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# EDUCATION IN THE BAHAMAS 1821-1836: A PRELUDE

BY

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The fifteen years prior to the establishment of the Board of Public Instruction in 1836 were characterised by extreme fluctuations in the efforts of the Government of The Bahamas to make provision for formal schooling and to establish an educational system.[1] Opening with a surge of activity that was succeeded in short order by the virtual abandonment of all educational efforts, the period ended with an increased initiative which received most of its stimulus from the Home Government and the Colonial Governors, preeminent among whom was Sir James Carmichael Smyth. During the last half decade of the period, in the administrations of Smyth, B. T. Balfour and William Colebrooke, the foundations were laid for the extension of government involvement and the establishment of the Board. The last five years proved to be a period of real though limited extension of formal schooling under government control.

Although the sporadic nature of educational development reflected the economic vicissitudes of the times, of greater importance were the negative attitudes of the powerful slave owning class--the dominant group in the House of Assembly--towards the Home Government and its efforts at amelioration of slavery in the twenty odd years prior to Emancipation. Efforts by members of this class to maintain their dominance in the face of increasing numbers of free blacks and "people of colour," liberated Africans and soon-to-be-free slaves were made throughout the 1820s and early 1830s and were abandoned only when the slave owners were faced with the fait accompli of Emancipation and greater control of or influence over colonial affairs by the Crown. The attitudes of this group, likely a part of the Loyalist legacy, contributed to the belief in the inferiority of blacks, enhanced the attractiveness of segregated schooling, stimulated an increase in the number of private schools and gave rise in part, perhaps, to the later development of economic stratification in education.

Another factor that helps to explain the haphazard development of education was the failure of the Government's de facto educational agent, the Church of England, to meet immediate educational needs and to foresee those of the future, becoming involved only at the last moment in the denominational competition in the educational field--for blacks particularly--which was to disrupt the development of education in the colony for a decade after the Board was established.

The fifteen years witnessed a transition from a fragmented congeries of schools catering primarily to whites and bearing no resemblance to a system, to an incipient system catering to blacks and "free people of colour," the whites having in most cases withdrawn to private schools in the colony or abroad. Also strengthened at this time, though it was introduced much earlier, was the belief that blacks should be educated to fill a niche in society below that of whites, one for the "lower orders" or "labouring classes" as they were designated by many.

Little has been written on pre-Emancipation education in the Bahamas. The most significant study is that by Rodney Bain whose research extended up to 1823.[2] He deals with efforts of the government-church partnership that existed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century and with such missionary groups as the Associates of Dr Bray, which concerned itself for over fifty years with the education of free blacks. The work is an invaluable secondary source that provides the most complete view of the first one hundred years of education in the colony. A study by A. D. Peggs, rich in chronological detail but rather weak on analysis and interpretation, covers a time period from the beginnings in the early 1700s to the mid-1940s.[3] Important works by Shirley Gordon and John Figueroa supply useful general information on education throughout the West Indian colonies.[4] The important primary sources are the Education Acts themselves, Votes of the House of

Assembly and the despatches of the governors, all of which, while providing valuable factual material, illuminate the attitudes that prevailed among the contending groups and individuals at the time.[5] The Bahamas Argus and the Royal Gazette, the two newspapers of the time, are also valuable sources of information.[6] It is obvious that the 1820s and 1830s are fruitful years for research in the history of Bahamian education.

The earliest educational work in the Bahamas seems to have been undertaken by laymen associated with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and dates from the 1720s.[7] By the 1730s missionaries had begun to arrive at the request of governors Rogers and Fitzwilliam, thus establishing a foothold for the Church of England, and by the late 1730s the SPG had instituted an education grant and begun a school based on the charity school principle of the voluntary church bodies of England.[8] Though a major aim of the church groups appears to have been the conversion of slaves, they also provided education for fee paying whites and free blacks.[9] When government action came it served to reinforce the efforts of the SPG and create what amounted to a partnership between the Colonial Government and the Church of England which remained in effect until 1847.[10] Both bodies provided funds and the Church, through its clergy, with the approval of the Government, acted in a supervisory capacity.

Government initiative took the form of education acts, eighteen in all between 1746--the year of the first act--and 1821. The first act made provision for the payment of a schoolmaster out of local funds raised by a levy on all free men.[11] Though little in the act or those that followed reflected considered educational policy other than a general desire to encourage moral training and to extend church-state control over the schools supported by public funds, a concern was evidenced as to the state of the children of the colony, and incentive was provided for individuals to establish schools in hopes of receiving government aid.[12] Acts prior to 1795 made provision for schools, set salaries and encouraged qualified teachers, the last a futile endeavour in view of the small population of the colony, the legacy of piracy and the fact that more money was to be had at most other occupations.[13] By appointing as commissioners government officials, church wardens and vestrymen the Government made an attempt to centralize control. The centralization efforts culminated in 1795 with a new act which was passed following a five-year period during which there was no education law in the colony.[14] The commissioners who included the President of the Council, the Speaker, the Secretary of the Colony, judges and rectors were in charge of all government supported schools. The Act of 1804 replaced the commissioners with visitors for each of eight schools whose duty it was to certify masters before they were appointed by the Governor.[15] This act ending central control remained in effect until 1821 with only minor changes. During the early years of the nineteenth century an attempt was made to establish a high school. This met with failure and by 1811, after seven years, the act was allowed to expire.[16]

By 1817 there existed in the colony ten government schools and ten others that received grants from government; masters, by a provision of the Act of 1816, had to be members of the Church of England or the Church of Scotland.[17] According to Bain, there were 615 free places for whites and free black children for a free population of about 7000 almost equally divided between black and white; most of the places--565 in all--were reserved for whites.[18]

Though segregation of schools had not been a provision of earlier education acts, it became official policy and practice in 1817 after the introduction of the Madras system. Bain states that the Bray Associates' School for free blacks was closed while the master, Joseph Watkins, took a course in Madras teaching at the school later known as the Central School and that from then on black students were excluded from the Madras School and were sent to Bray's.[19] Early schools in the Bahamas had served a predominantly white group of children, but some blacks had been included. There had been, as early as 1748, a school for both

black and white children and records indicate that from the 1750s at least one black child attended the government supported school.[20] Information on the out-islands is scant, but is is likely that until Emancipation segregation was the rule despite efforts to end it in the 1830s.

By 1821 the schools receiving government support were racially segregated, run by separate groups of visitors and were outside the control of any government authority. The Act of 1816 which was to run for ten years was seen to be in need of changes, and, after the first change, the others followed in short order.

The reasons for the upsurge in educational legislation and interest beginning in 1821 are open to speculation and are, no doubt, numerous. In the period of somewhat less than two years between March 1821 and January 1823 four education acts were passed. The trend was toward greater centralization of control, increased efficiency of instruction and of organization and economic retrenchment. This trend may have reflected legislative reaction to the apparent lack of interest in education on the part of poor white Bahamians--those for whom the government schools were intended--which made consolidation or elimination of schools a necessity. It may have indicated impatience of House members with the Home Government over matters concerning the amelioration of slavery, or racial concerns involving the protection of white interests against those of free blacks. Still another possibility is that the trend reflected the low priority of education among those who could afford private tutelage for their children, or, as Bain states:

> One is drawn to the conclusion that the high sounding phrases of the preambles were so much legislative verbosity--attractive facade to conceal unworthy of intangible purposes, and that the Acts of short duration gave readily accessible avenues of escape from embarassing educational committments, as well as frequent opportunities to display power to grant or deny favours.[21]

It is clear that there was still no developed educational policy and no organized system. It appeared to the legislature that attempts should be made to remedy the existing situation, and it set about the task in 1821.

The Act of 1821, the purpose of which according to the preamble, was to promote religion, made provision for commissioners empowered to make rules for all government supported schools, required quarterly returns from masters, prescribed monthly meetings of the commissioners, set salaries and replaced three schools in Nassau with one, the Central School.[22] No longer were the schools as independent as they had been since 1804 under the system of visitors. The commissioners, still dominated by the Church of England, were in charge of the schools and the visitors were made up of the rectors and vestrymen of the parishes with little power in policy making. The legislature's aims to consolidate, centralize and organize are evident in the provisions of the act.

Progress under the act was limited and within a year it was deemed a failure. Though accurate figures are difficult to obtain, it appears that in 1821 at least six schools received grants under the act, with possibly an equal or greater number receiving some form of financial assistance.[23] It seems that some teachers took it upon themselves to form schools and then petitioned the House for assistance. One John Longly, who taught forty scholars in St John's parish, seems to be an example unless the provisions of the act for a quarterly grant of salary were not being carried out.[24] According to Peggs, the assisted schools as opposed to the statuatory ones were provided for out of the Appropriation Act rather than the Education Act and this was done on a case to case basis.[25] Other petitions show the initiative of free blacks in seeking assistance. Joseph Watkins of the Bray School petitioned in November 1821, saying he had taught eight years without pay; his petition was viewed favourably and it appears that a yearly stipend was granted.[26] A petition from the inhabitants of the Creek settlement in the Eastern District was presented in December seeking funds to extend the school house.[27] Despite examples of initiative on the part of masters and inhabitants it became clear that the act was not succeeding.

A House committee on December 6, 1821 indicated that the act was not having its desired effect, reporting that attendance was poor and that parents took their children out of school to work in order to save money.[28] It was noted that too many people were dishonestly obtaining proof of poverty in order to avoid paying fees and to secure free places in school for their children. The visitors were seen as remiss in not maintaining standards and admission requirements. Teachers, it was said, did not often expel students for poor attendance as they were supposed to because it would mean depriving themselves of salary since they were paid according to the number of scholars in school. The quality of instruction was deplored as it was pointed out that many who were educated in the free schools could not sign their names. The report was rejected by the House, but that body promptly proceeded to prepare a bill on education which incorporated a number of the suggestions made by the committee.

The Act of 1822 changed the emphasis in its preamble to the promotion of literature and, noting that the Act of 1821 had been found inefficient, made separate provision for the Central School and additional provisions for "Certain other Public Schools."[29] It officially adopted the Madras system of Dr Bell which had been in use since 1817. The system, which came to be known as the monitor system, had the obvious advantage of making it possible to teach large numbers of students using only one teacher who would instruct the monitors who would then teach the classes; its less obvious disadvantage was that it reinforced the idea that blacks were to be educated for lower class life.[30] The act provided for the establishment of other schools on the initiative of the inhabitants of settlements, who were required to provide school buildings before the government would supply a master. Commissioners were to decide the number of poor and fee paying pupils to be admitted. Fees were set at no more than ten shillings per month. Greater accountability for school supplies was required and masters and visitors were required to oversee the use of supplies and were to sign certificates so that the masters could receive their quarterly salaries. Salaries were set at between £100 and £400 per annum--a considerably lower figure than under the previous act--and were no longer dependent on fees or on the number of pupils in attendance.[31] Though the report of 1821 had been rejected, its influence was evident in the Act of 1822 which dealt more directly with centralization of control, efficiency and financial savings. The Act was to run for three years. It survived for one.

The Act of 1823 suspended those of 1816, 1821 and 1822 because it was felt that the expense involved had been "found productive of no visible advantage whatever."[32] The Act wiped out all the schools in the colony. By another Act of the same day, however, the House established the Central School as the one public school, limiting it to 120 pupils.[33] It was to teach the three R's to students who could prove poverty and were recommended by the vestry. A salary for the master was set at £4.16s per annum for each student taught. The vestry was responsible for recommending the master for appointment by the Governor, for making rules and for supplies. From this time until 1828 with the establishment of a school at Grand Cay, Turks Island, the colony had only one school supported exclusively by government.

Reasons for the virtual abandonment of education by the House in the mid-1820s are probably extensions of those behind its initial involvement. When attempts to extend education to poor whites and maintain centralized control were frustrated a reasonable alternative was the elimination of all schools except the one that had worked and was in a position to be supervised. The major reasons are economic and what might be designated as racial/political and social/environmental. Weighing them as to relative importance is a difficult and perhaps fruitless task because of their interrelated nature. Economic stagnation necessitated retrenchment; the apparent apathy of the poor whites toward schooling and the festering racial situation worked upon one another to bring about a situation that lasted into the 1830s. What is clear is that Peggs' view that the initial upsurge was an example of the "restless solicitude" for education on the part of the House and that the Act of

1823 was an anticlimax of financial origins is a gross misinterpretation.[34] Bain comes closer, stating that "... to the Bahamas Government, education was a social luxury which the Bahamian poor might enjoy as a charity, but could not claim as a right."[35]

With the economic condition of the colony at a low point, the cotton plantations in their death throes and prospects poor for an improvement in trade, retrenchment could be defended as an urgent necessity and education could be singled out as a likely target for cutbacks because they catered to the poor and had not produced results to justify continued expenditure of funds at the level previously maintained. With no significant upturn in the mid-1820s there was no restoration of funds to the schools.[36] Since blacks were not involved with government schools, it was the poor whites who were the victims.

The question arises as to whether the poor whites, especially on the out-islands, were to blame for the withdrawal of educational facilities by the government. The lack of interest in education on the part of these people was probably a reflection of the lives they led. This idea has been propounded by Bain in a statement about the period ending in 1823, but which explains much in Bahamian educational history and has important implications in present times:

> As life offered no serious challenges similar to the frontier problems of America, the need for hard work, ingenuity and skill on land was not pressing. The important occupations were seamanship and shipbuilding, neither of which could be learned better than by experience and practice. No schooling was really necessary so there was no need for an educational policy to meet local demand arising naturally out of enterprise and development. Nor was there a strong religious motive for education as in the New England Colonies. Schools were moral and social embellishments; not an economic or religious necessity.[37]

Poor whites did not feel a need for education and showed little interest. Blacks, whether or not they felt a need for schooling, were excluded from government plans.

The racial climate of the 1820s was not conducive to the establishment of a strong educational system, certainly not an integrated one. The 1820s was decade in which Governor Grant opened a session of the Assembly expressing the desire that the evidence of free blacks be admitted in court on a par with that of whites, when a slave registration act was finally passed after five years of resistance by the House, when shades of colour became important and it was ruled that "Free persons of colour three degrees removed from black ancestry are now deemed White."[38] It was the decade when new amelioration acts, such as that forbidding the breaking up of slave families, were enacted, when flogging of female slaves was practised and became a political issue, when almost 200 liberated Africans were settled in New Providence, when many masters tried to transport their slaves overseas and when the House of Assembly opposed almost everything that could be seen as tending to ensure equality of the races or eventual emancipation of the slaves.[39] Because of the racial animosity and the hostile feelings toward the Home Government for its perceived interference, the House was unlikely to aid blacks, and, since it was not succeeding in its efforts with poor whites and was saving money in the efforts with poor whites and was saving money in the bargain, the abandonment of education was eminently sensible and certainly preferable to increased efforts in its development.

It should not be concluded as a result of the Act of 1823 that, with the exception of the Central School, education in the colony died out completely. The House simply did not vote funds for schools other than the Central School. In fact, interest among the populace, especially the free blacks, seems to have increased. In a despatch of 1824, Governor Grant indicated that there was one government school for white children of the "poorer class," that Bray's school was serving eighty children, that there were two "tolerably good" private schools for white pupils in New Providence, that the Turks Islands had two private schools with sixty children and that the Wesleyans were involved in the

education of the slaves.[40] He noted also that most of the free children in New Providence learned to read and write, but did not say where they were taught. He recommended that masters and catechists be appointed in areas where their work could be viewed by clergymen of the Established Church and suggested that two masters be paid £100 each. This may indicate that there was some pressure to re-establish schools in the out-islands.

Conditions were much the same in 1827 as W. V. Munnings, noting the establishment of a classical academy by Rev. Strachan, said that salaries for the masters of Harbour Island, Eleuthera and Green Turtle Cay were not provided by the Assembly.[41] It is reasonable to infer from this that the schools still existed and probably catered to fee paying pupils. Within two years Grant wrote that education "... is certainly gaining ground in the Island of New Providence especially among the coloured people of free condition. All who have the means are desirous to have their children taught to read and write," and he also said that in the islands "where the population is scattered, Education is not much thought of."[42]

Another indication of increased interest in education was a petition from Cherokee Sound for the reestablishment of a school, followed shortly by one from the Turks Islands.[43] Also, in 1825, a motion was made to draw up a bill for a school in the Eastern District. It was voted down by an eight to seven margin.[44] In 1828 Christ Church recommended the gradual re-establishment of schools on "most poor and populous out island parishes."[45] While the House avoided most of the responsibility for education, churches and private individuals maintained schools and interest in schooling increased, however gradually.

The Acts of 1828 and 1829 were not notable turning points. The first, which established a school in the Turks Islands, and the second, which provided for schools at Abaco, Harbour Island and Eleuthera--areas of large white settlement--were similar to the Central School Act of 1823, stressing religious education and giving the local vestries or those of Christ Church and St Matthews supervisory powers.[46] The church-state partnership was maintained. In fact, W. V. Munnings, who was administering the colony in early 1829, stated that the appointment of three masters under the act was on condition that willing ministers would take over if there were any present in the areas.[47] Though the acts were not innovative and did little more than restore earlier practices, Peggs again misinterprets their passage, ignores the racial issue and crediting the slave owners with a liberality that they did not demonstrate. He contends that the introduction of state aided education exemplified their "farseeing aims." and praises them for being "lofty" and "realistic."[48] Looking at the records of the time and examining the difficulties encountered by governors of the early 1830s, one can conclude that lofty liberality and far sightedness were qualities possessed by most members of the House. The fact is that the attitude of the House toward education remained much the same as it had been since deeper concerns were evidenced over the issues of amelioration, civil rights, liberated Africans and the imminent emancipation. If there was a turning point it was the arrival of Governor James Carmichael Smyth to assume office in November 1829.

Sir James Carmichael Smyth, born in London in 1779, was trained as a military engineer, fought under Wellington at Waterloo, travelled extensively in Ireland, Canada and the West Indies and, his military career over, was appointed Governor of the Bahamas on May 8, 1829.[49] He was to hold the position until June 1833 when he was promoted to the Government of Demerara where he died in Georgetown in March 1838. During Smyth's administration in the Bahamas, though no education acts were passed and feelings against him among the slave owning class ran high, more was accomplished in education than at any previous time, and the groundwork was laid for future educational development in the form of the expansion of integrated schooling.

Smyth, an uncompromising abolitionist, held strong views on the amelioration of slavery, the treatment of liberated Africans and the civil rights of "free people of colour," once stating that he would "consent to no law in which the colour of a man's skin was made a reason for debarring him from enjoyment of his

civil rights."[50] His attempts to put his views into practice with programmes that opposed the aims of many whites, and his attempt to remove the civil list from the financial control of the House rapidly brought him into conflict with the majority of that body.[51] He held many members of the Assembly in low esteem, noting once that thirteen "violent" members composed the majority, and he became convinced that most of the members were narrow minded and prejudiced because of the "want of sufficient European mixture in our society," as he put it.[52] The contempt which he felt for white Bahamians was probably obvious to those with whom he dealt. His sometimes coercive efforts to end the flogging of female slaves, to permit slave evidence in court, to permit free blacks to serve as juries and to bring about more favourable treatment of blacks in general, led to petitions for his removal being sent to the Secretary of State for Colonies.[53] He dissolved the House twice, first in June 1831 for about eight months and again in March 1832 for over a year before his departure; during these periods he ruled alone and managed to meet all the colony's financial obligations and implement many of his policies.[54] He had the backing of the Crown in most of his efforts and was commended for his work by the Home Government. His successes in the field of education were not the least important of his accomplishments.

Within two months of his assuming office, Smyth was seeking funds from the House for a school for liberated Africans at Headquarters settlement.[55] The House was under no obligation to aid the liberated Africans, who were the responsibility of the Crown, and the funds were denied.[56] In 1831 the Crown granted £550 for the construction of a school and residence and for the salary of a master, and by 1832 the school had been built and the master appointed; a school in Adelaide followed shortly thereafter.[57] Prior to this, though over 1000 Africans had been landed in the colony, no provisions had been made by the Colonial Government or the Crown for their education.[58]

Another accomplishment was Smyth's advance of £1000 for the building of a school for the village for liberated Africans close to town.[59] The parents in return, built a road three and a quarter miles to the school. He appointed Watkins of the Bray School as the head. From the evidence available it is not clear whether a distinction can be drawn between this school and the Bray School or whether Smyth assumed control of the latter. It appears that Watkins remained with the Bray Associates until 1840 and it is known that the Bray school remained active for over ten years, moving to Carmichael in 1844.[60]

Most important, in terms of long range influence, was the Governor's involvement with the Central School. The Act of 1823 establishing the school was renewed in 1826 to run for five years. The Act expired in March 1832 and was not renewed, and Smyth took it upon himself to reopen and rename the school, paying the master £400 which he obtained from duties; he established rules and appointed a black man, John Boyd, as clerk to the newly established visitors.[61] Smyth had refused to assent to any school act which would limit commissioners to whites; in his speech dissolving the House on March 23, 1832, he condemned members for keeping back the Nassau school act rather than allow blacks to "have any voice in regulating the affairs of the school towards the expense of which they have contributed their full share..."[62] The school, called Kings School, in which all colour distinctions were done away with, was to be maintained by the Governor and his successor for nearly two years until the Act of 1834 was passed, and Smyth was able to persuade the Crown to donate £50 which was used for books both "moral and entertaining."[63] It is interesting to note, as an example of the resistance with which Smyth had to contend, that at least four people, trustees of the Central School, were sentenced to jail for contempt of court for refusing to hand over books and other supplies to the newly appointed visitors of Kings School, defying the Court of Chancery, Chancellor of which was Smyth himself.[64]

Smyth did not simply force through a preordained programme or merely follow directives of the Crown. With the idea of emancipation long accepted by the Crown, Smyth was an examplar of the new directions that British policy would take, but much of what

was done in the Bahamas was undertaken on his own initiative. Indeed, he can be considered something of an innovator. He initiated the sending of prize medals to all day and Sunday schools in the colony at his own expense, a step that may have improved the performance of scholars.[65] He promoted the inspection of schools by visitors and included among the visitors of Kings School civil servants in addition to the Bishop of Jamaica and church rectors, since he was determined that church wardens and vestrymen would have no say in the management of the school.[66] He viewed as "a most preposterous and useless arrangement" the Vestry of Christ Church serving as school commissioners, and he pressed for the use of justices and magistrates as inspectors in the out-islands to report on conditions of the schools; viewing the schools of Harbour Island, Eleuthera and Abaco as of not much "service" to the colony, he probably saw the need for some outside stimulus to spur masters and students to greater effort.[67]

The returns for schools in 1832 showed, in addition to five private schools, the Kings School, one school at Carmichael Village, a day school and Sunday school under Watkins and the four statutory schools in the out-islands that still existed under the acts of 1828 and 1829.[68] Smyth's work with Kings School was important because it set a policy that was followed in government schools from that time onward, that no distinction as to race would be made in admitting pupils. Smyth's successor, B. T. Balfour impressed this policy upon masters of out-island schools after Emancipation in 1834.[69]

Testimony to Smyth's success was provided by an address of free blacks signed by more than 225 men and presented shortly before his departure in 1833. Smyth was praised and his "illiberal opposition" condemned.[70] He was thanked for maintaining the free school in Nassau, for the prize medals and for gaining financial aid from the Crown, and gratitude was expressed for his "paternal care." Therefore, despite Peggs' contention that the slave owning class demonstrated a mission, if anyone had a mission to black Bahamians it was Smyth, though he did not describe his efforts in a romantic or paternalistic manner, in religious terms or in bombastic abolitionist terms, but rather in strong, perhaps even chauvinistic terms of English patriotism.[71]

Balfour, who succeeded Smyth in June 1833, sought conciliation but carried out Smyth's policies, stating in a despatch of June 5 that "...everything which I have learnt proves to me the Justice and good policy of following up his views and although in some points I may differ from him I trust that in all essentials his Administration and mine may be similar."[72] The Act of Emancipation had been passed in England in 1833 and was to go into effort in August 1834, and, though much ill will remained among the slave owners, resistance was futile and a fragile modus vivendi was established early in 1834 that lasted through the remainder of Balfour's administration and through that of his successor, William Colebrooke.[73]

Understandably, education was not of high priority during Balfour's administration as Emancipation and its attendant problems and commitments required an inordinate amount of attention. It gradually came to benefit, however, and schools were not completely neglected; both the Lt. Governor and the House involved themselves in Educational endeavours. Balfour replaced the superintendent and master of Carmichael, Thomas Rigby, and attempted to ensure the admission of free blacks and apprentices to out-island schools.[74] In late August 1834 he noted that places offering free education were accepting whites in disproportionate numbers and directed that admissions be open for ten days with one half the places reserved for "black and coloured" pupils, after which time all places would be open to any child; he ordered that this be attested to by a magistrate and two coloured persons before salaries were paid.[75] He supported Kings School until the House, in an act of 1834, reestablished the Central School, including among the visitors the Governor and the Lord Bishop and incorporating a number of Smyth's innovations.[76] Two other acts of 1834 continued the school at Grand Turk and those in the out-islands, so that before Emancipation there were five government schools under the provisions of the acts, as well as Watkins' school and one at Carmichael, both outside the control of the House.[77]

Interest in schooling among the free black population was spurred by the coming of Emancipation. C. R. Nesbitt, the Acting Colonial Secretary, writing in July 1834 to suggest the creation of 2000 school places for the apprentices, could lament the deficient state of education in the colony and at the same time say that the parents of black and coloured children "exhibit great anxiety for the instruction of their children while the parents of the lower class of white children do not value education in the same way."[78] Judging from Balfour's concern with the admission of apprentices to out-island schools, interest among the former slaves reached a high level after Emancipation. What is seen is the acceleration of the transition from white centred schooling to schooling that came more and more to include blacks, with large numbers of free black children, especially in the out-islands, being admitted to previously all white or predominantly white schools.

The opening up of the schools to freed slaves was the basis of the transformation, the major impetus behind which came from the Crown. Prior to 1834 education had benefitted only incidentally from British amelioration policies, from limited financial aid and from Crown support for Governor Smyth. After Emancipation, efforts were directed at achieving universal education and guarding the newly freed slaves against actions of recalcitrant legislatures, two aims that were realised in part at least, by the initiation of the Negro Education Grant.

The Grant, provided for by a resolution of Parliament of June 12, 1833 and by the Emancipation Act and put into effect in 1835, provided for each colony a share of £20,000 for the education of freed slaves and £5000 for the training of qualified teachers from among that group in normal schools.[79] The problem of how to administer and distribute the funds was solved with the acceptance of the Sterling Report of May 1835 and the decision to permit religious societies rather than the colonial legislatures to control the dispersal of the grants.[80] Thus the Grant stimulated competition among the religious societies and served as a stimulus to the extension of schooling throughout the Bahamas and to the provision of contributions from the societies, since it was stipulated that funds were not to replace but to supplement funds already being used by the societies.[81] Baptists and Wesleyans had been active for over two decades among the slaves and in later years the Church of England had increased its educational efforts; the Negro Education Grant was the starting signal in a race for funds and influence, a race of mixed value to the colony for while schooling was expanded the result was a more divided approach, duplication of effort and the failure still to create a system. The educational situation in the colony during 1835 and the first half of 1836 was one of confusion, though the groundwork was laid during this time for the Act of 1836 and the establishment of the Board, and some benefit was probably derived by the freed slaves simply by the availability of more schools. The Grant is an example of the most important British initiative in education; much of the educational activity of the churches and the colonial legislature during the period was undertaken in the hope of gaining increased financial support from the Crown.

An Act of 1835 amending one of the previous year, permitted out-island schools pay scholars, made justices visitors, appointed a female assistant for the Central School and, most important, made the extension of schooling easier by permitting the Governor to contribute £200 per annum to settlements that built their own schools.[82] Inhabitants of a number of settlements began to take advantage of this last provision and the latter part of 1835 and early 1836 witnessed the creation of or petitions for the establishment of schools in the out-islands.[83] Colebrooke praised the House for its "liberal provision" and did his part to obtain aid from the Crown, writing the Secretary of State for Colonies in June 1835, "The means provided for the moral and religious instruction of the people of these islands are at present so inadequate that I feel impelled to bring the subject before you at this time."[84] In August, he mentioned his appointment of a mistress of an infant school for Africans and cited the expansion of Grants Town as justification for a request for £200 from the Negro Education Grant for a school, and in December he also requested aid for the establishment of a normal school.[85] Though

he was refused the funds for the Grants Town school--neither liberated Africans nor free blacks came under the Grant--he was able to convince Lord Glenelg to make an exception to the policy of dispensing funds through religious bodies and he obtained over £600 to aid in the construction of a normal school and in the payment of salary for a master.[86] The policies of the Crown and the funds it provided were crucial, and combined with the active efforts of the Governor provided incentive for the House of Assembly to cooperate. Emancipation and the Negro Education Grant then can be seen as a "real beginning" in the sense that a departure was made from what had existed in the past.[87] Local initiative was probably important in justifying requests for funds, but was not of any real importance until 1835 after which time interest in schooling had to be expressed in financial terms with either guarantees for school buildings or of contributions.

The most important advance in education originating with the colony came as a result of the appointment of a commission by Lt. Governor Colebrooke in response to a circular from the Secretary of State for Colonies of November 1, 1834 enquiring about religious and educational affairs.[88] The circular was intended to obtain information on the effects of Emancipation and showed special interest in educational progress. Colebrooke replied on March 10, 1835 noting a slight increase in the number of schools under government control, mentioning that the Bray school was still in operation and indicating that the Baptists were teaching 1,100 children in Nassau and over 130 in the out-islands.[89] Four days earlier he had declared his intention to the House to appoint a commission on education, saying, "The lamentable state state of ignorance, in which a large part of the population, especially in the out-islands, still remain, and the evil consequences arising from it, has been forcibly represented."[90] The work of the commission was to lead to the Act of 1836 and the establishment of the Board of Public Instruction.

The Commission, charged with investigating the state of education in the colony and seeking means of promoting it, delivered four reports between June 1835 and June 1836, though its work was completed some months before the latter date.[91] Some of its discoveries, conclusions and recommendations deserve note. The first report maintained the long-standing emphasis on religious and moral education as a cornerstone of schooling for apprentices and poor whites--the alliance with the Church of England remained. It noted a need for forty-two schools for 2,049 pupils and requested aid from the Crown. It recognised the different conditions of liberated Africans and freed slaves, implicitly suggesting different educational provisions for the two groups. The second report said that it had been found that blacks at Rock Sound were more eager for education than whites and that "complexional prejudice" was strong at Governors Harbour. An important recommendation was that free places at the Central be provided for only the truly destitute and orphans as the existing policy was unfair and damaging in that while places at Central School were free, out-island pupils had to pay. Finally, the report stated that there was a "total want of system." The third report expressed thanks for the Crown's financial aid, cited the success of the African Schools at Adelaide and Carmichael and Grants Town, reemphasized the unfairness of maintaining all free places at the Central School and noted the many problems to be faced: poverty, caste and the scarcity of teachers, though with regard to caste, an appendix referred to racial harmony at Harbour Island where thirty of eighty-seven pupils were white.

Published separately, the fourth report was a summing up of much that had been presented and a compilation of statistical information.[92] Some interesting items were that twenty-three white and two black children--over half the pupils--had left the school at New Plymouth, Eleuthera rather than pay fees, that the number of scholars under the Act of 1835 had increased, that the Bishop of Jamaica had promised to try to obtain funds under the Negro Education Grant and that some Wesleyan educational endeavours were at variance with those of the education committee. Colebrooke was praised, especially for his successful efforts in obtaining funds for the normal school. The report recommended the establishment of a Board, saying it would "be the duty of such an authority to see that one uniform system of instruction should be adopted in all

schools under its charge." Interestingly, there were included other reports which indicated that the situation in other British West Indian colonies was very similar to that in the Bahamas and that bear out the contention that British policy was the ultimate moving force behind colonial educational activity with local innovations growing as responses to programmes of the Home Government.

Another issue that received the attention of the Commission and gained the support of Colebrooke was the establishment of Kings College School. Recommended as early as 1835 and of high priority thereafter until its official establishment in 1837, the school was affiliated with Kings College in London and was to stress liberal arts and sciences.[93] It was to provide advanced instruction for whites and blacks who could pay and, though it was opposed by those who had traditionally sent their children to the United States to school, by 1836 the legislature had guaranteed the salary of a master.[94] Though evidence is inconclusive, the school may have been a quid pro quo for the passage of the Act of 1836 and the appropriation of £1000 by the House for the first year of schooling under the Act. What is shown is that a school for whites and blacks of the upper economic class, supported by the purchase of shares, existed outside the government framework and was not part of the incipient system that was formed under the Act of 1836 which stressed the education of the "labouring classes"[95]

The Act itself made official much that had been discussed and recommended since 1834. In January 1836, after the Commission had issued its first three reports, C. R. Nesbitt, presenting a committee report to the House, recommended tha establishment of a board of education and "that all the Laws relative to Education be repealed ... consolidated into one law giving general powers to such Board ... to make rules and regulations for all the public schools.. .."[96] Colebrooke agreed with the recommendation, stating in a despatch in February that all the educational institutions "should be considered as several parts of one general and comprehensive system of education of Education of which it will be open to the people of every class to avail themselves."[97]

The Act, passed in May and in effect by June, established the Board of Public Instruction of sixty persons including administrators, civil servants and clergy, with power to make rules under the Act and to appoint local commissioners.[98] It provided for a secretary for the Board at a salary of £200 per annum, set meeting times and required the preparation of annual reports. The Board was empowered to provide schools in areas where inhabitants agreed to contribute through assessments on themselves for their support. Religious instruction was mandatory on Sunday and all students were required to attend the church of their choice. People greeted with optimism what appeared to be a significant improvement on past educational practices.[99]

By mid-1836 when the Act was about to go into effect, education in the Bahamas exhibited considerable differences from the education of fifteen years, or indeed five years before. The government was responsible for ten schools in the out-islands, more than doubling the number under government in 1834 and greatly increasing the number of places available to freed slaves.[100] The Central School was operating under the Act of 1834, had been training teachers since 1835 and was serving as a temporary normal school until the building was completed.[101] The Governor, with Crown funds, was supporting schools for liberated Africans in Adelaide, Carmichael and Grants Town and infant schools and schools of industry were proliferating in the last named settlement.[102] The Bray school remained in the Western District. The normal school had been approved, funds guaranteed and a master, John McSwiney, hired in England, had arrived in the colony and begun teaching at the Central School.[103] The churches were expanding their efforts in the out-islands and private schools flourished in New Providence.[104] Kings College School was in the planning stage. The multifarious educational institutions met the needs of some but did not as yet serve the majority of the population. What is clear is that the last five years before the Act of 1836, spurred especially by Emancipation, the Home Government and

Three governors, the legislature instituted significant changes in popular education.

With Smyth's innovations and the aftermath of Emancipation came the transformation from white to black education under government control. There grew up among the schools an increasing separation of economic classes with many whites and a few wealthy blacks and "coloureds" forming an elite that educated its children privately and planned to take advantage of the instruction offered by Kings College School. Integration of the government schools met with a mixed response and ultimately, free blacks came to dominate by virtue of their numbers and their greater interest in obtaining an education.[105] Despite the numerical domination, however, blacks were considered "lower orders" and were to be trained as such.[106]

What conclusions can be drawn from the preceding discussion? Though a new system of education was not born, an immense change took place. The prime mover in the educational transformation of the colony was the British Government with its amelioration policies and Emancipation with its concomittant programs for freed slaves. Governor Smyth and Lt. Governors Balfour and Colebrooke were successful agents of change in their capacities as representatives of the Crown. Finances, of course, made a difference; when funds were scarce education was quick to fall victim to retrenchment plans, but when they were available the House was willing to spend a share on education. Interest on the part of liberated Africans and freed slaves grew but probably did not exert important influence on the extension of schooling in the years before 1836. Competition among Baptist, Wesleyan and Church of England missionaries sometimes led them into conflict with the Government, and the wisdom of distributing funds through church bodies can, with some justification, be questioned. Rather than one system there existed three or more incomplete ones, a condition that obtained for many years and posed serious problems. Racial separation, though not sanctioned by law, remained a reality, though to a lesser extent than in previous years, a separation based on wealth and choice rather than an entrenched practice. It was accepted among most of those in charge of education in the colony that blacks would be trained for subordinate places in society, presumably in the company of poor whites. A significant development was that more children were in school. Evidence as to the quality of the schooling is limited, though a guess suggests that it was low because of, among other things, the dearth of trained teachers. Quantity, however, was on the rise. At the end of the period of prelude there were reasons for optimism.

The euphoria that greeted the Act of 1836 and the establishment of the Board quickly diminished in the light of the harsh reality of the many problems and constraints that confronted education. Major constraints, those of attitude, economics and race, persisted and were augmented by the growing religious conflict. Changes had taken place however, and limited progress had been made--the Board, after all, was to last until 1964. Judgement as to the success or failure of the Board after 1836 awaits additional research. What is evident is that by 1836 the colony had entered a new educational era.

NOTES

1. The terms public and popular, when applied to education, denote schooling provided by the Colonial Government. Though the Crown supported education for liberated Africans and there existed numerous private schools, the emphasis here is on that formal schooling provided for under education acts passed by the House of Assembly.

2. Rodney E. Bain, "Educational Policy in the Bahamas up to 1823 and its Determinants." (M. Ed., University of London, 1959).

3. A. Deans Peggs, "A History of Bahamian Education," (M. A. University of Durham, 1947).

4. Shirley C. Gordon, A Century of West Indian Education, (London: Longmans, 1963), and John J. Figueroa, Society Schools and Progress in the West Indies, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1971).

5. Nassau Public Records Office (NPRO), Votes of the House of Assembly (hereafter, Votes). NPRO, Great Britain, Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Original Correspondence, Bahamas Governor's Despatches, (hereafter, CO 23/). NPRO, Bahamas Acts contain in printed form most of the acts although some appear in manuscript form under the title, Laws of the Bahamas. Acts referred to here will be designated by their date of assent, and chapter when necessary.

6. NPRO, Bahamas Argus and the Royal Gazette (in the microfilm holdings). Both of these papers continued into the 1830s and provide much interesting information, especially by way of their editorials and the letters to the editor.

7. Bain, pp. 20-21.

8. Bain, pp. 27-30, and Peggs, p. 115. See also NPRO, Mary Moseley Collection, File 5, Folder 10, "Original notes for Unwritten History of the Bahamas," (n.d.), for reference to an early school and to Fitzwilliam's request.

9. Bain, pp. 34-39.

10. Though there was a break in SPG funding between 1807 and Emancipation, the partnership was maintained, usually by provisions under the acts. See Peggs, p. 141. It might be argued that the end of the partnership did not come about until 1869 when the Church of England was disestablished.

11. Peggs, p. 115. See also CO 23/5/29, Tinker to Board of Trade, 4 April 1748 referring to a school under the recent act with "a handsome subsistence for a schoolmaster."

12. See for example Votes, 13 April 1772 and 16 April 1772 and 2 February 1774 which contain petitions from teachers seeking aid.

13. Bain, appendix IV, states that the population in 1773 was 4130, almost equally divided between blacks and whites.

14. Bain, pp. 113-114. Education Act, 23 December 1795, See also NPRO, Board of Education, Annual Report, (Nassau, 1953), p. 3.

15. Education Act, 12 December 1804.

16. Bain, p. 151.

17. Bain, p. 129. See also Education Act, 13 December 1816.

18. Bain, p. 129 and Appendix IV which gives the population in 1817 as between 15000 and 16000 with three times as many blacks as whites.

19. Bain, pp. 129, 187-194, 204-205. Co 23/66/Misc. Chalmers to Bathurst, 13 May 1817 seems to support the assertion that the races were separated. See also Royal Gazette, 15 March 1817 which contains a letter from "Promoter of the Peace," discussing schooling for white children.

20. NPRO, Mary Moseley, "Original Notes for the Bahama Handbook Ch. 12" (n.d.). This contains the "Notitia Scholastica" of the schoolmaster, Rev. Carter for 10 December 1750 and 21 February 1752 which indicate that at least one black child attended his class.

21. Bain, p. 18.

22. Education Act, 16 March 1821.

23. Votes, 27 November 1821 lists six schools though Peggs, p. 144 states that there were nine.

24. Votes, 30 November 1831.

25. Peggs, p. 144.

26. Votes, 21 November 1821 and 14 December 1821.

27. Votes, 5 December 1821.

28. Votes, 6 December 1821.

29. Education Act, 23 January 1822. Note that with this act came a clear-cut division between New Providence and the out-islands with the establishment of the Central school in a special class.

30. See Beilby Porteous, A Letter to the Governors, Legislators and Proprietors of Plantations in the British West-India Islands, (London: L. Hansard and Sons, 1808) appendix, pp. 37-48 which contains an explanation of the system entitled "A Short Sketch of the New System of Education for the poor: in a letter from the Rev. Dr Bell (the Inventor of that System) to the Lord Bishop of London," (1807). The major concerns of the system, which was developed in India, were moral teaching and discipline and it was intended for the "lower orders."

31. The salary for masters under the Act of 1821 had been set at £600.

32. Education Act, 15 January 1823, c. 2.

33. Education Act, 15 January 1823, c. 3.

34. Peggs, p. 140, ignores the ill will generated in the colony by amelioration, the resentment that arose over the settling of liberated Africans and the apparent apathy of the poor whites. See Michael Craton, A History of the Bahamas 2nd ed. (London: Collins, 1968), pp. 193-202 for a more realistic account of the period.

35. Bain, p. 140.

36. During the last four years of the decade, trade was restricted with the United States. See Votes, 24 Oct. 1826 which notes the closing of the ports, and CO 23/81/1, Smyth to Murray, 26 Nov. 1829 which discusses the continued trade embargo. CO 23/84/88, Smyth to Goderich, 5 April 1831 encloses a speech announcing the opening of ports in November 1830.

37. Bain, p. 18.

38. Votes, 20 Nov. 1821; Craton, p. 196; CO 23/73/n.n., Grant to Horton, 30 Jan. 1824.

39. Votes, 13 Nov. 1823 and 3 Dec. 1824; CO 23/73/20A, Grant to Bathurst, 1 July 1824. These give examples of some events of the 1820s. See also Peter Dalleo, "African Recaptives in the Bahamas, 1811-1860: A Preliminary Study" (n.d.) for figures on settement. The liberated Africans were a cause of much resentment among members of the House, who expressed fear that they might be required to provide financial support for them.

40. CO 23/73/5, Grant to Bathurst, 10 Feb. 1824.

41. CO 23/76/11, Munnings to Bathurst, 21 April 1827.

42. CO 23/78/8, Grant to Huskisson, 29 March 1828.

43. Votes, 16 Nov. 1824 and 13 Nov. 1828.

44. Votes, 24 Nov. 1825.

45. Votes, 20 Nov. 1828.

46. Education Act, 10 Dec. 1828. Education Act, 16 Jan. 1829. In a period of few innovations the major one was the admission of girls to the Central School in 1826. See Education Act, 9 Jan. 1826.

47. CO 23/81/12, Munnings to Murray, 24 Feb. 1829.

48. Peggs, p. 156.

49. L. Stephen and S. Lee eds., The Dictionary of National Biography, (Oxford: O. U. P., 1973), S. V. James Carmichael Smyth.

50. CO 23/86/143, Smyth to Goderich, 2 April 1832.

51. See for example on the civil list issue CO 23/86/135, Smyth to Goderich, 3 Feb. 1832.

52. CO 23/84/88, Smyth to Goderich, 5 April 1832.
CO 23/84/105, Smyth to Goderich 23 June 1832.

53. CO 23/84/88 and CO 23/84/105. See also CO 23/84/106 Smyth to Goderich, 27 June 1831 in the issue of slave evidence and CO 23/84/95, Smyth to Goderich, 3 May 1831 on the jury issue.

54. Votes, 21 June 1831, 23 March 1832.

55. Votes, 5 Jan 1830. NPRO Secretary of State for Colonies Correspondence to Governor, 44 Murray to Smyth 22 Oct. 1830 indicates that some assistance was sought from the colonial legislature.

56. CO 23/82/31, Smyth to Murray, 13 March 1830. In this Smyth notes that the legislature has its own poor to maintain--an unaccustomed show of sympathy. See also CO 23/84/72, Smyth to Goderich, 28 Jan. 1831.

57. Secretary of State to Governor, 13, Goderich to Smyth 15 May 1831. See Craton, p. 211.

58. Dalleo, Appendix I. The House had never wanted to support the recaptives. As early as 1812 the Committee of Correspondence had protested their settlement in the colony. See NPRO, Notes from the Chalmers Papers, 10 June 1812. The education of the liberated Africans remained under the Crown until the 1840s. See also CO 12/86/137, Smyth to Goderich, 5 February 1832 in which the Governor recommends a school for liberated Africans from Florida who had settled on Andros.

59. CO 23/86/137.

60. Bain, p. 173. It is most likely that Smyth aided the school which was the ultimate responsibility of the Bray Associates.

61. CO 23/87/192, Smyth to Goderich, 3 Nov. 1832.
CO 23/87/Offices and Individuals, Smyth to Goderich, 3 Nov. 1832

62. Votes, 29 Feb. 1832 and 23 March 1832. The latter contains Smyth's angry speech dissolving the House.

63. CO 23/87. and I., Taylor to Goderich, 30 Dec. 1832.
CO 23/88/222, Smyth to Goderich, 6 April 1833.

64. CO 23/88/203, Smyth to Goderich, 1 Jan. 1833.

65. CO 23/87/166, Smyth to Goderich, 6 Aug. 1832.

66. CO 23/87/192. CO 23/87/225, Smyth to Goderich, 3 May 1833.

67. CO 23/88/225.

68. CO 23/86/154. Smyth to Goderich, 4 June 1832. The population at this time was approximately 4,500 whites, 3,000 free blacks and 9,500 slaves. See R. M. Martin, History of the West Indies, Vol I, (London: Whitlaker and Co., 1836) p. 282.

69. NPRO, Colonial Secretary's Letter Book (hereafter, CSLB), 7 March 1834 and 31 Oct. 1834 are examples of Balfour's efforts.

70. Royal Gazette, 11 May 1833 containing "The Address of the Free People of Colour, Inhabitants of New Providence, 10 May 1833."

71. See CO 23/87/192 which discusses the need to instill loyalty to the king and combat American "republicanism" and "infidelity." See also CO 23/88/pvt., Smyth to Goderich, 28 Feb 1833 which calls again for an infusion of "English blood."

72. CO 23/88/7, Balfour to Stanly, 5 June 1833.

73. Craton, p. 202. CO 23/88/61, Balfour to Stanly, 5 Dec. 1833 mentions the dissolution of the House to avoid conflict. CO 23/91/77, Balfour to Stanly, 19 Feb. 1834, reports on the improved "temper" of the newly elected House.

74. CSLB, 18 July 1833, p. 138. CSLB, 31 Oct. 1834, p. 273.

75. CSLB, 30 Aug. 1834, p. 255.

76. Education Act, 15 Feb. 1834, c. 18.

77. Education Act, 15 Feb. 1834, c. 19. Education Act, 20 March 1834. Though the Bray Associates' school sometimes received aid from the House, it was outside legislative control.

78. CO 23/92/0. and I., Nesbitt to Lefevre, 1 July 1834.

79. Gordon, pp. 1-34 describes the development of the Negro Education Grant to provide education for the freed slaves. See also Fourth Report of the Committee Appointed by the Commissioners for Taking into Consideration the State of Education in the Bahamas, (Nassau: Argus, 1836). This reports on the means by which aid was sought through the Grant. Votes, 11 Sept. 1835 and 25 Nov. 1835 and 24 March 1836 provide additional description of the origins of the Grant and its influence on the colony.

80. See Votes, 24 March 1836, Gordon, p. 21, and Fourth Report... appendix IV. The Sterling Report, like the Madras system, was based on the assumption that there existed a lower class to be educated, and, though not expressed in terms of race, the assumption was easily put into practice in such ways as to re-inforce racial separation.

81. Figueroa, pp 18-19. Secretary of State to Governor, Glenelg to Governor (Colebrooke), 16 Nov. 1835.

82. Education Act, 31 March 1835.

83. CSLB 11 Sept. 1835 and 11 March 1836. See Votes, 6 Jan. 1836. Fourth Report... p. 25, shows the actual increase in the number of schools under government in 1835.

84. Votes, 7 Apr. 1835. CO 23/93/54. Colebrooke to Aberdeen, 19 June 1835.

85. CO 23/94/77, Colebrooke to Glenelg, 5 Aug. 1835.

86. Secretary of State to Governor, 79, Glenelg to Colebrooke, 15 Jan. 1836. CO 23/94/77.

87. Craton, p. 211. Though he mistakes the year of the establishment of the Board, Craton does recognise the importance of the Grant and notes where the initiative arose.

88. The Bahama Argus, 11 March 1835.

89. CO 23/93/5, Colebrooke to Aberdeen, 10 March 1835. Note that the Church of England was not mentioned. At this time it seemed still to be a church for whites. See Roscoe Shedden, Ups and Downs in a West Indian Diocese, (London: SPG, 1927) pp. 28-32.

90. Votes, 6 March 1835. Bahamas Argus, 7 March 1835.

91. "Proceedings of the Commissioners appointed to take into consideration the state of Education throughout the Bahamas and the means by which it may be most effectively promoted," (Nassau: Argus, 1836) and Fourth Report...

92. Fourth Report...

93. Votes, 18 Jan. 1836. "Proceedings..." .. 4-8 and Appendix, pp 22 ff. See also Bahamas Argus, 2 May 1835.

94. CO 23/96/49, Colebrooke to Glenelg, 14 May 1836. CO 23/96/16, Colebrooke to Glenelg, 20 Feb. 1836 discusses opposition to the school.

95. CO 23/96/49. Bahamas Argus, 16 May 1835 contains an advertisement for shares, and 2 May contains a prospectus of the school. The dates gives some indication of the higher priority of Kings College School, than schools for the poor.

96. Votes, 18 Jan. 1836.

97. CO 23/96/16. It is clear that Colebrooke was performing a valuable service in making his views known to the Crown and at the same time maintaining co-operative relations with the House. It must be agreed that the Lt. Governor exercised great tact. See Peggs, p. 163.

98. Education Act, 26 May 1836.

99. See for example CO 23/96/52, Colebrooke to Glenelg, 2 June 1836.

100. Fourth Report... See particularly the statistics and reports on individual schools. p. 25 ff.

101. CO 23/96/16. CO 23/96/49.

102. CO 23/96/56, Colebrooke to Glenelg, 4 June 1836. See CO 23/96/16, in which Colebrooke recommends the establishment of schools of industry. These schools, run on the plan of the British and Foreign School Society, trained pupils in vocational skills.

103. See Secretary of State to Governor, 79. See also Votes, 15 Jan. 1836 and 26 March 1836.

104. Votes, 18 Jan. 1836. As noted, the churches were quick to apply for funds under the Negro Education Grant. The Bahama Blue Book, 1838 notes the existence of twelve private schools.

105. CSLB, 14 June 1836, p. 140. This notes that whites at Spanish Wells had threatened to pull down the school house if black children were admitted, and warns of serious consequences if the threat is carried out. See also Thelma Peters, "The American Loyalists and the Plantation Period in the Bahama Islands, (Ph.D., University of Florida, 1960), p. 187 where it is stated that after Emancipation, many whites moved to Nassau or out of the colony leaving an even greater majority of blacks than had existed before Emancipation. There were over 18000 people in the colony, more than three times as many blacks as whites. See Blue Book, 1836, p. 166.

106. The initiative here came from the British Government and, as noted earlier, was not explicitly intended to be based on race. Vocational training was thought proper for recipients of charity whether black or white.