Gathering of clouds

During the South African winter of 1899 the members of the Reformed Church Theological School, in the small north-eastern Cape town of Burgersdorp, became aware of "dark clouds" which were gathering on their political horizon. They were an intensely political group with strong republican sympathies who looked to the northern republics rather than to Cape Town for their inspiration. Yet when hostilities eventually broke out between the British and Boer Governments members of the Reformed Church in Burgersdorp seem to have been taken almost completely by surprise.\(^1\)

At the outbreak of war the principal of the School, Jan Lion-Cachet, consulted the only member of the School's Curators who was in the district and on his advice decided that they lacked the authority either to close the school or to allow students to leave. So classes continued as normally as possible until November 1899 when a Boer commando from the Free State occupied the entire area, including the town of Burgersdorp, and closed the School. Most of the students either joined Boer Commandos or returned home but seven remained in Burgersdorp with Cachet, to form a Red Cross Ambulance brigade.\(^2\)

Cachet arrested

The British re-occupied the area early in 1900 and in April of that year Cachet was able to reopen the School with the seven students who had remained with him. Student numbers began to rise once more until the British military authorities closed the School in March 1901 and arrested Cachet on a charge of high treason. This appears to have been connected with his association with the Boer commandos during the occupation of the Albert District, which included Burgersdorp, and his Red Cross work which was seen as an attempt to aid the enemy. Cachet spent six weeks in gaol but was finally released after a trial in which many leading British residents of the area testified on his behalf. It was said that although known to be very sympathetic to the Boer cause, Cachet and his students had observed strict neutrality and rendered valuable assistance to the wounded of both sides. As a result of this evidence the charges against him were dropped and he was free.\(^3\)

An all purpose institution in despair

The School reopened and in September 1901 Cachet reported to the Curators that he had twenty students studying under his direction.
The School itself was an all purpose institution where Cachet and two other members of staff prepared the students for a whole series of examinations from pre-matriculation to a post-graduate course in theology. Of the twenty students enrolled at the school in 1901 only one was doing the post-graduate theology course leading to ordination by the Reformed Church. Another was completing the final stages of a B.A. offered by the University of the Cape of Good Hope, which was an examining body only, while two more were working for the intermediate B.A. Of the remaining students eight were in the matriculation class and seven in the pre-matriculation class. And three ex-students, who left the school in 1899, were furthering their studies at the Free University of Amsterdam.

During the war three students, including Cachet's son, were killed in action against the British and another eight were imprisoned. Few records were kept during the period following the occupation by Boer forces and subsequent re-occupation by the British. But, when the School's various student societies resumed their activities and began once more to keep minutes of their meetings a picture emerges of frustration and despair brought on by the defeat of the Boer armies and the conquest of the republics. This impression is also gained from the students monthly magazine *Het Studenteblad* when it resumed publication in March 1903.

**Resuming student activities after the war amidst defeat**

The Society "*Corps Veritas Vincet*" was the first to resume its activities, in February 1903. At the first meeting of the *De Vergadering de Studenten der Theologische School* (Student Society) in March 1903 a Biblical talk was given based on Psalm 123 and the Book of Samuel, which encouraged them to look beyond their present circumstances to God for their salvation. They were told that during "these trying times" they must learn to defend themselves and fight as Judah fought with the weapon of prayer. The speaker also reminded them of the sacrifice of their brothers who had died in the war and a suggestion was made that they consider the erecting of a monument to the war dead.

Students attending a meeting of the School's *Literary Society* held on the same day were also reminded of their falled companions and given a talk on the exploits of General de Wet. This was the beginning of a whole series of talks and poetry readings at the various student societies dealing with Boer heroism and the war. In addition a number of talks were given which expounded the significance of various Biblical passages for the students. These invariably dealt with the afflictions which were suffered by the Children of Israel and made strong comparisons between Biblical incidents and the history of the Afrikaners.

The impression gained from the reports of the meetings held during 1903 is that the students were attempting to keep up their spirits despite a growing feeling of defeat, and the depression which it brought with it. They felt oppressed and acknowledged that the times were very bad for Afrikaners. In this situation they looked for
comfort to their religion and found it in an identification of their situation with that described in the Old Testament. Their present circumstances might seem bad and they could wonder why God had allowed such evil to befall them but they were sure that He would ultimately vindicate them.

**Their interpretation of the afflictions**

Nowhere do we find that they ever doubted God's ability to deliver them or that they had doubts about the validity of their Faith. Neither do we get a heartsearching inspired by their afflictions which made them wonder if it was possible that they had been wrong in their actions and that God was judging the Afrikaner People because of their sins. The use of the Bible in their situation was a selective one which took God's promises to Israel and applied them to the Afrikaner People without looking at what the Bible taught about God's judgement upon Israel because of Israel's sin. It was always the British who were wrong and who were regarded as still being wrong, while the Afrikaner republics were always regarded as the innocent victims of naked aggression. The question was never raised whether the republics had sinned and thus brought God's judgement upon them or whether the British were in some way God's agents in Africa.

The students felt that they could best serve their God and People by working hard at their studies to enable them eventually to help lead their People out of bondage. They believed that Afrikaners generally were intellectually backward and grossly ignorant and that the salvation of their People lay in education. The keen interest taken by Dutch Christians in the plight of Afrikaners was one of their few encouragements during the dismal year of 1903. The students felt a personal debt towards the Dutch when a gift of £833-6-8 was sent to the School to assist them.

**A movement dictated to Afrikaans against colonialism**

The students saw the question of language in a close relationship to education because they believed the English hoped to destroy the language and with it, the sense of nationality of the Afrikaner People in their schools. South Africa was a "poor land" because although it was rich in beauty and natural resources its people did not value their language. To remedy this situation the students in Burgersdorp wanted Dutch to be taught in State schools. But they made it clear that the "Dutch" to which they referred was not the Dutch of the Netherlands but South African Dutch — Afrikaans. South Africa was not the Netherlands and because of this basic fact it was silly of South Africans to try to preserve a pure form of Dutch. What Afrikaners must do was to develop their own spoken language, which was the language of South Africa.

For them, an Afrikaner was not anyone born in South Africa, as many people believed and as their political opponents claimed. An Afrikaner was a white descendant of the Dutch, French and
Germans who settled the Cape in the seventeenth century. The English could never be regarded as Afrikaners because they were “colonials” who looked to England as their true home.17

By the end of 1903 the spirits of the students were slowly reviving and this was greatly assisted by the success of the conference organised in December 1903 by the Reformed Student Corps “Veritas Vincet” on Christian-National Education.

A movement on Christian-National Education

It was argued that Afrikaners needed to be made aware of the advantages of education because farmers could no longer afford to divide up their farms to give each son his own piece of land. Therefore, Afrikaners had to learn to compete with other classes in society and Christian schools must equip them by placing an emphasis on practical training. The teaching of Latin and Greek might be all right for wealthy English children but it was of no value to someone who could not afford to continue his studies and so must learn a trade. Christian schools must, therefore, meet the real needs of the people and not imaginary ones based purely on academic criteria. Further, because of the pressures created by modern society, by cities and industry, it was essential that Afrikaner children were given a thorough grounding in the religion of their parents. They must be truly prepared for life both physically and spiritually and only Christian-National Education could meet this requirement. They must heed Van Prinsterer’s slogan, “In isolation is our strength”, and press for their own Christian-National school system.

They concluded the conference with a declaration that the Reformed Church must be urged to separate the Theological Department from the Literary Departement and work towards establishing its own Christian University. In the Netherlands Christians had created their own educational system which included a university. Were Christians in South Africa to lag behind the Netherlands in this respect? They believed in “free” education which meant education free of Government interference. Looking at the Dutch and English systems of education the Dutch one seemed closer to this ideal and the hope was expressed that one day South Africa might adopt the Dutch system.18

Growing commitment

As 1904 progressed the tone struck by the Corps “Veritas Vincet” conference remained and the commitment of the students to Christian-National Education grew. They agreed that each student would contribute an eight of his monthly income to furthering Christian-National Education. Parents must be made to realise that the character of their children was being formed in the school and that: “Whoever controls the school controls the future”.19

To bring home this truth to parents who still remained “in darkness” and did not recognise the importance of Christian-National Education the students decided to publish a small booklet.20
If only Afrikaner children could be educated in a truly “Christian-National spirit” then their troubles would be over and they could face the future with confidence.**

The example of Paul Kruger

The death of President Kruger naturally excited the students attention and they decided to erect a monument to his memory.** Het Studenteblad wrote of him: „a great statesman and great believer, our father, has died”. The article went on to describe the way in which Kruger was their “father” in both political and spiritual matters as a true leader of the Afrikaner People. After giving a long account of his life the article urged the students to take courage from his example and to hold fast to Kruger’s conviction that: „however things may appear God never abandons His People”.**

He knew that God was sovereign and that He rules and universe. The Bible was his only guide in daily life and he applied its principles, like a true Christian, to matters of State as well. He was one of the founders of their Church and members of the Reformed Community were his strongest, most reliable, supporters. Because of this they could be referred to as the “Ironsides” of the Transvaal.**

Like Kruger, the students distrusted the English. They saw the association of South Africa with Britain is a thoroughly bad thing for the present and a potentially harmful policy for the future. What would happen, they wanted to know, if Britain became involved in a European war? Perhaps they would even be faced with the prospect of an invasion by some enemy power simply because they were an ally of Britain. To them it was clear that whatever happened South Africa would be the loser. Therefore, they urged Afrikaners to renounce all ties with England. The warning they wished to proclaim was simply and they summed it up in the following phrase: “Afrikaner, be yourself and remain an Afrikaner”.**

Transfer to Potchefstroom 1905

Even before the Second Anglo-Boer War there had been a move to transfer the Reformed Church Theological School from Burgersdorp to a more suitable centre of population.** The issue was raised again at the meeting of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in 1904. After careful consideration the Synod decided that the School would move to the Transvaal town of Potchefstroom early in 1905.** The Curators were thereupon instructed to carry out the move as quickly as possible.** The students were delighted by this prospect and greeted the news with great enthusiasm.**

The Curators received various gifts from different congregations and a grant of £3,000 from the Transvaal Provincial Synod to help with the move. Ex-president Kruger sent £750 from the Netherlands. They estimated that the move would cost £5,000 which they hoped to raise without difficulty. They visited Potchefstroom and were welcomed by the Town Council which offered
them land suitable for their purpose. \(^{30}\) This offer was attacked in the local English language newspaper, the *Potchefstroom Herald*, claiming that the land in question had been designated for “English settlers”. \(^{31}\) Despite this objection the preparations for the move see to have gone very smoothly.

The Theological School of the Reformed Church and its Literary Department opened in Potchefstroom on February 13th 1905. \(^{32}\) Its head was Professor Jan Lion-Cachet who was called the Rector and who was responsible for teaching theology throughout the School. Cachet was assisted in the Literary Department by two other full-time professors, Ferdinand Postma, recently returned from the Free University of Amsterdam, and A. P. C. Duvenage. Postma concentrated on arts subjects while Duvenage was given the task of teaching maths and the sciences. They were assisted in this task by several part-time tutors, including Jan Kamp who was given a full-time post in 1907. \(^{33}\)

It is difficult to know how many students were in the School when it moved to Potchefstroom in 1905. Their numbers are not indicated in the Minutes of the Curators meetings and do not seem to appear elsewhere. The situation is also complicated by the fact that there were at least four grades of students recognised by the School. Post-graduate students engaged in the study of theology in preparation for the ministry of the Reformed Church were the most senior students. They were engaged on a four year course and may have been divided into two groups: intermediate and final course students. Below these were the members of the Literary Department who were preparing for the B.A. examinations of the University of the Cape of Goop Hope. These were divided into final and intermediate students and into “students” and “juniors”. In addition there appears to have still been a number of matriculation candidates despite a ruling of the Curators against this practice in 1904.

The available evidence indicates that when the School moved to Potchefstroom in 1905 it had about twenty students. In 1907 there seem to have thirty four students, six of whom were studying post-graduate theology. The numbers fluctuated slightly over the years but gradually increased so that by 1918 the School had a total of thirty six students, two of whom were working for M.A.s. \(^{34}\)

**A love of Afrikaans**

The students brought with them from Burgersdorp a love of Afrikaans and a strong desire to propagate it. They were encouraged in this by Reformed leaders like Cachet, F. Postma and J. D. du Toit as well as by the Curators of the Theological School who decided to allow them to submit written work in Afrikaans if their tutors agreed. \(^{35}\) At student meetings throughout 1905 and in subsequent years poems were read in Afrikaans, talks given on the language and discussions held on its history and rules for spelling were proposed. Articles on these themes were also published by the students in their magazine *Fac et Spera*. \(^{36}\)
When Gustav Preller took the initiative in publicly proclaiming the value of Afrikaans and urging Afrikaners to create their own literature, the students enthusiastically greeted his call and wrote to him expressing their delight at his stand. They criticised Afrikaners like Jan Hofmeyer who hoped to popularise Dutch and attacked the students in Stellenbosch for supporting Dutch. They agreed that Dutch had a value in South Africa but only as a basis for the creation of an Afrikaans literature.

After this enthusiasm for Afrikaans it comes as quite a surprise to find that at a meeting of the Student Society in October 1907 the issue of keeping the minutes in Afrikaans was raised and the secretary of the society said that if he could not continue to keep them in Dutch then he would resign. A vote was taken and it was decided that the minutes could be kept in Dutch. In fact, however, from then on Afrikaans was increasingly used.

Influence of Dutch thinking towards a "Christian Science"

At a student meeting in July 1906 Jan Lion Cachet told the students about his early education in the home of the Dutch poet Da Costa. This, together with many other references to the activities of Dutch Calvinists, underlines the influence of Dutch thinking upon the students.

At a more theoretical level Dutch ideas of "Christian Education" were expounded in an article about a new book by Professor Wolter of the Free University of Amsterdam. In this article the Anti-Revolutionary, Kuyperian, approach is ably expounded in reply to the question of a hypothetical critic who asks "What's so special about Christian Education?" The article said that Wolter had demonstrated the answer by showing that even in the apparently "neutral" realm of natural science there was a distinct Christian approach. Teachers as well as ministers of the Word had to prepare men for life in the world and to equip them with a Christian outlook which would enable them to overcome the problems they would encounter in their daily activities. The laws of nature, it was argued did not remain the same for the Christian and the non-Christian because absolute objectivity is impossible. Therefore men are unable to approach any subject without their basic convictions colouring their perception of it. Even the study of nature must involve one's basic principles. Christians accepted that in the beginning God had created the heavens and the earth. For this reason they had a supernatural perspective which coloured their science that was rejected by their non-Christian colleagues. This perspective meant that a "Christian science" was not only possible but essential if Christians were to study science.

These same arguments were applied to the field of history. In South African State schools history was taught from a British perspective which undermined the role of Afrikaners and threatened to destroy the sense of national identity of Afrikaner children. In the Literary Department of the Reformed Church national history was taught alongside Biblical history. In this way the students came
to realise that there was a Christian perspective on history and began to see God's Providence in the creation of the Afrikaner People.\textsuperscript{44}

**Partners in revival of Afrikanerdom on its history**

As part of the post-war nationalist revival of Afrikanerdom great interest was shown in "national days", monuments, and traditional Afrikaner culture. The social significance of these was rarely a subject for reflection in the enthusiasm of Afrikaners to retain their heritage. A number of articles in *Fac et Spera*, during 1907, are, however, exceptions to this lack of reflectiveness and set out very clearly why the leaders of the Reformed Community thought it was important to preserve national days and monuments.

In July 1907 *Fac et Spera* published an instructive and important article on "The Erection of Monuments". The author said that, although most people knew a monument was few realised its true significance.

When God lead the Children of Israel out of their captivity in Egypt He commanded them to remember what He had done for them.\textsuperscript{45} They were to teach their children and their children's children the mighty acts of God. This was essential for the formation of the Nation of Israel and remained vital to the creation of any Nation.

This was where monuments became important because they reminded a People of their National history. Here also was the justification for Christian-National Education because a monument alone meant very little to the observer. The person who saw a monument must understand the significance of the events to which it bore witness. This meant that he must know the history of his People and if this was to happen he must have been educated in a Christian-National School, where he would have been taught to listen to what the monument had to say to him about his People.

Some people had argued that instead of erecting monuments Afrikaners could use the money they collected to commemorate their past, and the war dead, by building useful buildings or sportgrounds. But useful memorial became a useful object and people would soon forget of what it was supposed to remind them.\textsuperscript{46}

**Celebration of national days**

A similar article in the October issue of *Fac et Spera* tackled the question of national days. National days brought joy into people's normally sombre lives and created a national consciousness by building up bonds among neighbours. Afrikaners lacked such days and ought to institute them for the benefit of their national life. They needed occasions when they could celebrate their joy in their traditions and heritage.

Should some people object that this suggestion was opposed to religious principles the author of the article, who may have been Cachet, replied that an examination of the Bible would show that
national days were Biblical. Israel had great and joyful national days. David held one at Mount Hebron and Solomon arranged a great celebration to mark the opening of the Temple. In addition the Jews had many annual feasts. They celebrated the Passover and many other days, as did the people of New Testament times.

Further, the Reformers knew the importance of festivals and Calvin had said that a person should never withdraw from national festivities. In addition he had encouraged the theatre in Geneva and the custom of eating communal meals. It was good for people to meet communally over a meal before taking important decisions which would affect the entire community. This in fact was what had happened at the Synod of Dort. Therefore Afrikaners had many examples before them of godly men who celebrated national days and other festivals.

The Transvaal Republic had also celebrated national days. Celebrations were held on the anniversaries of Majuba, Paardenkraal, Dingaans Day, and on the President's birthday. In their own time these celebrations had fallen into disuse. Some people would object that the old national days had been misused. The writer agreed that this had been so but said that they should be celebrated like a Sunday in the future. People's lives would be impoverished if they were allowed to disappear, and, far worse, the bonds which bound the nation together would be weakened and the Nation's ability to survive lessened.

Afrikaner identity against mixing of white races

These articles stressing the national identity of Afrikaners were accompanied by various pieces dealing with contemporary politics. The most important of these was an article which appeared in the July 1907 edition of Fac et Spera, under the title "What Must We Do?" The theme of this was that true Afrikaners must be vigilant against the trend towards a mixing of the white races in South Africa.

A loss of enthusiasm

After two quiet years of 1908 and 1909 there followed the hectic events of 1910—1915. The remaining years until 1919 were then ones of anticlimax. The Literary Society held its last recorded meeting in February 1916 and two months later the Student Society also ceased to function. From then on Korps Veritas Vincet remained the sole surviving student society to record its meetings. Its meetings in the following years covered a wide range of subjects, theological, literary, educational, political and cultural. But something of the old enthusiasm was missing and although there was a strong interest in Calvinism and the application of Calvinist principles to all areas of life, the impression gained is that the students were not as active in promoting these principles as they had been.

The explanation for much of this inactivity possibly lies in the fact that the College was entering a transitional phase and until
their future was more certain the conditions were not such as to encourage wild enthusiasm for Christian-Nationalism. There is also some evidence that while delicate negotiations were being conducted with the representatives of the Government, the Curators and staff of the College discouraged the students from taking any action which might prejudice the chances of a satisfactory settlement with the authorities.\textsuperscript{57}

At the very end of 1919, however, things were beginning to change once more and at the last meeting of Korps Veritas Vincet the students were urged to renew their dedication to the ideals of Christian philosophy and science.\textsuperscript{58}

\textbf{Institutional change}

In 1911 a period of institutional change began for the College when a chair of pedagogy was established in the Literary Department in 1911 and Martinus Postma, the son of Dirk Postma, the founder of the Reformed Church, installed as the professor. Jan Kamp was promoted from lecturer to Professor of Dutch and Afrikaans language and literature and J. D. du Toit was given the chair of theology upon the retirement of Professor Cachet. Du Toit also took over Cachet’s position as Rector and head of both the Literary Department and Theological School.\textsuperscript{59}

In 1913 the Curators resolved to separate completely the Literary Department and Theological School, but the decision was not put into effect immediately. They also decided to seek a State subsidy for the Literary Department, and to begin to work “in the direction of a university”.\textsuperscript{60} Later in the year Dr S. O. Los (from the Netherlands, Ed.) was appointed as the second professor of theology in the Theological School and given some lecturing responsibilities in the Literary Department in connection with the teaching of philosophy.\textsuperscript{61}

The Curators wrote to the Senate of the Free University of Amsterdam in 1914 to ask them to exempt Potchefstroom students from the first part of the Free University’s doctoral programme by recognising the courses offered in the Literary Department.\textsuperscript{62} Members of the Literary Department staff also appeared before a Commission appointed by the Union Government to enquire into university education. The Commission commented on its high academic standards.\textsuperscript{63}

As a result of the report presented by this commission three Acts of Parliament were passed in 1916 which completely reorganised university education in South Africa. Two of these Acts granted university charters to two of the independent colleges which had previously prepared students for the examinations of the University of the Cape of Good Hope and thus created the universities of Stellenbosch and Cape Town. The third Act replaced the University of the Cape of Good Hope by the new University of South Africa based in Pretoria. Six other colleges which had prepared students for the degrees offered by the University of the Cape of Good Hope were incorporated into the University of South Africa. But
the status of the Reformed Church College in Potchefstroom remained in doubt.\textsuperscript{94}

**Conscience clause and birth of a Calvinist University**

The years following 1916 were ones of great uncertainty for the Reformed College in Potchefstroom. The Literary Department needed a Government subsidy and official recognition to survive as a credible institution of higher education. However, members of the Reformed Church wanted to preserve the Christian character of their College and believed it necessary that the academic staff should consist only of Calvinists in sympathy with the religious basis of the College. In setting up the University of South Africa the Government had explicitly rejected the imposition of religious tests by any bodies associated with the University. This meant that unlike other colleges which had prepared candidates for the degrees of the University of the Cape of Good Hope, the College in Potchefstroom could not automatically be incorporated into the University of South Africa.\textsuperscript{95}

Negotiations continued between leaders of the Reformed Community, the University of South Africa and the Minister of Education. But it was found impossible to reach agreement on the Reformed Community's terms. Therefore, after careful consideration by the General Synod in 1920 the Reformed Church reluctantly accepted the removal of religious tests.\textsuperscript{96}

In anticipation of a negotiated solution to the problem and with the help of funds from the Netherlands, the Literary Department had been reorganised and expanded in April 1919 in accordance with decisions taken by the General Synod of the Reformed Church in 1918. This reorganisation finally separated the Literary Department from its parent body the Reformed Theological School, and a new liberal arts type college Potchefstroom University College was created.\textsuperscript{97}

Thus fifty years after the founding of the Reformed Theological School in Burgersdorp, and sixty years after the formation of the Reformed Church itself, the Reformed community took an important step in the establishment of an independent Calvinist University in South Africa. It was not, however, until 1950 that the dream of the founders of the College was fulfilled and Parliament granted a charter to create Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education as an independent institution with its own religious test for members of its staff.\textsuperscript{98}

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1 *Het Gereformeerde Studentecorps „Veritas Vincet“, (CVV), 12/5/1899, 22/9/1899; Notulen Boek van Vergadering Gehouden door de Studenten der Gereformeerde Theologische School, (SS), 16/9/1899. Steevens, 1900, *From Capetown to Ladysmith*, pp. 19—27 & 30—32.

2 *Notulen Boek van de Kuratore van de Gereformeerde Theologische School, (KTS), 15/9/1902*.

3 *Albert Times and Molteno News, 19/4/1901; KTS, 15/9/1902.*
Information is available on student activities from the minute books of the three student societies in the School: De Vergadering de Studenten der Theologische School or Student Society (SS); De Letterkundige Vereeniging or Literary Society, (SLS); and Het Gereformeerde Studenten-corps „Veritas Vincet” or Reformed Student Society „Corps Veritas Vincet” (CVV).

E.g. SS, 24/6/1903; 20/7/1903 & 4/12/1903.
CVV, 7/2/1903.
SS, 6/3/1903.

From the minutes it would seem as though most students attended these meetings.

SS, 24/6/1903; 4/12/1903; 1/3/1904.
Het Studentenblad, 6/3/1903.
SLS, 30/10/1903.
Het Studentenblad, 12/8/1903.
CVV, November 1903.
Het Studentenblad, 14/10/1903.
Het Studentenblad, 28/8/1903.
CVV, 9/12/1903.

Het Studentenblad, 9/3/1904; cf. Oliver, 1969, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*, p. 276.

This seems to have been the one produced by Cachet in 1905; Het Studentenblad, 11/5/1904.
Het Studentenblad, 27/4/1904.
SS, 7/8/1904.
Het Studentenblad, 27/7/1904.
Het Studentenblad, 27/7/1904.
Ibid., 24/8/1904.

General Synod, 1894, Appendix, A.
General Synod, 1904, Appendix D—G art. 64—73.
KTS, 11/4/1904.
Het Studentenblad, 27/4/1904.
KTS, 27/6/1904.
Potchefstroom Herald, 14/9/1904.
KTS, 7/12/1904.

These figures are derived from a variety of sources and can be arrived at by comparing: KTS, 8/3/1907; 7/12/1910, 23/8/1918; General Synod, 1910, Appendix 2; 1918, Appendix E; Van der Vyver, ed. 1959, pp. 228—232.
early Afrikaans "ni".
41 *Fac et Spera*, 1/7/1906.
42 *Fac et Spera*, 1/10/1905; 1/10/1907; 1/12/1908.
43 *Fac et Spera*, 1/10/1905.
44 *Fac et Spera*, 1/7/1905.
45 The writer quotes Deuteronomy 6:7 as his proof text.
46 *Fac et Spera*, 1/7/1907.
47 The author signed the article as "Ben-Ezra", which is the sort of pen name Cachet sometimes used.
48 *Fac et Spera*, 1/10/1907.
49 See p. ???
50 SLS, 10/2/1916; STS, 4/4/1916.
51 CVV, 25/3/1916.
52 Ibid., 5/9/1917.
53 Ibid., 16/6/1916.
54 Ibid., 19/8/1917.
55 Ibid., 21/10/1916.
56 CTS, 12/2/1919.
57 CTS, 1/12/115; 8/3/1916.
58 CVV, 15/11/1919.
59 CTS, 6/12/1911; Van der Vyver, 1969, pp. 125—130.
60 CTS, 1/3/1913.
61 CTS, 26/11/1913; Vander Vyver, 1969, pp. 129—130.
62 CTS, 25/11/1914; Jooste, n.d. *Die Geskiedenis van die P.U. vir C.H.O. (tot Inkorporasie)*, p. 30.
63 *Union of South Africa Universities Commission Report and Minutes of Evidence 1914*.
64 Pells, 1938, *300 Years of Education in South Africa*, pp. 119—120.
65 CTS, 8/3/1916; 29/11/1916; Van der Vyver, 1969, pp. 133—146.
66 CTS, 15/6/1920; *General Synod, 1920, Appendix, B; art. 21, 23, 28, 29, 30 & 31*; Van der Vyver, 1969, pp. 201—204.
67 CTS, 23/10/1917; 22/8/1918; 12/2/1919 & 21/5/1919.
68 Van der Vyver, 1969, pp. 217—232.