovedale was able to build up a body of alumni, both European and African, which would actively back the school. The presence of white students and the demands of their parents strengthened Lovedale's policy of providing an education equivalent to that available in Great Britain at the pre-university level. Although few Africans could take full advantage of its advanced courses, such as classical languages, logic, and higher mathematics, nevertheless all students shared the same classrooms and so received the same instruction at every level. Lovedale ranked with the best schools in the Cape Colony, and it was not until the late 1880s that several white schools, heavily financed by the government, began to surpass it.

An analysis of African students in the late 1830s and the 1840s shows that they tended to be the children of Christian parents on the central stations, despite the spread of education through out-stations. At the elementary level, girls formed a majority, a pattern that would persist for the remainder of the century. At higher levels education was open only to boys, and the students were almost without exception the children of Christian parents. For example, all of Lovedale's first group of students had a personal and/or a family background of close association with the missionaries. The descendants and other relatives of these early students were to attend Lovedale in later years, thus fitting into an educational pattern in the eastern Cape that saw each generation of educated Africans in turn securing as much schooling as possible for their children. (17)

At about the same time that the missionaries were revamping and expanding African education, European education was also undergoing revision. (18) In 1838, the Cape government launched a series of educational reforms based on the principle that education was the duty of the government and designed to spread schools beyond Cape Town and the towns of the eastern Cape. The reforms included the creation of the office of superintendent-general of education, the formation of a system of established schools in the major towns, and the provision of grants-in-aid for schools, both public and mission, supported by contributions from other sources. The aided mission schools served coloured and white children, but few Africans, while the public schools and established schools were almost exclusively for whites. Government expenditure on established and aided schools increased from £2,215 in 1841 to £14,901 in 1861 (19), and by the end of 1861 the government supported 258 schools with 15,392 students. Some of the schools provided a sound education, but many others, especially mission and rural schools, had extremely low standards.

African schools remained almost totally dependent on the mission societies, though a faint government interest in African education began to emerge in the late 1840s. The result was that the Colony in 1848 began granting £112 per annum to the Wesleyan school at D'Urban. The British Kaffrarian government also contributed £100 to another Wesleyan school (Mt Coke), while in 1849 Lovedale began to receive an annual grant of £100. (20) In 1853, the Cape Colony made further tentative steps toward aiding African education, with the stimulus coming from Governor Sir George Grey's special New Zealand despatch on education which had been circulated by the Colonial Office. (21) Cape Governor Sir George Cathcart solicited suggestions on African education from its leading proponents and then acted on these suggestions by obtaining authorization for an annual expenditure of £1,000 on African schools. (22) He also created the Fingo Education Board, which drew up plans for a three-tiered school system with the training institutions of Lovedale and Mt Coke at the apex, district schools employing European teachers at the next level, and sub-district schools under African teachers at the base. Cathcart next, in 1854, established the Native Improvement Board to implement these plans, but his governorship ended before he could carry out his work. (23)

Substantial government support for African education began during the Cape governorship of Sir George Grey. Schooling became part of an overall programme of "civilizing" the Africans in order to establish peaceful conditions on the frontier. Under what became the Grey Plan, the government financed African schools from the Schedule D fund of the colonial revenue, which a minor provision of the 1854 Constitution Ordinance had created as a reserve fund set aside for the use of the Aborigines (Border) Department. The governor decided to channel part of this money into African education (24), which, over the span of the Grey Plan (1855-1863), amounted to a total expenditure of £55,046. The major

recipients of the funds were Lovedale and the four Wesleyan institutions of Healdtown, Salem, Lesseyton, and D'Urban, founded in response to Grey's offer of aid. Of £46,182 spent through mid-1862, £13,142 in capital expenditures and £21,866 in operating expenses went to these five schools. The balance went to GMS and WMS station schools and their outliers, to the Moravian institutions of Shiloh and Goshen, and to Church of England schools among the Thembu. (25) Schedule D funds were limited for use within the Colony, but the Grey Plan did reach beyond the colonial boundaries. Anglican schools in British Kaffraria and the Transkei received £1,900 per annum from a British Parliamentary grant, and Zonnebloem, another Anglican school for Africans located in Cape Town, obtained £1,000 annually from Parliament, beginning in 1858. (26)

Despite the appearance that Africans were the sudden beneficiaries of colonial largesse, in reality they were paying for their own education. The bulk of colonial revenues came from import duties, and Africans contributed significantly to the colonial treasury as consumers of imported goods. Some of them also paid direct school taxes. For example, after the 1846-1848 war, individual Mfengu families received land in the Fort Beaufort area on which they paid an annual tax of £1, with the understanding that the tax revenues would go to the salary of a civil superintendent, school construction, and teachers' salaries. (27) It was not until 1855, however, with the opening of Healdtown, that these Mfengu began to get schools in return for their taxes. (28) By 1859, their land tax payments in the vicinity of Healdtown (Fort Beaufort area) amounted to £600 annually. (29) Many Mfengu throughout the eastern Cape had, by this time, taken out land titles for which they paid an annual quit-rent of 2s 6d for their house sites and 10s for their garden plots. The government had obligated itself to spend half of the garden plot tax on schools. Similar provisions extended to all Africans who held their land under individual tenure. (30)

Africans also began to make direct contributions to their schools. The early education efforts had been wholly the work of missionaries, as they sought to cajole and persuade Africans to attend school. While most Africans in the 1850s continued to be indifferent or even hostile to education, an increasing number, especially of the Christians, actively supported schools. Few Africans yet paid school fees, as was the common practice for European students, but they did provide money for such things as the construction of buildings. In 1861-62, for example, the people at three of Lovedale's out-stations built combination church-school structures, raising almost the entire £350 for each building locally. (31) Similar situations developed at numerous other places where schools existed.

Education under the Grey Plan clearly rested on the school system which the missionaries had constructed since 1835, but some of its direction and planning slipped out of their hands as Grey made his own imprint on the system. Even before he became governor of the Cape, Grey made suggestions for educating the Nguni, based on his New Zealand experience. (32) Once in South Africa, he launched his programme of "civilizing" the Nguni, confident that the lessons he thought he had learned from dealing with New Zealand's Maoris could be put to use in the eastern Cape. (33) In addition to substantial government appropriations, his programme strengthened the existing missionary arrangement of station/out-station schools, enlarged the teacher-training programme at the various institutions, and initiated industrial education which became the programme's central feature.

Industrial training for Africans in the Cape Colony fitted into the wider context of a discussion going on throughout the British Empire over the proper education for the so-called coloured races. The concept of industrial education first became popular in Great Britain during the 1830s in connection with the schooling of the "lower classes", but it also seemed applicable to the supposed natural lower classes of the colonies - the indigenous population. The impetus came in part from the West Indies, where emancipation and free trade had created an economic crisis. The planters wanted Negro labour to be more productive. In response, Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies (1846-1852), developed a programme which included industrial education. Its ostensible purpose was to provide for the welfare of the "labouring population" and thus the whole community, but its intent was to produce more efficient workers. Earl Grey solicited suggestions on industrial education from the Committee of Privy Council on Education, which led to a memorandum by Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, a leading educational expert and proponent of industrial training. In 1847 the colonial secretary communicated Shuttleworth's ideas to the colonial governors, including Sir George Grey. While Grey never made official reference to the memorandum, his interests in such training, which dated back to 1840, and his "native" education proposals between 1849 and 1852, suggest that he agreed with much of its content. Earl Grey's circular despatch also went to the Cape, but it apparently had no immediate impact. (34)

The general intent of industrial education was to "civilize races emerging from barbarism" by turning them into a "settled and industrious peasantry" ready to work their own land or that of European farmers. Thus, a suitable education would be one which inculcated Christianity, taught habits of self-control and moral discipline, imparted a knowledge of English, provided training in proper diet, cleanliness, and other aspects of personal health, and gave lessons in household care, agriculture, and handicrafts. Instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic would be sufficient to meet the needs of a working class. Furthermore, the schools should also teach "the mutual interests of the mother-country and her dependencies, the rational basis of their connection, and the domestic and social duties of the coloured race", along with "the relation of wages, capital, labour and the influence of local and general Government on personal security, independence and order". The anticipated result of such training was a docile and efficient labour force which would accept European religious and political authority and social superiority. At most, some of its members might aspire to join an indigenous middle class that participated in "that humbler machinery of local affairs which minister to social order". (35)

When Grey introduced his plans for industrial training to the Cape, he found ready, though not universal, agreement with its concept since such ideas had been circulating in missionary as well as government circles within the Empire. Even before his governorship, some of those active in African education had urged the adoption of a similar programme, though others did not support it. (36) Once the Grey Plan was in operation, a number of missionaries found that its vocational aspects meshed with their own efforts to transform the Nguni into an Anglicized peasantry. As one Wesleyan noted, it was vital that young Africans "be taught useful trades and employments, to enable them to support themselves in after life, without having recourse to cattle". (37) Another member of the WMS stated that the proper course of instruction was one of manual training and basic literacy,

not, however, because the natives have not the capability of acquiring an amount of knowledge equal to the majority of European children, but because it has been deemed advisable not to give them such an education as will unfit them for, and be inconsistent with, their future

positions in life, but such as will be useful to themselves and to society at large. (38)

Under the Grey Plan, the missionary institutions provided industrial education. They were generally boarding schools with a curriculum that included literary education, vocational instruction (trades, agriculture, and home-making), and teacher training. In many instances, the institutions formed part of a mission complex which also had central day and location schools. The major centres of industrial training were the four Wesleyan institutions (Salem, opened in 1855; Healdtown, 1856; Lesseytown, 1857; D'Urban, 1859) and Lovedale, which added its vocational programme early in 1856. The Moravians also inaugurated similar training at their schools: Shiloh, in 1856, and Goshen, in 1862. Several of the newly founded Anglican schools had vocational instruction as well, but others did not.

Two schools serve to illustrate the progress, results, and possibilities of institutional education under the Grey Plan. One, Salem, existed only for the duration of the Plan and was generally a failure. The other, Lovedale, added to its existing stature as the leading school for Africans in South Africa by assimilating the special programmes of the Grey Plan into its course of instruction.

Salem was located in an English farming district, so that the school drew most of its students from a distance, giving it a heterogeneous student body. Its initial group of forty-two students, for instance, contained ten Xhosa and Mfengu, twenty-five Sotho, four Europeans (a transitory feature), and three Coloureds. In these respects, Salem differed from most other institutions, since they largely enrolled their students from the surrounding areas. At Healdtown, for example, the first group of pupils contained two English boys, two Xhosa, and twenty-nine Mfengu. Otherwise, in terms of curriculum, policy, and surface results, Salem was more or less a representative institution. Its initial goals were to provide an education similar to that "in the majority of respectable English day schools", to instruct the boys in a trade or agriculture and the girls in housework, and to train teachers. The underlying philosophy was to produce students who would act as agents of "Christianity and civilization" among their own people. The planners also hoped that the sale of farm and craft-shop products would make the institution self-supporting. The school day consisted of: field work, 6.00 - 8.00 a.m.; classroom instruction, 9.00 - 12.30; industrial training, all afternoon. The resident missionary and an African assistant acted as teachers, while European craftsmen taught the various trades. From 1855 to 1862, 151 students (104 boys, 47 girls) attended the school. Fourteen received training as shoemakers, twelve as carpenters, five as masons, five as tailors, nine as teachers, fifty-nine in agriculture and related work, and the girls all in household work.

Salem's basic statistics, however, can be misleading, for it fell considerably short of its goals. It was faced by a host of problems which were common to the other institutions. Most of the entering students, for instance, had an extremely limited early education, and thus education for most students did not go beyond the level of reading the Bible in English and of doing at least elementary arithmetic. Salem's pupils had an average school life at the institution of only two years. Also, a high turnover existed among the vocational instructors, which produced a discontinuity in the trades taught and insufficient training. This was closely related to another weakness - a lack of money. A financial squeeze on Salem made it difficult to hire and retain competent industrial instructors and prevented the employment of adequate classroom teachers

and administrative personnel. The financial weakness of Salem, heightened perhaps by administrative ineptitude and unrealistic planning, undermined the institution's entire programme and produced a situation of constant instability. Finally, Salem suffered from natural disasters such as drought and lung-sickness that greatly hindered its farm programme. (39)

While several other schools were more successful than Salem, none ranked with Lovedale. It, more than any other institution, turned out fully trained African artisans, offering instruction in carpentry, blacksmithing, wagon-making, book-binding and printing. Greater financial resources, with funds in addition to those from the government, allowed Lovedale to retain vocational teachers and provide a continuity in the trades it offered. Also, it adopted a four-year apprenticeship programme, from which the students emerged as journeymen with skills equivalent to those of their European counterparts. In this way, the school maintained a stable level of instruction with an annual average of fifteen apprentices. Furthermore, Lovedale added a high-level general education to its superior vocational programme. The apprentices had the same entrance requirements as the other students - a sound basic education in their own language. They would work at their trades during the day and then spend two hours in the classroom during the evening. In 1856, for instance, ten of the apprentices were studying English grammar, five British history and introductory natural philosophy, and all fifteen had a sound knowledge of arithmetic, with some doing more advanced mathematics. (40) Lovedale's vocational programme thus produced men skilled enough to do their jobs well and with sufficient education to handle successfully the business aspects of their trades. This was evident in the careers of alumni from the 1855-1863 period, several of whom were able to take advantage of the opportunities that existed in the eastern Cape for well trained African tradesmen among both Africans and Europeans. (41) Their success set other missionaries to planning similar programmes. (42)

Lovedale's academic curriculum, however, was the institution's primary concern while William Govan remained principal. In his insistence on higher education, he differed markedly from his contemporaries. While most missionary educators considered a rudimentary schooling, along with some knowledge of English, industrial training, and considerable religious instruction, to be what was best suited for Africans, Govan wanted Lovedale to provide the equivalent of a good English education and also a higher education that included classics, mathematics, logic, theology and related subjects. Yet few Africans attained Lovedale's upper levels. In 1856, for example, only two out of the sixty-two African pupils (excluding apprentices) were taking higher subjects, but ten out of the fourteen Europeans were in these classes. By 1863 more Africans took advanced subjects, but they still remained primarily the preserve of white students. Because Lovedale had such high standards, however, its alumni generally fitted easily into the ranks of the new African elite or middle sector. One of the major careers chosen by the top students who were able to take full advantage of the school was that of the ministry, for they were able to meet the academic qualifications for ordination. Others of the advanced students became teachers, while those with less education succeeded as tradesmen, farmers, clerks, or teachers in out-station schools. (43)

The comparison between Salem and Lovedale points out the care in financing, administration, planning, and instruction that was necessary for a successful institution. Educational goals were also important. Not only was it necessary to prepare Africans to participate in the eastern Cape's plural society, but the Africans themselves were also able to judge the value of the education offered. Thus, inferior schooling not only accomplished little; it also tended to make Africans reject it. On the other hand, if a school's goals were high enough,

it could truly educate its students and provide them with a training which they would value.

Education at the station and out-station level also expanded under the Grey Plan. This growth was centred in the Ciskei, generally inside colonial boundaries, but with significant development in British Kaffraria and the Transkei as well. Part of the expansion was a normal continuation of earlier work, but much of it resulted from government aid. The Moravian, Berlin, and London Missionary Societies were all active, and the Anglicans inaugurated their system of schools which was to make them major contributors to African education. But the Wesleyan and Scottish missionaries remained in the forefront of educational work among Africans. (44) The WMS had the largest number of students and schools. Starting in 1853 with approximately 700 students in its Ciskei day schools, the society had increased the number to 1000 students at 20 schools in the Colony and perhaps 200 additional students in British Kaffraria by 1855. In 1863, the number for the Ciskei rose to 51 schools with an enrolment of 2300. That same year, five WMS stations in the Transkei had eight schools with 800 students. These, along with two Anglican stations, were the only centres of European-style education beyond the Kei. Most of the expansion was connected with long-established mission stations, as was true with the other societies except the Anglicans. For example, the Scottish Burnshill station, after the disruption of the 1850-53 war, had only the central station school in 1856, but it added two out-stations in 1857, a third in 1858, and four more by 1864. The station's school also reflected growing enrolment, with an increase from 68 students in 1856 to 114 in 1859.

The level of education at the day schools varied extensively. While the Scottish schools were probably better, owing largely to Lovedale-trained teachers, the Anglican schools were often at a lower level because they were new, often lacked teachers, and had a high degree of absenteeism. Wesleyan day schools, on the other hand, generally reflected the average state of education at the station and out-station level. During the period 1855-63 a majority used Xhosa as the sole medium of instruction, about one-fourth used English, and the remainder used both languages. Dual language instruction increased from about 10 to 30 per cent over the nine-year period. The better schools, which included both stations and out-stations, provided effective instruction for their students. Elsewhere, however, the pupils learned little, as in the numerous schools where many children were not even at the level of the alphabet. Overall, less than a quarter of the students were studying arithmetic, and only about a third were learning to write.

Among the numerous reasons for the generally low state of the day schools were insufficient funding, inadequate buildings and equipment, and disinterest on the part of many students and their parents. Perhaps more important, however, was the shortage of properly trained teachers, as the superintendent of the Wesleyan schools noted in his 1861 report:

Our native schools are comparatively inefficient mainly because we have not a better class of teachers, and we have not these teachers because we have no adequate means of training and insufficient funds to remunerate them when trained. (45)

Low salary scales, such as £30 to £50 per annum for the WMS and £20 to £40 for the Scots, were inadequate to retain many of the good teachers who could easily find better paying employment as interpreters, clerks, or even teamsters.

The Mfengu and, to a lesser extent, the Thembu were the chief beneficiaries of the expanded system of African education. Since the aided schools were concentrated in the Colony, the Xhosa, who lived mainly in British Kaffraria and the Transkei, had less access to education. Of the Wesleyan institutions, for instance, D'Urban and Healdtown were almost entirely for Mfengu, Lesseyton had Thembu and Mfengu students, and Salem enrolled as many Mfengu as it did Xhosa, plus some Thembu. Lovedale's student body had a high portion of Mfengu, while among the Anglican institutions, two in the Queenstown area served the Thembu, a third, St Matthews's, was located in the Keiskamma valley in the midst of an Mfengu population, and two others, St Luke's (British Kaffraria) and St Mark's (Transkei) were in Xhosa areas.

The Grey Plan ended in 1863 as a result of an education commission which had met during the years 1861-63. Its main task was to study the system of public education for Europeans and aided mission schools for poor whites and coloureds, but it also had the responsibility of examining the Schedule D schools for the purpose of placing them directly under the department of education. The commission decided that the results of African education were not commensurate with the supposed large outlay of funds under the Grey Plan. It therefore directed the superintendent-general of education, Langham Dale, to inspect the Schedule D schools and make recommendations for their future. (46) After an inspection tour in 1863, Dale proposed a new set of criteria for future grants under Schedule D that amounted to a major reduction in government support. His projected appropriation was for £2,915, as opposed to the 1862 Schedule D expenditure of £5,718. Dale's proposals were contrary to the suggestions of the missionaries responsible for administering African schools, for they had consistently pointed out the need for more money, not less. They were particularly concerned with the need for adequate salaries to attract properly qualified teachers. This, they asserted, would close many schools. Dale, however, claimed that his proposals would make African education more efficient, that industrial training would be available to at least an equal number of students, and that elementary education would reach more students than before. (47)

The Cape Parliament, which represented neither African nor missionary interests, accepted Dale's recommendations and, with the addition of £300, appropriated the amount he suggested. At the same time, government grants to British Kaffrarian schools diminished sharply. Some Free Church day schools, for example, lost the whole of their former Schedule D grants. (48) Thus the principal feature of the Grey Plan - large-scale government aid - ended, as did the Plan itself, and thereby crippled the African school system. On the other hand, the principle of an education which would lift Africans from their supposed barbarism and train them to fulfil their so-called natural duties in a civilized society became the stated goals of the Cape education department. Dale, for instance, accepted the concept of industrial training, which he considered much more important for Africans than book-learning, but he saw that its direct impact was limited to a few individuals. He also wanted to spread basic education to the whole community, which was indeed a purpose of the Grey Plan as well. He believed that his programme could accomplish both ends, and at a savings to the colonial treasury, but this, of course, was contrary to the reality of the situation.

The years 1855 through 1863 thus form an important dividing point in the development of African education. They marked the culmination of earlier efforts to establish a school system which could weather the vicissitudes of frontier conditions and be a positive force for acculturation. African schooling had now acquired the necessary maturity and stability to secure its future. Furthermore the era represented a high point, as a temporary equilibrium developed between

government aid to African and European education. This disappeared forever at the end of 1863, when the Cape government began to concentrate on white education to the exclusion of that for Africans - a situation that reflected political realities in the Colony. Finally, these years set new educational patterns for the future. Despite their cutback, government funds henceforth were the key to financing African education, since neither missionaries nor Africans possessed the resources to support more than a limited system. With colonial funds came colonial control. Responsible government at the Cape led to a transfer of decision-making from missionary hands to those of colonial legislators and education department officials, who were indifferent and even hostile to African wants. The type of education also changed, as the concept of Africans as potential equals gave way to the idea that they were naturally subordinate. At the same time, however, there was coming into existence an increasing number of Africans educated under the expanding school system, who contested the notion of African subordination within the overall Cape society.

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- (1) The approach to teaching was at a very elementary level. See, for instance, Mrs John Ross, Lovedale, 26 March 1825, letter to Miss Grace Bigbie, in Una Long, comp., Index to Unofficial, Privately-owned Manuscripts Relating to the History of South Africa, 1812-1920 (Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 1947), p. 217. Mrs Ross mentioned that she taught the girls sewing, which was a common aspect of missionary education in South Africa and elsewhere.
- (2) R. H. W. Shepherd, Lovedale, South Africa: The Story of a Century, 1841-1941 (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1941), p. 79.
- (3) B. E. Seton, "Wesleyan Missions and the Sixth Frontier War, 1834-1835", unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1962), p. 516; Shepherd, Lovedale, p. 79; William Govan, Memorials of the Missionary Career of the Rev. James Laing (Glasgow: David Bryce and Son, 1875), pp. 35-3
- (4) Shepherd, Lovedale, p. 71. Robert Balfour was originally named Noyi before he was baptized. Noyi became a Christian under the influence of two early converts, Jan Tshatshu and Ntsikana, and then joined the LMS missionary John Brownlee and the Scottish missionaries at their combined station at Chumie (Tyumie). Charles Henry was also probably one of Ntsikana's early followers. Basil F. Holt, Joseph Williams and the Pioneer Mission to the South-Eastern Bantu (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1954), pp. 109-10, 115; Shepherd, Lovedale, pp. 59-61, 71.
- (5) Missionary Notices of the Foreign Missions of the Methodist Conference, January issues, 1836-1846 (Vol. VIII, No. 241 - Vol. XI, No. 85).
- (6) Govan, Memorials of Laing, pp. 72-3; John A. Chalmers, Tiyo Soga: A Page of South African Mission Work (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1877), pp. 19-20; Rev. George H. Green, Sale, 19 Dec. 1844, letter to WMS Directors, Missionary Notices (2d Series), XI, No. 77 (May 1845), p. 77.
- (7) Govan, Memorials of Laing, pp. 72-3; Chalmers, Tiyo Soga, p. 18.

- (8) James Backhouse, A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa (London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 1844), pp. 239-40. Jan Tshatshu, who was one of these teachers, had worked closely with the IMS since the second decade of the century, and he had testified in London at the Aborigines Committee hearing.
- (9) Missionary Notices (2d Series), X, No. 46 (Oct. 1842), p. 145; Rev. H. H. Dugmore, Grahamstown, 4 August 1843, letter to WMS Directors, Missionary Notices (2d Series), X, No. 64 (April 1844), p. 525.
- (10) GMS Report 1837, pp. 27-28, in Shepherd, Lovedale, p. 89.
- (11) John Beecham, Secretary, WMS, London, May 1834, letter to W. J. Shrewsbury, Grahamstown, in Leslie A. Hewson, "Healdtown: A Study of a Methodist Experiment in African Education" (unpublished PhD thesis, Rhodes University, 1959), Appdx. B, pp. 353-54; GMS Directors on education, 1839, in South African Outlook, Jan. 1940; Rev. John Ross, Pirie, 17 May 1848, letter to Richard Southey, Secretary for the High Commissioner of British Kaffraria, in A. E. du Toit, The Earliest South African Documents of the Education and Civilization of the Bantu. Communications of the University of South Africa, No. C47 (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1963), pp. 43-46. For a discussion of contemporary missionary efforts at developing a "native agency" in West Africa, see Philip D. Curtin, The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), pp. 423-5; J. F. Ade Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The Making of New Elite (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), pp. 142-44.
- (12) In 1837 John Ross of the GMS noted that some members of the Society had been thinking about an institution for six or seven years. GMS Report, 1937, pp. 27-28, in Shepherd, Lovedale, p. 89. William Shaw, superintendent of the WMS, apparently began to draw up plans for his society in 1833. Hewson, Healdtown, p. 112.
- (13) Hewson, Healdtown, pp. 112-18, 353-54; Rev. George H. Green, Salem, 19 Dec. 1844, to Directors, WMS, in Missionary Notices (2d Series), XI, No. 77 (May 1845), p. 77; Rev. William Impey, Mt Coke, 7 Aug. 1849, to Directors, WMS, in Missionary Notices (2d Series), XII, No. 137 (May 1850), p. 70.
- (14) Duff was one of the major figures in Scottish mission circles and served as Moderator of the Free Church in 1851 and again in 1873. In 1830, he founded an institution in India, based on the principle that it was necessary to give higher education to a few in order to create a "native agency" capable of converting the many. Furthermore, he believed that a "native agency" should be a primary objective of missionary enterprise. For a full statement of Duff's position, see his India and India Missions (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1839), pp. 260-404.
- (15) Shepherd, Lovedale, pp. 88-110; South African Outlook, Jan. 1940; James Laing and James Wier, Lovedale, 6 June 1858, letter to Southey, in du Toit, Earliest Documents, pp. 62-63; James Steward, comp., Lovedale: Past and Present (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1887), passim.
- (16) Alexander McDiarmid, Burnshill, 17 May 1848, letter to Southey, in du Toit, Earliest Documents, pp. 57-61.
- (17) Shepherd, Lovedale, p. 100; Stewart, Lovedale: Past and Present, passim.
- (18) The information on the development of the Colony's education system comes from Cape of Good Hope (hereafter abbreviated as CG), Report of a Commission Appointed ... to Inquire into and Report upon the Government Educational System of the Colony (Cape Town: Government Printers, 1863), pp. xxxii-lxxiii; Appdx. X, p. 12. Also, see W. T. Gerguson and R. F. M. Immelman, comps., Sir John Herschel and Education at the Cape, 1834-1840 (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1961), passim.

- (19) In 1841, this amounted to £1,511 for established schools and £704 for aided schools. In 1861, the figures were £5,768 and £9,133.
- (20) Hewson, Healdtown, p. 115; Govan, Memorials of Laing, p. 116. An annual expenditure of £2,520 on African schools in British Kaffraria would have been, on the basis of the area's population, nearly the per capita equivalent of government aid to schools within the Colony. Robert Niven, Iqibigha Mission Station, 2 Oct. 1848, to Southey, in du Toit, Earliest Documents, pp. 76-86.
- (21) Grey (Separate Despatch), 8 October 1852, CO 209/105. All Colonial Office documents (CO) referred to are in the Public Record Office. In this despatch, Grey, then Governor of New Zealand, argued that the lessons from Maori education could be applied to the whole empire.
- (22) Cathcart (27), 14 July 1853, and enclosures from William Shaw and Henry Calderwood, CO 48/338; Newcastle, Secretary of State for Colonies (125), 17 Sept. 1853, to Cathcart, CO 48/338.
- (23) Hewson, Healdtown, pp. 130-35.
- (24) Ibid., p. 231.
- (25) 1863 Education Commission, Report, Appdx. VI, p. 15; CC, Statements of Revenue and Expenditure of the Colony ... for the Year 1862 (G.20-'63), p. 90; CC, Statements of Revenue and Expenditure ... 1863 (G.15-'64), p. 66. The numbers G.20-'63 and G.15-'64 refer to the printed paper number for Cape Parliamentary Papers.
- (26) CC, Report on the Mission Schools in Connection with the Church of England, in the Diocese of Graham's Town (1858) (G.25-'59); CC, Report for 1859 of the Church Mission Schools in Kaffraria which received aid from the Colonial Revenue (G.51-'60); CC, Report on the Kafir Industrial Institution at Bishop's Court, Protea (G.15-'59).
- (27) John Ayliff and Joseph Whiteside, History of the Abambo: Generally Known as the Fingos (Butterworth: 1912; reprinted Cape Town: C. Struik, 1962), pp. 45-46.
- (28) CC, Reports on the Native Industrial Schools at Salem and Heald Town for the Year 1856 (G.8-'57), p. 3.
- (29) CC, Reports on the Native Industrial Institutions at Salem, Heald Town, Lesseyton, and D'Urban for the Year 1859 (G.5-'60), p. 6.
- (30) CC, Special Report of an Inspection by the Superintendent-General of Education ... of the Industrial Institutions and Schools Supported or Aided ... under Schedule D ... (G. 40-'65), p. 9.
- (31) Govan, 1863 Education Commission, Report, Appdx. I, pp. 73-74.
- (32) This was Grey's Separate Despatch on education, 8 Oct. 1852, CO 209/105.
- (33) Grey (7), 22 Dec. 1854, CO 48/361; Grey (19), 31 Jan. 1855, CO 48/365.
- (34) A. E. du Toit, The Earliest British Document on Education for the Coloured Races. Communications of the University of South Africa, No. C34 (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1962), pp. 7-21; W. P. Morrell, British Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930; reprinted New York: Barnes & Noble, 1966), pp. 241-42, 524-25; Curtin, Image of Africa, p. 427; James Rutherford, Sir George Grey: A Study in Colonial Government (London: Cassell, 1961), pp. 52-53, 218-19.
- (35) J. Kay Shuttleworth, 6 Jan. 1847, to Benj. Hawes, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, included in Earl Grey (Circular Despatch), 8 Feb. 1847, to Sir Henry Pottinger, Governor of the Cape Colony, CC: GH 1/35, in du Toit, Earliest S. Af. Documents, pp. 26-40. For other views on industrial

- education, see Grey (126), 7 Oct. 1852, CO 209/105; Grey (Separate Despatch), 8 Oct. 1852, CO 209/105; Norman Macdonald, Governor of Sierra Leone, Annual Report for 1850, British Parliamentary Papers, 1851, xxxiv [C.1421], p. 192. A short discussion of the Shuttleworth memorandum and its impact on West Africa appears in Curtin, Image of Africa, pp. 427-28.
- (36) See, for instance, William Shaw's memorandum on African education, enclosed in Cathcart (27), 14 July 1853, CO 48/338. On the other hand, Henry Calderwood, in a memorandum enclosed in the same despatch, argued that industrial training was not necessary.
- (37) John Ayliff, in CC, 1856 Report on Salem, etc. (G.8-'57), p. 3. Ayliff served as principal of Healdtown, 1855-1860.
- (38) Rev. Gottlieb Schreiner, in CC, Report on the Native Industrial Schools at Salem, Heald Town, Lesseyton, and D'Urban, for the Year 1862 (G.10-'63), p. 3.
- (39) The information on Salem comes from the following: CC, Reports upon the Progress of ... Lovedale, Salem, and Healdtown ... (G.7-'56); CC, Report on ... Salem, Heald Town, Lesseyton, and D'Urban for ... 1861 (G.7-'62); CC, Report on ... Salem, Heald Town, Lesseyton, and D'Urban for ... 1862 (G.10-'63); Barnabas J. Shaw, Superintendent of Salem, in 1863 Education Commission Report, Appdx. VI, pp. 3-6; CC, Report on the Industrial Institutions and Schools supported ... under Schedule D ... (G.1-'64). Information on the other Wesleyan Institutions also appears in the above reports, as well as similar reports for other years that the Grey Plan was in effect. For the Moravian schools, see the last report listed above, plus 1863 Education Commission Report, Appdx. I, pp. 71-7; Appdx. VI, pp. 13-14. The Moravian schools were successful in that they had limited goals which they were often able to realize. For the Anglican schools, see (G.1-'64); CC, Reports on Church of England Schools, 1858 and 1859 (G.25-'59); G.51-'60); CC, Report on Bishop's Court (G.15-'59); Evidence of Bishop of Cape Town, 1863 Education Commission Report, pp. 94-99.
- (40) CC, Report of the Progress of ... Lovedale (G.13-'57); CC, Report of Lovedale ... for 1863 (G.11-'64).
- (41) Stewart, Lovedale: Past and Present, pp. 49, 13, 175-76. For a discussion of economic conditions among Africans in the Eastern Cape, and thus the opportunities open to African tradesmen, see Colin Bundy, "The Emergence and Decline of a South African Peasantry", African Affairs, Vol. 71, No. 285 (Oct. 1972), pp. 369-88.
- (42) Schreiner, 3 Nov. 1862, to Education Commission in 1863 Education Commission Report, Appdx. VI, pp. 10-11.
- (43) CC, 1863 Education Commission Report, Appdx. I, p. 73; Appdx. VI, p. 12; CC, Lovedale Reports for 1856, 1857, and 1863.
- (44) The term day schools refers to non-boarding schools. Sometimes, as in the case of Healdtown, the lower level boarding students attended classes at the station schools with day students. The tendency was, however, to separate institution and station school classes. The information which follows on the WMS day schools comes from Shaw Memorandum, in Cathcart (27), 14 July 1853, CO 48/338; CC, Reports on Salem, etc., 1855-1863. That on Lovedale is in Govan, Memorials of Laing, pp. 176, 178, 207-11, 227; 1863 Education Commission Report, Appdx. I, pp. 73-74; Appdx. VI, p. 12.
- (45) CC, 1861 Report on Salem, etc. (G.7-'62), p. 1.
- (46) 1863 Education Commission Report, Appdx. I, pp. 73-74.

- (47) CC, Superintendent-General of Education Report on Industrial Institutions (1863), pp. 14-18; CC, Correspondence Showing the Arrangement Made for the Future Aid to be Given from Schedule D ... (G.29-'64).
- (48) CC, Correspondence Showing Future Aid, pp. 23-24; Indaba (Lovedale), II, No. 3 (March 1964), p. 31b.