

A School's Response to Political and Philosophical Changes

in the 19th Century

A case study of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School

Cape Town 1804 – 1870.

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Between 2002 and 2003 I did an intensive study of the old Cape school 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'. It began with enquiry from the National School Museum in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, about the link with the Dutch society 'Maatschappij tot Nut van't Algemeen'¹ and the school of the same name that existed in Cape Town. My curiosity drove me to delve further into the matter and also led to a desire to formalise my findings, which finally ended with a Masters of Education at the University of Stellenbosch. This paper is a brief summary of my methodologies and findings.

Any venture into the history of early education at the Cape will invariably yield up the name 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'². This private School played an important role in the education of the Dutch-speaking children at the Cape Colony for 66 years, and was a much loved and respected institution. It boasts among its many famous pupils Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr ('Onze Jan') and Jan Brand (President of the Orange Free State), and its name is linked with the founding of the University of Cape Town.

The main focus of this study was to examine the School's response during its existence from 1804 to 1870, to political and philosophical changes, and how it adapted its policies, educational processes and management style accordingly. This focus included the contribution of the School to, and its impact on, Cape society. No doubt exists that the School was

successful. Almost every work that has been written on the history of early education in South Africa, and the biographies of well-known South Africans, attest to this³. Success, however, is a relative term; in this study, I have equated it with a clear statement of educational intent, i.e. policy; subjects taught and language policy; pupil enrolment and attendance; and the opinion held of the School by the Department of Public Education. All of these will be discussed under the heading 'Results'.

The works consulted seldom dedicate more than a few lines or paragraphs 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. But there is no study, published or unpublished, dedicated to this School alone. The secondary sources therefore did not provide enough information and consequently, widely dispersed primary sources had to be painstakingly sought out, examined and interpreted. The anticipated value of the research was twofold:

Firstly, there was a narrative to be told. Education of the youth is a universal human phenomenon, based on the interaction between people. Soltis (1998, p.197) suggests that education is 'everybody's business', in other words - a very public thing. There are human stories to be told in every school and the human side of the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School was deliberately sought out: 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. Over 500 names of pupils could be traced and were listed in an Addendum. Profiles of some of the prominent students and teachers were also drawn up.

Secondly, the study provided an opportunity to make a theoretical contribution. Education can never be neutral: policy on education originates from a particular philosophy of life and, as Berkhout and Wielemans (1999, p.403) point out it is always about contested power and is therefore seldom value free. Putting a school like the 'Tot Nut' under the spotlight brings out positive and negative aspects of education policy and school management, providing an opportunity to reflect on past processes

and to compare them with the present situation, particularly at a time when South African schools are undergoing rapid transformation.

The aim of this research was to expand on the body of knowledge about the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School and to gain a deeper insight into precisely why it was perceived to have been such a good school. It existed in a certain time period and was thus influenced by the prevailing social and political systems of that time. In my study, I examined how the School responded to these and other changes. And finally, I explored the reasons for the School's closure in 1870. I thus formulated my research problem as follows:

Research Problem

In attempting to achieve its aim, this study firstly examined the philosophical, political and social conditions that gave rise to the School's establishment in 1804. This was done in the context of historical events in Europe that had an effect on the Cape Colony, such as the French Revolution of 1789; the resultant Batavian rule at the Cape; and then more permanent British rule. Local conditions at the Cape were examined, most notably the three changes in government between the Dutch and the British authorities that occurred between 1795 and 1806 (Linnegar, 1979, p.3).

Some attempt had to be made to determine how the school functioned and here I relied heavily on primary sources. Although it is doubtful whether education policies were as clearly defined or understood in the same way as they are today, the 'Tot Nut' had its own guiding policies and was also affected by the policies that the Education authorities implemented.

The perplexing question of the School's closure despite its alleged success had to be dealt with and the factors that led to its demise were discussed. Finally, I highlighted 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 were highlighted through mentioning the School's many successful scholars who became prominent academics, theologians, politicians and businessmen. In the interests of gender equity, I also commented 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 formed part of this discussion.

Research Methodology and Methods Used

In order 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. For this, a framework was required. While engaging with the sources, I was constantly forced to reflect on my findings and how to present them. This thinking about research, or epistemology (Gough, 2000, p.4), 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, analytical inquiry was a useful tool. It is concerned with the analysis of concepts, belief and practice (Waghid, 2002, p.ii), and in this case it led 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 was also influenced by Cheng and Cheung's (1995, p.19) example of examining the implementation process as well as the consequences thereof.

Because the research took the form of a case study, both positivist and interpretive enquiry were used, firstly to collect enough quantitative scientific facts that gave me a platform from which to make my conclusions, and secondly to gain a qualitative, empathetic view of the subject and to understand the phenomenon that was the 'Tot Nut'. The

nature of the investigation thus determined the use of specific research methods.

Due to the fact-finding nature of this research, a large portion of it was 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. Wiersma's (1991, p.206 - 212 in Lewis, 1999, p.22) four steps identified with the historical educational method of research were followed:

- 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 practice, this meant the following:

Firstly, a literature review 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.

Then, due to the absence of satisfactory information in the secondary sources, and the contradictions I found in them, I had to turn predominantly to primary sources in museums, archives, and libraries with rare books and special collections. I examined original manuscripts, minutes of meetings, correspondence, speeches, newspapers, almanacs, the Educational Returns in the Government Blue Books, inspection reports, diagrams, paintings and schoolbooks. They provided me with the bulk of my information. Autobiographies, biographies and memoirs of past pupils were also useful, as were other academic papers in related fields of study.

Comparative research was done, comparing the 'Tot Nut' School with other schools of its time, especially the South African College (the forerunner of the University of Cape Town), about which more information exists and with which the 'Tot Nut' had a close association. Subsequently I did a conceptual study into the philosophies that underpinned the School's policies from within its own organisation and those imposed on it by the prevalent authorities.

Results

Quantitative findings

Location

One of the things that had been uncertain was the exact site of the original School, as there were conflicting statements in the sources consulted as part of the literature review. Studying the Deeds of Transfer in the Deeds Office⁴ not only cleared this up, but also yielded surprising information about the buyers, sellers and the amount of money that exchanged hands. The revelation of debt gave me an immediate insight into a potential financial problem. Located originally in Strand Street (on the site of the present Cape Sun Hotel), the School moved to a new building in New Street (now Queen Victoria Street; on the site of the old Training Institute - today the Annex to the Cape High Court) in 1833 and remained there until it closed in 1870.

Interestingly enough, it was probably the first building ever built in Cape Town especially for educational purposes. Most schools were held in whatever premises were available for hire: rooms in private houses, church vestries, storerooms, lofts and cellars - most of them unsuitable for educating children. Even the South African College rented rooms in the Orphan House from 1829 until it moved into its own facilities in Orange Street in 1838. The 'Tot Nut's' building was built on the Dutch model of schoolrooms (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p.48). In Holland, the guidelines for school buildings and furnishing were drawn up by the Society 'Tot Nut van't Algemeen' in 1830 and suggested the following: large sash or

casement windows that would allow natural light and fresh air; wooden floors instead of cold stone floors; a stove with chimney for heating purposes; specially designed writing desks and benches; and a blackboard for the teacher (*Nationaal Schoolmuseum*, 2000, p.13). The 'Tot Nut' in New Street had all of these, as is evident from various inspection reports (Report on Public Education for 1859, p.32; Report of the Superintendent-General, 1867, p.131). The School is indicated as one of 28 prominent buildings on George Grieg's map of Cape Town of 1833 and 1834⁵, and when William Barclay Snow did the first survey of Cape Town buildings in 1862, 'Nut van het Algemeen' is clearly indicated on the map (Worden *et al*, 1998, pp.170-171). This suggests that the building was considered somewhat unique and important.

Subjects offered and language policy

While most elementary schools at the Cape were teaching little more than Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and Religious Instruction, the 'Tot Nut' - as part of its bid to offer quality education - offered a wider range of subjects. When it was founded in 1804, it gave only Dutch, Arithmetic and Science. As society's demands for education changed, it added or dropped subjects. For example, the School adapted its language policy during British rule. Originally the medium of instruction was Dutch, with English only being introduced in 1833. Yet by the 1840s, the School was completely dual medium (*De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 16 September 1847). By the 1860s, the prize-winning lists published in the local newspapers show that there were many English-speaking children enrolled at the School, indicating that it was not only the Dutch community that supported the School. Sir Langham Dale (Superintendent-General of Education) held the School up as a good example of bilingualism (*De Volksvriend*, 20 September 1862; *De Volksvriend*, 19 September 1863).

The School prided itself on its excellent Dutch and Bible instruction. However, Bible Education was intended only to teach the virtues and morals that formed the basis of a Christian ethos designed to produce good citizens, rather than to lead the children towards the doctrine of any particular denomination (*Nationaal Schoolmuseum*, 2000, p.12). This was

in keeping with developments in Holland, whereby a more liberal theology, characterised by a greater emphasis on man trying to understand God through nature and less on personal redemption, was gaining momentum (Mijnhardt and Wichers, 1984, pp.231, 232). This approach was considered quite a liberal step, and the School was both praised and criticised for it by various churchmen.

Producing productive members of society was one of the aims of the School, and for this reason it never followed a classical model, choosing instead to teach modern languages such as French and German, and 'useful' subjects such as Geography, Bookkeeping and Arithmetic rather than Mathematics. Geography was a popular subject at the 'Tot Nut', and was taught through the use of globes, which was considered progressive (Naudé, 1979, p.53). Both in Geography and History, there was local content in addition to the more common European and American material (*Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift*, September/October 1836, p.329), which appears to have been an initiative of the teachers at the School.

When the School was criticized for not teaching the classical languages, elementary Latin and Mathematics were introduced from 1856 for the senior boys, to make the transition easier for them when they transferred to the South African College. Greek was offered briefly from 1858 to 1860. Music was introduced in the 1840s, and the School followed the new system introduced by the French reformer of singing, Wilhelm, which involved large numbers of children singing together for pleasure (De Kock and Krüger, 1972, p.49). It soon became a popular subject, with over 80% of the pupils taking music in 1849 (Educational Return, 1849, pp.358, 359). By comparison, Drawing classes were less popular. When the Infant School movement began sweeping the British Empire, an Infant Department was added to the 'Tot Nut' School in 1851. The School thus took full advantage of new developments.

It is conceivable that so many different subjects required many teachers. In fact, the 'Tot Nut' employed more teachers than at any other school in Cape Town. In 1856, for example, there were 20 schools in Cape Town, of

which one had 4 teachers; two had 3 teachers; three had 2 teachers; eight had 1 teacher; and five had 1 teacher with an assistant or paid monitor. The 'Tot Nut' had 8 teachers on the roll (Educational Return, 1856, pp.464-468).

Pupil enrolment and attendance

With such an impressive curriculum, it is not surprising that the 'Tot Nut' drew large numbers of pupils. In contrast to the South African College's 97 students in 1834, the 'Tot Nut' had 360 pupils (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p.48). This is a large number, 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' 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 which were also quite large. The only school I came across that rivalled the 'Tot Nut' for size in Cape Town was the St Stephen's Mission School. However, while mission schools generally had a large enrolment of children, the actual daily attendance figures were very low (Ross, 1883, p.7). The average daily attendance at the 'Tot Nut' was exceptionally high. In 1856 the average attendance at government schools was 62%; at the 'Tot Nut' it was 95% - the highest in the Colony (Eybers, 1926, p.46).

One of the most surprising discoveries was that School did not close due to dwindling numbers of pupils, as has been cited in much of the literature (Hofmeyr, 1913, p.17; Du Toit, 1984, p.32). While the numbers did drop towards the 1860s as the School began to feel the competition of other fine institutions, the statistical returns of the Department of Public Education in fact indicate that, in the years just prior to its closure, the enrolment was on the increase.

Philosophies and policies

The 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' School came about as a direct result of the French revolution. When Holland was invaded by Napoleon in 1795,

the new Batavian Republic set about reforming the Dutch school system, namely to set up a secular system of national education. The 'Maatschappij tot Nut van't Algemeen' played a large part in this process, and set up model schools across Holland (Mijnhardt and Wichers, 1984, p.21). The Cape Town 'Tot Nut' School was modelled on these. The Cape Town Society's aims were spelled out in the 'Wetten van het Departement der Bataafsche Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen' (1803, pp.3,14), and included a good elementary education with a strong emphasis on science, the arts and morality. Virtues and morals formed part of the promotion of the non-denominational Christian education discussed earlier. There was to be no corporal punishment - fairly progressive policy for the time.

When de Mist took over the Cape on behalf of the Cape Colony, he took a keen interest in matters of education. His views, strongly influenced by the French Revolution, were considered liberal and progressive. In 1804 he passed a comprehensive School Ordinance on the provision of education at the Cape (Linnegar, 1979, p.3). De Mist had a good working relationship with the local Society 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' and, in drawing up his ordinance, accepted input from it (Du Toit and Nell, 1970, p.32). It is not surprising, therefore, that de Mist's Ordinance contained much of the 'Maatschappij Tot Nut van het Algemeen's philosophy, for example: the promotion of the arts and sciences (De Mist, 1802, p.198). In 1836 the Society published its 'Wetten der Zuid-Afrikaansche Maatschappij 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen''. Here the School's stance on non-denominational, moral Christian education is reiterated, with an emphasis on scientific and useful subjects (Wetten, 1836, pp.3-4). Under 'useful subjects' can be understood subjects which would actually be useful to the child in preparation for life and work.

Governor Somerset's Anglicisation Policy of 1822 had a direct impact on the 'Tot Nut' School. Dutch colonists, still in the majority at the Cape at that time, so resented this policy that they refused to send their children to state schools. The 'Tot Nut' took full advantage of the situation to

reposition itself as a Dutch School and, as a result, won unprecedented support.

The Education Law of 1839 brought more changes from which the 'Tot Nut' School benefited. The first Superintendent-General of Education (James Rose Innes) was appointed and education became a function of the state. Under this system, state aid was granted to schools, and from 1845, the 'Tot Nut' received an annual grant of £75 (Educational Return, 1845, p.251). The Education Law also made provision for inspections at all schools that received aid, and from this time the 'Tot Nut' features in the Inspection Reports.

The Education Act No 13 of 1865 formalised the system of state subsidies for private schools, which the 'Tot Nut' was considered to be. It was one of three independent schools (the other being Robben Island and the Model Infant School) that continued to receive a special gratuity (Borman, 1989, p.96). The amount, however, remained unchanged from what it had been in 1845 until 1870 and indirectly contributed to the School's closure.

The Department of Public Education's view of the School

The 'Tot Nut' always enjoyed good relations with the South African College. When the College had stabilised and grown in numbers as well as reputation, the 'Tot Nut' was officially seen as the main feeder school for the College by the education authorities. In the Educational Return for 1843 it is stated that: "This institution stands in the relation of Preparatory School to the South African College" (p.249). Elphick and 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'.

As has already been mentioned, Langham Dale praised the 'Tot Nut' for its bilingual initiative. He knew the School well, often attending the annual prize-givings, and his speeches and words of praise for the work the School was doing were published in the newspapers of the day. The high attendance rate of the 'Tot Nut' also did not go unnoticed by the

authorities; Rose Innes commented on it in his Report on Public Education in 1853.

Financial difficulties

Besides the fact that the 'Tot Nut' School had debt that would eventually cripple it, it was an expensive institution to run. As has been mentioned, it had more teachers than any other school in the Colony, partly because of the large choice of subjects it offered and also because it chose to instruct the boys separately from the girls. In order to pay the salaries of its teachers, the School had to charge high school fees, thus making it exclusive - something for which it was criticized by the educational authorities (Memorandum of Conditions, 1841). Only the South African College and the Wynberg Public School charged more, the difference being that they, and in particular the College, received more financial support from the government than the 'Tot Nut'. The unchanged amount of £75 is a case in point. Compared to the fixed amount of £75 given to the 'Tot Nut', the South African College received first an injection of £3000 in 1837, and from 1834 a state grant of £200 which was later raised to £400 per annum (Pells, 1954, p.21). This difference became the lynchpin that decided the fate of these two institutions. The College was allowed 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 survived into the 21st century.

Qualitative findings

As mentioned, I read several biographies and autobiographies of the School's past pupils, which often brought out the more human face of the School and the relationships between people. What was interesting was not that they mentioned the School, but that they had such vivid memories of it still so late in life. Almost all knew the value of the education they had received at the 'Tot Nut' and how it shaped their lives. Many remembered an inspiring teacher; some regretted that they could not have stayed at the School longer. All this is testimony to a good school.

To conclude why such a successful school should be forced to close required much reading between the lines, as nowhere was it stated categorically. The causes were much more complex than initially anticipated, and getting to grips with them was the hardest part of the study. I eventually concluded that it had less to do with falling numbers than governance. The financial problems described above were very real and, as the financial management of the School was the task of the governing body, I link this with governance.

In May 1870, the principal died unexpectedly and the School found itself at a crossroads. Mr Stephanus de Kock had been a teacher at the 'Tot Nut' School for 30 years; 20 of those as principal. As happens with many schools, the success of the School revolved around the persona of this revered and charismatic man, and when faced with the prospect of a future without his presence, the School's management could not see past the problems and decided instead to close the school.

This brings me to the question of school governance. The fact that the School had to die with the principal reflects a lack of vision on behalf of the governing body. One of the reasons for this, I believe, is that it consisted of too many members who had served on the committee for a very long time - 30 years in some cases⁶. Most of these men no longer had children at the School, and such an aging management cannot be good for an institution dedicated to educating the young. And so, in one meeting, 14 men decided unilaterally on the fate of 180 pupils, 7 teachers and a building that was a well-known landmark, without any consultation with the parent body, the teachers or the community at large (*De Volksvriend*, 13 August 1870). Today, governing bodies under the South African Schools Act must run the school in the best interests of *all the stakeholders* (First Steps, 1997, p.7), they have limitations placed on their powers and their re-election (*op cit*) that were not in place during the time of the 'Tot Nut'.

However, there was also apathy on the part of the community towards the School, especially towards the end when interest in the Society 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' was waning. Meetings were poorly attended; the

school fees were not paid; and school functions such as exhibitions of the children's work were not well supported (*De Volksvriend*, 30 September 1869). These problems may also be encountered by schools today, but can, with good strategic planning and governance, be overcome.

Conclusion

The comprehensive narrative of the history of the 'Tot Nut' paints a picture of a unique school that dared to be different in many ways: it provided quality education of both a primary and secondary nature when most schools gave only elementary instruction; it taught modern subjects using progressive methods; it had a liberal approach to religion; and it prepared its pupils for higher education and the workplace. The School thus achieved much at a time when there was no precedent and little security for innovation and independence.

The fact that the School *did* achieve so much is due to relevant educational policy; sound classroom management; skilled and dedicated teachers; and the important role of the parents and the home in motivating their children. I also showed that the School managed to adapt its policy and curriculum in response to the political and social changes that occurred around it.

These are interesting scenarios for today's schools, especially as South Africa is presently in a time of transformation, calling on schools to make enormous changes and adaptations. 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. I am persuaded that financial problems were the major cause of the decision to close the School, but I am also convinced 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. The Colonial government could have done more to save this School from closure. It failed in its duty to provide the necessary financial support and missed a valuable opportunity of growing an educational institution that would have been difficult to surpass even today.

The link that the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' 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 would maybe have found 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 acceptable today. The School 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 in the home.

The South African College lives on in the University of Cape Town and the South African College Schools (SACS). They owe their early success, if only in part, to the pioneering work done by the 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen'. In the years when the South African College was floundering (1829 until 1840; Linnegar, 1979, p.19; Annual Reports of the South African College Council, 1835 - 1939), the 'Tot Nut' provided capable and well-grounded students who helped to raise the standard of the College and contributed to its eventual success.

As a researcher, I am aware that the study I have done can never be complete. There are quite possibly some primary sources that have been overlooked. Some things will remain hidden and lost forever. It is my sincere wish that some of the questions I have posed might interest readers of this study and stimulate new research possibilities.

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¹ In Holland, the Society was generally known as 'Maatschappij' or 'Maatschappij tot Nut van't Algemeen', whereas at the Cape the contraction was seldom used; I use 'Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen'. I frequently refer to the School as the 'Tot Nut', which is how it was often referred to in its day.

² 'For the good of all' or 'For the benefit of the general public'.

³ Borchers (1861) An Autobiographical Memoir; Borman (1989) 1839 - 1989: The Cape Education Department; Cilliers (1953) Die Stryd van die Afrikaanssprekende in Kaapland om sy eie Skool (1652 - 1939); Coetzee (1958) Onderwys in Suid-Afrika 1652 - 1956; Du Toit (1944) Onderwys aan die Kaap onder die Bataafse Republiek; Du Toit (1951) Onderwys in Kaapland. 'n Historiese Oorsig; Hofmeyr (1913) The Life of Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr (Onze Jan); Kestell (1911) Het Leven van Professor NJ Hofmeyr; Linnegar (1979) SACS - 150 Years. A History of the South African College Schools; Malherbe (1925) Education in South Africa Vol. 1. 1652 - 1922; Neethling (1907) Het leven van Stephanus Hofmeyr; Pells (1954) 300 Years of Education in South Africa; Ritchie (1918) The History of the South African College. 1829 - 1918; Theal (1915) History of Africa South of the Zambezi from 1795 - 1872.

⁴ Deed of Transfer of property indicated as 'in het Blok F' in Burg Street on the corner of Strand Street, from Alexander Tennant, Cornelis Cruywagen and Johannes Adriaan Vermaak to the Members of the 'Bataafsch Genootschap tot Nut van het Algemeen', dd. 13 October 1803. Deeds Office, Cape Town. No. 103/290/1803. Deed of Transfer of three erwen in Nieuwe or Tuin Street from Fredrik Siebert Dormehl and Johan Coenraad Siebert Dormehl to the Joint Shareholders of the Schoolbuilding of the Maatschappij Tot Nut van het Algemeen, dd. 9 November 1832. Deeds Office, Cape Town. No. 103/1832.

⁵ Maps in the South African Almanac and Directory for 1833 and 1834.

⁶ This information was extracted from various issues of the South African Almanac; the Cape of Good Hope Almanac; and the Cape Town Directory.