

**THE COMMUNITY OF THE RESURRECTION'S INVOLVE-
MENT IN AFRICAN SCHOOLING ON THE WITWATERSRAND,
FROM 1903 TO 1956.**

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ABSTRACT

THE COMMUNITY OF THE RESURRECTION'S INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICAN SCHOOLING ON THE WITWATERSRAND, FROM 1903 TO 1956

This research project is an historical reconstruction of the schools established and run by the Community of the Resurrection (CR) on the Witwatersrand from 1903 to 1956. The aim of this research is to contribute to knowledge and understanding of missionary education in South Africa, through a study of the educational work of this particular missionary body, as embodied in their schools.

The report examines key aspects of the schools, including their financial and organizational structures, the education they offered and their ethos. The CR schools varied in physical size, numbers of pupils and level of sophistication, from the well established St. Peter's Secondary School, to numerous one-roomed wood and iron shacks. Similarly, the products of these schools varied from well-known African leaders and academics to domestic servants. Although a definitive judgement on the merits of missionary education is not the focus of this study, the project concludes that the initial Eurocentric attitude of the CR towards Africans and their education was transformed to one of genuine sympathy and the CR brethren became leaders in the fight for equal education for Africans in the face of Government opposition.

This project is based on primary source material located in the Church of the Province Archives of South Africa at the University of the Witwatersrand and is influenced by secondary sources such as historical works and theories on missionary education, as well as works by CR members themselves.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

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(Name of candidate)

9th day of SEPTEMBER, 19 94.

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PREFACE

The focus of this research project is the schools which were set up and run by the Community of the Resurrection (CR) on the Witwatersrand from 1903 to 1956. All aspects of these schools will be included, from their physical and organizational structures to the education they offered and their prevailing ethos. The aim of this research is to produce an historical reconstruction of the CR's schooling activities, in order to enhance our understanding of missionary education in South Africa. By studying the educational activities of one specific missionary body, it is hoped that a clearer perspective of missionary education in South Africa and its values will be gained.

I first encountered the CR when I attended St. Martin's High School in Johannesburg which was originally St. Peter's Secondary School. One could not help but appreciate the sense of history which surrounded the school and the CR brothers, neither the school buildings nor the brothers appearing to have undergone much change over time. My interest in missionary education was consolidated over the years of studying the history of education at the University of the Witwatersrand and I began research in this direction with a research proposal on St. Agnes' as a third year education requirement.

I wish to thank the archivists of the Church of the Province Archives of South Africa (CPSA) for their assistance in providing me with the research material on which this project is largely based. I am also grateful to Professor Peter Randall, who in his capacity as Supervisor for this research project, has provided guidance and inspiration in the field of historical research.

INTRODUCTION

Until 1954, African education in South Africa was almost entirely in the hands of missionaries, as government involvement in this area was minimal. An historical study of early formal African schooling in South Africa is therefore a study of the schooling provided by various missionary organizations.

Missionary education has attracted much controversy. Once seen as the saviours of Africans, missionaries are now sometimes suspected of playing a leading role in their subordination. Historians operating within the radical revisionist framework, have accused missionaries of being tools of colonialism, capitalism and imperialism, although these historians vary in the degree of blame they place on missionaries. Radical historians are currently moving away from a simple conspiratorial theory of missionary education and are accepting the complex, contradictory forces involved in missionary education. For example, there is a view that although missionaries may have intended to provide Africans with an inferior education which befitted their perceived social and economic role, missionary education had the opposite effect of creating a radicalized, educated African leadership.

This research project is a study of the Community of the Resurrection's (CR's) involvement in African schooling on the Witwatersrand and its aim is to offer an historical reconstruction of key aspects of these schools, in order to enhance our understanding of missionary education in South Africa. This study on the schooling activities of one particular missionary community, within a specific area, is intended to contribute to overall understanding of the roots of African education in South Africa.

This study focuses on the schools of the CR, in some cases well known, like the well-established St. Peter's Secondary School, others, barely known, which were wood and iron shacks. Only schools for African children will be included in this study. The schools' physical structure, and their organization and control and financing will be studied, as well as the education offered by them and their prevailing ethos. Characteristics of teachers and pupils and, finally, the closure of the schools will also be discussed.

Owing to limitations of space, a considerable area of the CR's educational activities is excluded in this study. Educational concerns of the Community not included in this project include the CP's St. Peter's Theological College, night schools for African men, classes for African women, and the CR's involvement in white education, for example the Community's running of St. John's College from 1906. These educational concerns will be mentioned only briefly in the first chapter which deals with the CR's background. The Diocesan Training College (Grace Dieu), which was established by a CR member, will be briefly dealt with, only in connection with the qualifications of teachers who taught at CR day-schools.

The first chapter of this research project offers a brief background on the CR, including its establishment and early history, its organization within the Anglican Church of South Africa, its activities, aside from its involvement in African schooling, and the aims and educational ideologies of its brethren. This research project deals with St. Agnes' Industrial Girls' School in the second chapter and with St. Peter's Secondary School in the third chapter, both of these being well known and well documented CR schools. The fourth and final chapter of this study offers an historical reconstruction of the day-schools of the CR, the large majority of which were small, barely known schools, with only passing reference made to them in the written sources. Because of this, all CR day-schools were studied as a whole, with individual schools isolated only where relevant differences existed. CR schools are therefore arranged into chapters according to the availability of information on them, and, in the case of St. Agnes' and St. Peter's, they are arranged chronologically.

The dates which limit the study, 1903 to 1956, mark the beginning and the end of the CR's involvement in African schooling. In 1903, the first CR brethren arrived in South Africa and began their involvement in educational activities. In 1956, the CR finally withdrew from its involvement in African schooling because of the Bantu Education Act of 1954, which reduced the government subsidy on mission schools making it financially impossible for continued CR control over the schools. The Group Areas Act which forced African schools out of white areas also brought about the end of the CR's involvement in African schooling. The physical location which limits the study of the CR's involvement in African schooling, is the Witwatersrand. The Community was also involved in missionary work in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), although its work in this area is not included in this study.

In aiming to contribute to the overall understanding of missionary education in

South Africa, this research project may also add some new insights to the controversial debate on the effects of missionary education. However, this study offers more of a historical reconstruction on the CR's schooling efforts and a tentative suggestion on its value, rather than a definitive view point on the benefits or evils of missionary education.

The research method used for this project is mainly the study of primary source material located in the Church of the Province of South Africa Archives at the University of the Witwatersrand. Primary source material includes letters written by CR members, teachers and pupils of the CR schools, inspectors' reports, government statistics, SPG (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel) and SAIRR (South African Institute of Race Relations) reports, and the like. Secondary sources such as works written by CR members and by historians have also been consulted. An interview was conducted with the Provincial of the CR, to provide supplementary information on the Community and its organization within the Anglican Church of South Africa. This research was conducted between 1992 and 1994.

1. THE COMMUNITY OF THE RESURRECTION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter offers a brief background account of the Community of the Resurrection (CR), against which to view its educational efforts. It will include a description of the Community and its history, the organization of the Community within the Anglican Church, the activities, other than schooling for African children, which the CR was involved in, and the aims and the educational ideology of the CR. The last section on the aims and the educational ideology of the Community is an attempt to provide a basic background in this area, because (as mentioned in the introduction of this research project) this research project does not attempt a definitive assessment of the Community's ideologies and its educational efforts.

THE COMMUNITY OF THE RESURRECTION: ESTABLISHMENT AND EARLY HISTORY

The Community of the Resurrection was founded by Charles Gore in 1892 at Pusey House, Oxford. Previously, Fr. Gore, who was a priest in charge of Pusey House at the time, and the clergy residing there, had decided to found the Society of the Resurrection as a brotherhood based on a common rule of Religious devotion and celibacy. A Community was born out of the Society in 1892, when five other priests residing at Pusey House joined Gore. They constituted the number needed for the formation of a Rule.

Their aim in establishing the Community was to live as the early Christians did - Christ's Disciples - and for members to devote their lives to prayer and work. The Community of the Resurrection adopted the three Christian Counsels: poverty, chastity and obedience. The preamble to its Rule states that the Community...

Shall consist of celibate priests who desire to combine together to reproduce the life of the first Christians...and not one of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common.¹

The CR was based at Pusey House for a year, with Gore as its Superior. Two years after the initiation of the CR, its brethren decided to move to Yorkshire, to Mirfield in the industrial North of England, as they felt that the South of England was serviced spiritually by numerous religious communities. The CR's house at Mirfield became the mother-house of the Community, which eventually branched off into other areas of Britain and into British colonies around the world².

A. Wilkinson, who wrote the CR's centenary history in 1992, points out that religious communities were being founded in Britain in the late nineteenth century in an attempt to revive Anglicanism, by reconstructing the holy monastic way of life which had been prevalent in the Middle Ages³. This religious revival inspired the founding of the Society of the Resurrection and later, the Community of the Resurrection, whose founder and initial members were, according to Wilkinson, of high social standing and educated in English public schools and Oxford and Cambridge Universities⁴. Wilkinson points out that Gore was a "liberal in theology" and a "radical in politics"⁵ and that he believed in a multicultural and multiracial catholic church⁶.

In 1902, the CR received a telegram from the Rt. Rev. William Carter, Bishop of Zululand and acting Vicar-General of the Diocese of Pretoria. Bishop Carter requested the Community to send a few of its members to form a branch of the CR in South Africa, in order to take charge of the African mission in Johannesburg and the Witwatersrand. The CR was requested to take charge of the evangelical, pastoral and educational work amongst Africans working on the mines and surrounding areas, as well as the spiritual well-being of whites in the area. Two Anglican priests, Fr. J.T. Darragh and Fr. C.B. Shaw, had been administering to the spiritual needs of Africans and whites on the Witwatersrand from the late 1800s, however their work was disrupted by the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899. Bishop Carter felt that establishing a religious community in Johannesburg would be the best way to reinforce spiritual life, as the Community would be "a centre of spiritual life"⁷.

Three CR members, Fr. Latimer Fuller, Fr. James Nash and Fr. Clement Thomson,

arrived in Cape Town in 1903 and travelled to Johannesburg where they settled in a wood and iron house at 10 Sherwell Street, Doornfontein⁸. The Community grew steadily in numbers and operated from Sherwell Street until 1911, when the brethren moved into the new Priory in Rosettenville. In 1915, the CR accepted the responsibility of taking charge of St. Augustine's Mission in Penhalonga, Southern Rhodesia, so a member of the CR left Rosettenville to begin operations from this new CR station⁹. The CR remained stationed in the Rosettenville Priory until about 1940, when the Community split up to form another branch in Sophiatown, at the Priory of Christ the King¹⁰.

The CR was not the first Anglican community in South Africa. The Society of St. Augustine's at Modderport, came to South Africa in 1857 and its remnants were taken over by the Society of the Sacred Mission in 1902. The Cowley Fathers, the All Saints Sisters of Cape Town and several women's communities were founded between 1874 and 1887¹¹. However, these communities seemed not to have been involved with the CR to any extent.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CR WITHIN THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF SOUTH AFRICA

The Church of England, or the Anglican Church (the terms will be used interchangeably), incorporated South Africa as a Province of the Church of England, officially, in 1848 when the Rt. Rev. Robert Grey became the first Anglican Bishop to reside and operate in South Africa. However, Anglican priests and missionaries were present in South Africa before 1848¹².

The Church of the Province of South Africa was divided into dioceses, each headed by a bishop. The number of dioceses in South Africa grew from one large Diocese, to ten dioceses in 1920¹³. Each diocese was divided into parishes and mission-districts, for whites and Africans respectively. Priests in charge of parishes and mission-priests in charge of mission-districts, were answerable to the bishop of the diocese under which they fell. Bishops controlled the diocese in conjunction with the diocesan Synod, which was the body responsible for church legislation in the diocese. The bishop and diocesan Synod were in turn answerable to the Archbishop and the Provincial Synod, who headed the Church of the Province of South Africa and all dioceses within the Province of South Africa¹⁴.

The CR operated within the Diocese of Pretoria until 1922, when the diocese split into the two Dioceses of Pretoria and Johannesburg, the latter being the diocese within which the Community operated. The Diocese of Johannesburg was divided into mission-districts of about five thousand square miles and each mission-district was under the charge of a mission priest or a band of missionaries in a community. The CR controlled the mission-district of Johannesburg. This included most of the Reef and the surrounding country. The northern boundary lay halfway between Pretoria and Johannesburg. Springs and Roodepoort were the eastern and western boundaries respectively, and the Vaal River was the southern boundary¹⁵.

According to Anglican Church hierarchy, the CR was answerable to the Bishop of Johannesburg (after 1922) and the Diocesan Synod, as well, the Archbishop of the Province of South Africa and the Provincial Synod. The CR also had its own organizational structure and hierarchy - the Provincial was head of the CR in South Africa and the Superior was head of the CR internationally. Chapters were the decision-making meetings, attended by all professed members of the CR. These were held at all levels, from the weekly house chapters, to the Provincial Chapter attended by all CR members of South Africa, to the annual General Chapter which determined policy for CR branches internationally.

The hierarchical nature of the relationship between the CR and the Church of the Province of South Africa appears to have been relatively relaxed, according to the CR member who was interviewed in 1994, Fr. Quintin Harrison. He pointed out that the CR was summoned by Bishop Carter to South Africa to take charge of the Rand Native Mission, and that the Community had essentially a free rein to run the mission as its members saw fit. The CR was not financed by the diocese, but by public donations and the brethrens' personal wealth, and this, together with the long, inaccessible distances between the CR and diocesan authorities in Pretoria, accounted for the relative autonomy of CR members in the methods in which they accomplished their pursuits. However, the CR brethren were Anglican priests and could therefore not act without the knowledge and approval of the bishop. CR members were also answerable to the Diocesan Synod and had to attend its meetings¹⁶.

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CR, WHICH WERE UNRELATED TO AFRICAN CHILDREN'S SCHOOLING

Aside from establishing and running schools for African children, the CR were involved in various activities on the Witwatersrand, which can be grouped into three categories: evangelical, pastoral and educational.

The first duty of the CR on arriving in South Africa in 1903, was to conduct spiritual and educational work on the mines¹⁷. The Community's purpose was to work with the expanding, urbanized African population which was attracted to the burgeoning gold-mining industry on the Witwaterand. The CR brethren evangelized to the "heathen" African mine-workers and African labourers, living in surrounding locations, by spreading God's Word in sermons held in Sotho, Xhosa and Dutch¹⁸.

Once Africans had been converted to Christianity, the CR followed up with pastoral duties, which involved organizing congregations, providing Sacraments and where possible, building churches. The CR employed African priests, deacons and catechists to take charge of the day-to-day concerns of the various congregations, which were numbered at sixty-six by 1911¹⁹. Some of the CR brethren were also involved in pastoral activities amongst white communities. The CR brethren arrived in post-war Johannesburg to find Christianity largely neglected and a few of the brethren took charge of white congregations which were under-staffed and without a priest²⁰. However, by and large, the CR's pastoral duties, as well as its other activities, were concerned with Africans. By the mid-1930s, the CR began to hand over its pastoral concerns to the African clergy whom its members had trained and supervised, under the charge of the Johannesburg Diocese, as its brethren wished to devote more time to their educational concerns²¹.

The CR's involvement in educational activities went beyond the establishing and running of schools for African children. The brethren of the Community set up the Diocesan Theological College, St. Peter's College, in 1903, for the training of African catechists and ordinands. The Theological College was open to African men, many of whom had little or no previous formal education. Students could qualify as catechists after attending two, six month courses at the College, or become deacons after a two year course. Some students attending St. Peter's Theological College were trained as priests, after serving the obligatory six years as a deacon. All CR members were involved in the teaching at the Theological College²².

Fr. Latimer Fuller CR, who was responsible for the general mission work in the Diocese of Pretoria when the CR first arrived in South Africa, purchased the farm of Grace Dieu in Pietersburg, in 1906, where he set up the Diocesan Training College in 1907. The College was set up to train African men and women as school teachers, mainly to improve the standard of teaching in CR schools (see section on teachers of CR day-schools). The Training College, Grace Dieu, like the Theological College, was forced to close down after the Bantu Education Act of 1954.

The CR set up numerous night schools around the Witwatersrand, which provided an elementary education and religious instruction to African men, who had never had the opportunity of attending normal schools. White women volunteers sent by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), who worked in conjunction with the CR, held classes for African women, teaching them sewing, knitting, crafts and Christian beliefs and values²³. The CR also provided nursery schools for African children, from the ages of two to seven years old. These nursery schools provided an all day service for working mothers, and aimed to instill in the children self-discipline, character development, physical health and hygiene²⁴. The CR established and ran five nursery schools in Orlando and Sophiatown²⁵.

The CR was involved in white education as well as in African education. The small boys' school, St. John's College, started by Rev. Darragh in 1889, in connection with St. Mary's Church, was threatened with closure in the early 1900s, because of the Anglo-Boer War and because of the competition created by the government schools which were established by the Milner Administration during the Reconstruction period. The Bishop requested the CR to assist by taking over the running of the school, in 1905, in an attempt to save St. John's from closure. In 1906, the CR agreed to adopt the College permanently after a trial period of six months, and Fr. James Nash became headmaster. The CR ran St. John's until 1934, when the Community handed the school over to the Diocese²⁶. The CR brethren also taught Religious Instruction in white Government schools, when government regulations permitted them to do so²⁷.

THE AIM AND EDUCATIONAL IDEOLOGIES OF THE CR

The aim of the Community of the Resurrection was to live the lives of the early

Christians and to Christianize others. A CR prospectus states that "Our [the CR's] first concern is with the worship of God."²⁸ The solely religious intentions of the Community in general and in its activities on the Witwatersrand can be seen in several CR reports on the subject. Winter, for example, in his report on sixty years of CR activities in the Witwatersrand, wrote that Bishop Carter invited the CR to South Africa, "primarily for the strengthening of the spiritual life of the whole diocese, particularly along the Reef."²⁹

The aim of the CR, to spread and reinforce Christianity in the Witwatersrand was integrally linked with the Community's involvement in African education. The Community had two main motives in its involvement in African education; one, was to train African men as catechists and ordinands, as "...[the] chief agents in evangelization must be Africans themselves."³⁰(see previous section), and two, was to establish schools for African children as a method of Christianizing the African community.

The aim of establishing African schools was to spread Christianity, according to the Church of the Province of South Africa and its missionary bodies, including the CR³¹. An Anglican missionary priest stated that "...any schools started should have this [Christianity] as their object rather than general education."³² Schools engendered Christianity by imparting literacy, which enabled pupils to read the Bible, by giving religious instruction and by imbuing pupils with Christian ethics. The CR's aim and motive in establishing and running schools for African children on the Witwatersrand, was religious.

Notwithstanding the central religious motive of the CR's involvement in African education, the Community's, as well as other missionaries' ideologies of African education have raised controversial debates on the benefit of missionary education for Africans. The CR, like other missionaries and clergy of the time, adopted an ideology towards African education which has given detractors ample reasons for labelling missionary education as racist and imperialist, leading to the subordination of Africans. The brethren of the CR's attitude towards Africans and the type of education appropriate for them, seems to have undergone somewhat radical changes from their arrival in South Africa, to the forced closure of their schools by the Bantu Education Act.

The CR brethren, along with the other members of the Church of the Province of South Africa, adopted a liberal policy towards African education, in the early years

of their activities on the Witwatersrand, as they felt a paternalistic duty to save the "child", "savage" race from their lives of ignorance and superstition, with Christianity and Western civilization. The initial ideas of the CR and the other Anglicans towards African education, touch on racism and Eurocentricity, in that manual education was recommended for Africans in order to imbue them with the "habits of industry" that "the white races..had ingrained in them by centuries of necessity"³³. Statements like "The acceptance of Christianity has never involved, of necessity, social equality..[or]..the right to a franchise.." ³⁴, could place the ideology of the CR and the Church of England firmly in the realms of conservatism.

One could not, however, anachronistically classify their ideology as being conservative, as in the early twentieth century, the CR brothers, at the calling of the Anglican diocesan authorities, fought against much opposition to provide Africans with an education. The CR were repeatedly forced to justify their providing Africans with education in the face of white opposition. The constant struggle, waged by the community against the successive South African governments, especially against the financing of African education, is well documented.

That the CR became radicalized in its educational ideology is clear, although the approximate time period from the change from a paternalistic, somewhat racist liberal ideology to one which was more radical, is naturally difficult to pinpoint. According to Wilkinson, the CR became radicalized once it had branched off into Sophiatown, in the mid 1930's. Wilkinson suggests the reason for this change as being the direct exposure to Africans and their way of life, living in Sophiatown, as opposed to living in the white suburb of Rosettenville³⁵. The close involvement of the CR with Africans and their education, as well as the CR's constant struggle against the government for adequate financial assistance, must also have played a role in the radicalization of the CR's educational and political ideology.

The CR and the authorities of the Church of the Province of South Africa, reacted with outrage to the Bantu Education Act of 1954, and to other Apartheid rulings. Winter, on behalf of the other CR members, wrote:

We do not believe that education based on separation can ever be of real service to white and black. We shall both suffer. Culture cannot rightly be kept in water-tight compartments. The African needs to share fully in ours and we in his.³⁶

Winter recognized that segregation, discrimination and ultimately Apartheid, could be seen in government policies, long before the Nationalist Party's accession in 1948. Whether the CR's opposition to Apartheid can be seen as smug liberalism or genuine radicalism, is beyond the capacity and concern of this research project. What can be accepted, however, is that members of the Community, like Trevor Huddleston CR, have long railed against racism and discrimination in all forms.

2. ST. AGNES' INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS: 1907-1956

INTRODUCTION

St. Agnes' Industrial School was a boarding school for African girls, initiated by the CR in 1907, with the help of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and some British women volunteers. This chapter will outline the motivation behind the school's inception, and its development from a one-room school in Doornfontein to a reasonably sophisticated institution in Rosettenville, noting such aspects as the school's organizational structure, its means of finance, the education it offered, its prevailing ethos and its staff and pupils. The subsequent amalgamation of St. Agnes' Industrial School with St. Peter's Secondary School up until the eventual closure of the latter in 1956 is also described in this chapter.

THE MOTIVATION BEHIND THE INCEPTION OF ST. AGNES' SCHOOL

The brothers of the CR felt that African women, who were flocking to the Witwatersrand in increasing numbers because of the expanding gold mining industry and subsequent economic growth, were faced with grave moral dangers because of their living conditions. Fr. Alban Winter CR drew attention to the predicament of African women in his work *Till Darkness Fell*, maintaining that vices of city life and employers' failure to provide secure accommodation for women servants served to expose them to immorality¹. Fr. Latimer Fuller CR added in his publication *The Romance of a South African Mission* how African women (and men) were susceptible to moral failure purely by virtue of their culture and tribal education and that only the influence of Christian, English education would save them².

The CR, newly established in Johannesburg, felt that a boarding school would impart Christianity to African girls as well as shelter them physically from immoral-

ity and danger. Fuller stressed in a further publication, *South African Native Missions: Some Considerations*, that a boarding school was needed in a central location of the CR's missionary district to guide African girls spiritually so they might become good Christian wives and mothers and impart Christianity to their children³. The motive of creating Christian wives and mothers adept at housewifery and hygiene was a stated aim of St. Agnes' and was foremost in the minds of the CR brothers and the SPG volunteers who helped them. This intention is evident because of its constant mention in practically all reports concerning St. Agnes'⁴.

Apart from Christian guidance, Fuller referred to the need for a school which would teach African girls reading and writing and other elementary mental skills which were at the time not easily available to them⁵. A report in a 1908 CR Quarterly chronicle mentions that local village teachers were "too weak" to teach necessary academic skills and that an important motivation for initiating a school like St. Agnes' was to teach the girls mental skills⁶.

A further aim in initiating St. Agnes' School, was to impart manual skills. The two reasons for this were; to equip girls with housewifery skills as wives and mothers and to create trained domestic servants for white employers. Winter quotes Fuller, one of the first three CR brothers to settle in Johannesburg, as writing:

The great drawback to the employment of native girls as servants is that they are very ignorant and stupid..The remedy lies in training. Native girls who have been trained make excellent servants.⁷

Gaitskell in her thesis "Race, Gender and Imperialism: A Century of Black Girls' Education in South Africa"⁸ and in her Ph.D. Thesis "Female Mission Initiatives": Black and White Women in Three Witwatersrand Churches⁹, and Lombard in his H.Dip.Ed. research project "St. Agnes' - its Early History and Development"¹⁰, both stress the fact that St. Agnes' was initiated in order to train African girls as domestic servants to replace the "houseboy". African men were employed as domestic servants up until the early 1900s when, as noted by van Onselen in his book *The Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914, New Nineveh*¹¹, because of the labour requirements of the mining industry and due to the so called "Black Peril"¹², attempts were made by the Milner Administration to channel African male labour from the domestic arena to the mines. A way to fill the gap created by taking African men out of domestic service was to train African women to replace them.

St. Agnes' was an industrial school and although the stated aim of the school in SPG reports was "...that they [the pupils] may be good wives and mothers and carry real religion into their homes"¹³, the subjects offered - laundry work, cooking, sewing and household work - clearly indicate that the aim of St. Agnes' went beyond training African girls to be housewives. There can be little doubt that the CR, backed by the Transvaal Government¹⁴, set up the school with the intention of training African girls to be domestic servants, in addition to its intention of uplifting them.

THE ORIGINS OF ST. AGNES' SCHOOL: 1907-1909

The problems facing newly urbanized African women, which have already been discussed, prompted Fr. Fuller CR to approach the SPG in London, requesting help in the form of finance and suitable women missionary workers. Funds collected by the philanthropist, Lady Selborne, enabled three British women sent from the SPG, Deaconess Julia Gilpin, Miss Constance Brewster and Miss Miriam Trist, to travel to Johannesburg in the latter half of 1907¹⁵. The three women took up residence at 21 Sherwell Street, Doornfontein, across the road from the CR.

Together the three women and the brothers of the CR decided that an industrial boarding school would be a solution to the moral, spiritual and physical dangers facing African women¹⁶. Aside from the proposed industrial school for girls, Deaconess Julia, Miss Brewster and Miss Trist's strategy for the upliftment of African women on the Witwatersrand included ministering to them, opening hostels for those in domestic service requiring accommodation and holding classes in religious instruction and sewing techniques¹⁷.

St. Agnes' Industrial School for Girls was founded by the CR in conjunction with the three women helpers sent by the SPG in 1907¹⁸. The school consisted of two wood and iron rooms - a classroom in Buxton Street and a small dormitory across the road in Sherwell Street, Doornfontein¹⁹. Miss Browne, a teacher who was brought in to join the three women in the running of St. Agnes', described the beds in the girls' dormitory as consisting of pieces of hessian stretched between two pieces of crossed wood²⁰.

The first pupils to attend St. Agnes' were four girls from the Transvaal and four girls from Lourenzo Marques²¹ in their early teenage years. Some of them did not

understand English and they were placed mainly in the sub-standards, with two girls in Standard V and one in Standard VI²².

The girls were taught industrial subjects - laundry, cooking, sewing, gardening and other domestic chores as well as school work. As there was no syllabus for Africans in the Transvaal which went beyond Standard III in 1908, the teacher, Miss Browne taught what she remembered from the Cape syllabus and used brown paper and broomsticks as reading sheets, because there was no standard teaching equipment, apart from a few slates and books²³.

ST. AGNES' SCHOOL, ROSETTENVILLE: 1909-1956

While the girls' industrial boarding school was underway in Doornfontein, building arrangements for the new St. Agnes' were prompted by increasing numbers of pupils and the conviction of the CR members that the school was a crucial aspect of their missionary work on the Witwatersrand. The site chosen for the new school was a plot consisting of three one hundred square feet stands of open veld on a hill just outside the city of Johannesburg²⁴. The land was partly donated by Mr. Lucas, a Johannesburg city councillor²⁵ and a fund raising scheme orchestrated by Lady Selborne, despite the opposition of many high standing whites to the school²⁶, provided sufficient funds to initiate the building of the school and to help pay off the debts once the building was completed²⁷.

The new St. Agnes' School, the first brick building on the Hill, Rosettenville, at that time²⁸, was officially opened in March 1909. The unusually heavy rainfall which had delayed the school's completion, did not prevent the attendance of Lady Selborne and a crowd of onlookers at the opening ceremony on the third of March - St. Agnes' Day, when the school was blessed by the Archbishop.

THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF ST. AGNES' SCHOOL

The school buildings consisted of two dormitories with accommodation for forty girls, classrooms, a dining-room for the girls, a kitchen, a pantry and a wood and iron laundry which doubled as a bathroom on "tub-nights". A separate block housed the staff quarters which consisted of five bedrooms (one per teacher), a sitting-room and a chapel. There was no electricity in the first years of St. Agnes' -

pupils took turns to be "lamp girl", and no hot water²⁹. An ex-pupil of St. Agnes', Elizabeth Nkomane, referred to the classrooms and dormitories as spacious and described the pupils' delight at moving from the old school on Sherwell and Buxton Streets to the new school at Rosettenville with its large playing and sports fields³⁰.

In 1916, when the number of pupils had increased beyond the capacity of the dormitories, the headmistress had to turn one of the large classrooms into a dormitory and the dining-room into a classroom³¹. The girls had to eat on the verandah, a situation which continued until well into the 1920s after St. Agnes' had amalgamated with St. Peter's Secondary School. The only addition to the original buildings of St. Agnes' was a demonstration classroom built in about 1920³².

ORGANIZATION AND FINANCING OF ST. AGNES' SCHOOL

The CR initiated St. Agnes' and was always closely connected to it as far as decision-making, and day to day running of the school was concerned. No documents pertaining to St. Agnes' councils or committees have been located, so one may possibly assume that St. Agnes' was not run along the same formal lines as St. Peter's (see following chapter on organizational structure of St. Peter's). Apart from conducting chapel services for the pupils and teaching Religious Instruction to the girls, the brothers of the CR left the teaching as well as much of the organization of the school to the four white women teachers who were mainly chosen by the SPG.

Archdeacon Fuller CR described in a meeting of the Diocesan Board of Missions in 1910 that St. Agnes' was under the jurisdiction of the CR because the school fell under the mission district of Johannesburg. Fuller went on to suggest that St. Agnes' was becoming a "diocesan piece of work" and that once the CR had paid off the debts on the new buildings, the Pretoria Diocese should take over the control of the girls' Industrial School³³. Nothing seems to have come of Fuller's proposal, although it does indicate that St. Agnes' may not have been the highest in the CR's missionary priorities. St. Agnes' continued to operate under the control of the CR, which was in turn responsible to the Diocesan Synod and Bishop (see previous chapter on the organization of the CR within the Anglican Church), until the school's amalgamation with St. Peter's, which was also initiated and controlled

by the CR.

St. Agnes' School was subject to annual government inspection from its inception. One government inspector would inspect the progress in school subjects and another would examine the quality of the needlework produced by the pupils³⁴.

St. Agnes' School was financed from three sources: the government, by its offering bursaries to some pupils and grants to teachers, pupils' fees, and fund-raising campaigns orchestrated largely through the SPG. When St. Agnes' was located in Doornfontein in 1908, the CR and the three SPG volunteers already mentioned decided to apply for a government grant towards the school. Their application was successful and a government grant was awarded from 1909 when the school was moved to the new Rosettenville buildings³⁵. The government aided St. Agnes' financially by giving grants to the staff and by offering bursaries to all pupils above Standard II whose parents had signed a three year apprenticeship agreement³⁶. Approximately a third to a half of the pupils were under this three year indenture system during the span of St. Agnes' existence, which, according to CR reports, was of great financial benefit to the school³⁷. A report in a 1910 CR Quarterly stated that St. Agnes' had earned the highest grant given by the government to "that type of school [industrial school]" that year³⁸.

In the early years of St. Agnes', pupils were paying fees of twenty-five shilling and six pence a week for tuition, board and lodging. According to Fuller, this sum only barely covered their food, and he claimed that even St. Agnes' harshest critics could not regard the school as being expensive³⁹. In 1911, the pupils' fees were from three to six pounds a year, depending on whether or not they were boarders. Parents who were unable to afford the fees were allowed pay lower fees by special arrangement with the headmistress⁴⁰. In 1930, after St. Agnes' had amalgamated with St. Peter's, the boarding girls' fees were ten pounds a year compared to the boarding boys' fees of twelve pounds a year⁴¹. St. Agnes' pupils also had to do daily housekeeping and gardening chores, as domestic workers were not employed in an attempt to minimize costs⁴².

St. Agnes' School was also financed through collections, donations and fund-raising schemes. St. Agnes' relied on the public's financial support, particularly with the building of the new school in Rosettenville, which cost the CR two thousand pounds⁴³. As previously mentioned, the British High Commissioner's wife, Lady Selborne, took up the cause of St. Agnes' and organized a committee of

South African women to raise funds for the school. The SPG, London, was active in collecting fees for St. Agnes' and was responsible for most of the nine-hundred pounds raised in 1909⁴⁴. The SPG also helped to meet the 1200 pounds annual running costs of St. Agnes' staff by donating 150 pounds a year towards it⁴⁵. From 1913, however, the SPG's donations were substantially reduced, perhaps due to the First World War of 1914, and the CR fervently appealed to the South African public to take up the slack⁴⁶.

THE EDUCATION OFFERED AT ST. AGNES' SCHOOL

Being an industrial school for girls, St. Agnes' offered practical subjects like sewing, ironing, washing, cooking, knitting, gardening and general housewifery, along with school subjects and religious instruction. However, the school gradually began to offer an education which was less industrial and more academic, a trend noted by Gaitskell in her seminar paper "Race, Gender and Imperialism: A Century of Black Girls' Education in South Africa"⁴⁷. Reasons for this shift from a mainly industrial education to a more academic one will be suggested in the remaining sections of this chapter.

Elizabeth Nkomane, one of the first pupils of St. Agnes', describes the industrial nature of the pupils' work in the first years of the school:

We were doing washing, sewing, cooking and ironing in an excellent manner. We used to collect a few parcels of washing from the village [Rosettenville and its surrounds] for practicing how to wash and iron properly⁴⁸.

St. Agnes' offered a three-year industrial course, which trained the girls in the domestic subjects already mentioned⁴⁹. Pupils were awarded certificates on successful completion of the course⁵⁰.

Alongside the three-year industrial course, normal school subjects were offered and St. Agnes' girls were able to embark on a primary school career up to Standard VI. It is unclear how the normal school side of St. Agnes' progressed from 1907, when the teacher, Miss Browne, taught the pupils elementary school subjects from what she remembered of the Cape syllabus, to 1910, when two of the St. Agnes' girls were being taught in Standard VI. Information regarding details such

as the syllabus from which the girls were taught⁵¹, numbers of pupils attending the different standards and their academic results, has also not been located. One could assume, however, that St. Agnes' pupils were taught from the Transvaal government syllabus which was compulsory for all primary schools in the Transvaal (see chapter on CR day schools).

Pupils could drop out at any stage, unless they were benefiting from the government bursary scheme (referred to previously), although most girls received instruction at St. Agnes' for six to seven years. The highest achieving pupils in the early years of St. Agnes' were those who had passed both the industrial course and Standard VI⁵².

The work timetable at St. Agnes' was compact and systematic in order to accommodate the limited staff and facilities and the ambitious programme of giving girls of different ages and standards "industrial", academic and spiritual instruction.

After completing the necessary household chores before breakfast, pupils would gather in the schoolroom for an hour-long scripture lesson, conducted daily by a CR brother. Once the Religious Instruction lesson was completed, the girls would split up into two groups. One group would remain in the schoolroom and receive instruction in school subjects, while the other group would learn sewing, cookery or housework skills. After the mid-morning tea break, the two groups would change places - the group learning school subjects would learn domestic skills and vice versa. According to a report by Grace Broughton, a member of staff at St. Agnes' from 1910, all St. Agnes' pupils from Standards II to VI were taught school subjects by one teacher⁵³. All pupils were taught sewing skills from 2:30 pm to 4:00 pm and gardening skills from 5:00pm to 6:00pm⁵⁴.

In 1912 the staff of St. Agnes' and the CR decided to introduce a pupil teacher's course at St. Agnes'. Girls could work towards their pupil teacher's examination once they had passed Standard VI. The branching of St. Agnes' into teacher training indicates a move away from its mainly industrial beginnings and supports Gaitskell's theory that the staff of St. Agnes' decided to steer the school into a more academic direction after some older pupils protested against its industrial nature⁵⁵ (see section on ethos of St. Agnes').

The trend towards a more academic education, was consolidated in the mid 1920s, when St. Agnes' girls joined St. Peter's pupils for all school lessons⁵⁶. When St.



Figure 1. *St. Agnes' pupils knitting in their afternoon break*

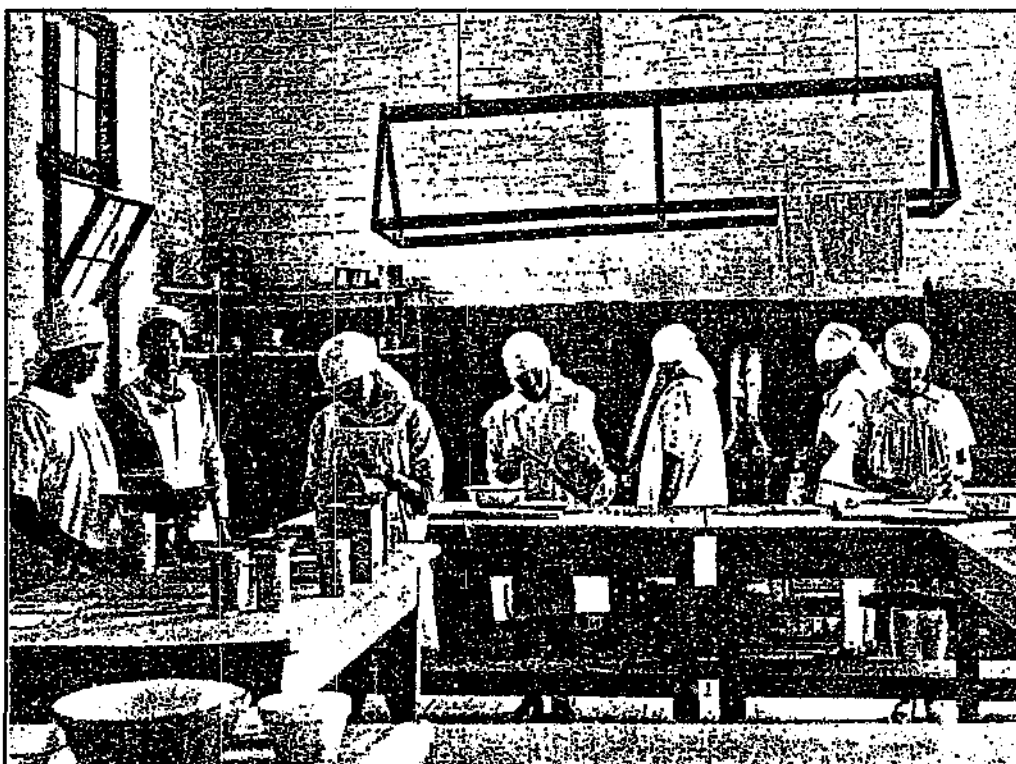


Figure 2. *St. Agnes' pupils involved in a cookery class*

Agnes' officially amalgamated with St. Peter's in 1934, two St. Agnes' staff members assisted with the teaching of school subjects at St. Peter's⁵⁷ as all St. Agnes' pupils were taught up to Standard VI at St. Peter's School⁵⁸.

Once the girls (now St. Peter's pupils) had passed Standard VI, they could choose either to study further at St. Peter's Secondary School and matriculate, or to embark on a two year industrial training course offered by St. Agnes'⁵⁹, which was now purely an industrial school and which served as the domestic science department for St. Peter's⁶⁰. Although the amalgamation of St. Agnes' with St. Peter's in the mid 1930s had reduced the former to an institution which offered industrial subjects only, St. Agnes' girls were at last given the opportunity to pursue academic courses.

THE ETHOS OF ST. AGNES' SCHOOL

The stated aim of the founders was to provide African girls with spiritual, manual and mental training⁶¹. Grace Broughton described the teaching at St. Agnes' as being divided into these three branches in order to bestow on the girls perfect personal development. The spiritual aspect of education, she insisted, was the "basis of all true education"⁶², while skills such as basket weaving and needle-work were essential for girls to become successful housewives. Miss Broughton felt that mental training such as the knowledge of hygiene, cleanliness and health were also essential for pupils' well-being⁶³. Fr. Fuller CR emphasized Broughton's ideal of education at St. Agnes' by stressing that pupils should be built up spiritually and at the same time be taught to read and write well and to exercise manual skills which would enable them to be good wives and mothers⁶⁴.

The notion of spiritual training was strongly upheld at St. Agnes' and the Christian ethos prevailed in every aspect of school life. The staff would take it in turns to accompany the girls to Mass held by a brother of the CR in the neighbouring chapel every Sunday⁶⁵. A report from a St. Agnes' staff member describing the daily school routine, stressed that religious instruction took the foremost place in the pupils' learning agenda, as the first hour of every school day was devoted to it⁶⁶.

St. Agnes' pupils were also exposed to the Christian ethos through means less obvious than weekly worship and daily instruction. Underlying the ethos of the

school was the Protestant notion of hard work and morality, deliberately aimed at African girls, who, according to many upstanding Christian whites of the time, were vulnerable to the onslaught of immorality and were inclined towards laziness. Imbuing African girls with a Christian morality was one of the main aims of the CR and reasons for its establishment of the school (as mentioned earlier in this chapter), and integral to the nature of the morality conveyed at St. Agnes', was the notion of the value of hard work. Miss Osier, a teacher at St. Agnes', wrote proudly in a 1912 SPG report:

The last six months have been very happy and encouraging. The girls have learned to trust us, indeed, I think real affection is growing among them. Happiness and pride in their work, and effort to do things well, and in some cases of doing all the work as "unto God" are showing themselves clearly. I do not I think need to lock my farder door.⁶⁷

The staff of St. Agnes' were delighted when the pupils willingly helped with painting classrooms before their Christmas holidays in 1911⁶⁸. Daily household chores like cleaning dormitories, classrooms and bathrooms and cooking meals and serving the staff, were compulsory. The girls' progress was measured in terms of their degree of willingness to engage in work and the cheerfulness and thoroughness with which they carried out the task at hand.

Extra-curricula activities offered at St. Agnes', like hockey, softball and Wayfarers, the African equivalent of Girl Guides, were introduced in order to develop the character of the girls⁶⁹. Wayfarers especially, with its emphasis on morality, cooking, hygiene and craft skills, outdoor life, and loyalty to God, king and country, fitted in well with the education offered at St. Agnes'.

Not surprisingly manual labour and its value was stressed at St. Agnes', being an industrial school. As noted before, the girls spent half their school day learning domestic skills and much of their leisure time practising these skills by performing household chores. What is disputed is the nature of the "industrial" skills learned and reason they were taught to African girls. Cock, in her book Maids and Madams: A Study in the Politics of Exploitation⁷⁰, points out that African girls' education in South Africa was based not only on racial discrimination, but on discrimination against their gender and class. Cock suggests that Western attitudes towards women ensured that African girls were taught sewing, cooking and cleaning, as opposed to agriculture for example, an industrial pursuit to which African women

would be accustomed. The fact that domestic industrial skills were taught to African girls - African race and working class, forces one to suspect the motive of domestic servitude⁷¹. Cock's ideas serve as a valid backdrop against which to see the industrial education offered at St. Agnes'.

The pupils of St. Agnes' were not passive recipients of the education and values offered to them. Several SPG reports written by St. Agnes' staff complain of pupils, especially the older girls, being insubordinate and disrupting the smooth running of the school. For example, in one 1912 SPG report, a St. Agnes' staff member writes "St. Agnes' School has passed through difficult times, resulting in a decrease in numbers..." and "...pupils despise such occupations [industrial occupations] and complain of hard work."⁷² Gaitskell notes in "Race, Gender and Imperialism: A Century of Black Girls Education in South Africa" that it was because of the rebellious actions of the older St. Agnes' girls, that the heads of St. Agnes' decided that the school should offer a more academic education⁷³.

Mental development, knowledge and bookwork were not ignored at St. Agnes' - industrial training was offered to the pupils over and above school work⁷⁴, although academic pursuits were hardly stressed at the industrial school. While much is written about the domestic subjects taught and the girls' progress in them, barely a mention is made of the school work accomplished by the pupils, a factor which is evident in the scanty information on this subject in the previous chapter. A St. Agnes' staff member wrote in a 1914 CR pamphlet:

It has taken long to convince Native parents that these things [industrial pursuits] are at least as important as the much admired 'passing standards' ...⁷⁵.

It is clear, however, that the apparent neglect of mental development in favour of manual development, gradually changed over the course of St. Agnes' history. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the pupil teacher's course, introduced in 1912, followed by the amalgamation with St. Peter's for scholastic purposes in the mid 1920s and culminating officially with the amalgamation of the two schools in 1934, all indicated a movement away from industrial education towards more academic education. Certainly, from the mid 1920s to the closure of the amalgamated schools in 1956, St. Agnes' pupils had comprehensive and innovative academic education within their reach.

THE TEACHERS OF ST. AGNES' SCHOOL

The three women from England who were sent by the SPG in 1907, in response to Fr. Fuller CR's plea for women missionaries to help with the upliftment of urban African women, formed the first staff of St. Agnes'. Joined by another woman teacher, the four women set the tone for the number and characteristics of the teachers employed over the years at St. Agnes'.

The women who worked and taught at the school were mainly British, with a few English speaking South Africans being the exceptions and most were supplied by the SPG⁷⁶. There were officially supposed to be four permanent staff members at St. Agnes', although at one stage, there were only two women teaching all the pupils and running the school⁷⁷.

There was a high turn-over of St. Agnes' teachers, a factor which may be explained by the fact that they were mostly single women, and may have left the school to marry. As mentioned before, most of the teachers were British and some of them, including Deaconess Julia, one of the first women to run St. Agnes', suffered a deterioration in health because of the Johannesburg climate and had to leave for more temperate regions⁷⁸. Gaitskell in her *Female Mission Initiatives: Black and White Women in Three Witwatersrand Churches*⁷⁹, provides interesting background information about Anglican female missionaries who were sent by the SPG to work amongst African women on the Witwatersrand. They were mainly single women from twenty-five to thirty-five and tended to be daughters of the professional middle class. Women missionaries were also devout Christians and Anglican missionaries tended to belong to the High Church, representing the more conservative, genteel sector of British society. Gaitskell notes that Anglican women missionaries tended to have a better education than missionaries from other churches. Deaconess Julia Gilpin was highly trained and experienced in nursing and missionary fields before she began running St. Agnes'⁸⁰.

The standards of education and training of St. Agnes' teachers seems to have been high, as according to a CR report, the government's standard for a required industrial mistress was so high that the CR had to turn to Britain, as sufficiently qualified South African candidates were lured by the higher pay of white schools away from missionary work⁸¹.

Much mention is made of the white women who taught at St. Agnes' in all the sources. However African women evidently taught at the school as well as a passing reference is made to one of them. An article in a 1910 CR Quarterly provides the only piece of evidence located which acknowledges their existence, describing how one African teacher was fired from St. Agnes' for insubordination and for inciting the girls into rebellious behavior⁸².

THE PUPILS OF ST. AGNES' SCHOOL

The number of pupils attending St. Agnes' grew from the original eight to a group ranging from about twenty to fifty girls throughout the history of the school. The staff of St. Agnes' felt that about forty pupils was an ideal number for this type of school to enable the four of them to provide the girls with personal attention⁸³. Numbers rose and fell depending largely on the state of stability at St. Agnes'. From 1911 to 1913, when some of the pupils of the school were causing disruptions, numbers of pupils decreased notably⁸⁴. There was boarding accommodation for forty girls at St. Agnes', although this increased to accommodation for seventy girls once St. Agnes' had amalgamated with St. Peter's⁸⁵.

The first group of St. Agnes' pupils were in their early teenage years - thirteen and fourteen, although the staff of St. Agnes' felt it was beneficial for girls to begin their attendance at the school at a younger age. Consequently pupils began attending St. Agnes' at a younger age, despite the initial resistance of their parents⁸⁶ and most girls remained at the school for six or seven years.

Many of the pupils of St. Agnes' were children of clergy and catechists⁸⁷ and most were Anglican, although the CR did not refuse non-Anglicans entry into the school⁸⁸. Selection of pupils seems to have been based on the ability of parents to pay fees, although bursaries were available. Although there is no evidence of girls being selected for St. Agnes' on the basis of academic progress, a letter from a parent suggests that the school did not accept pupils who were too old for their standard⁸⁹. Pupils lived in neighbouring locations and farms along the Reef⁹⁰ and all the girls who attended St. Agnes' were African.

Those who see St. Agnes' as an industrial institution with the sole aim of training African girls to be domestic servants for whites, have not taken into account the occupations of ex-pupils. Ex-pupils of St. Agnes' did become domestic servants,

but many of them, who did not marry and become housewives, entered into professions which demanded education. St. Agnes' pupils often taught in the CR's country schools after training further at the Diocesan Training College in Pietersburg and several ex-pupils became nurses after further in-hospital training. One ex-St. Agnes' pupil worked for many years as a missionary worker at the Anglican Girls' Hostel in Pretoria and another ex-pupil became a sister of the Anglican community of St. Cuthberts, Tsolo, in the Transkei⁹¹.

THE AMALGAMATION OF ST. AGNES' SCHOOL WITH ST. PETER'S SECONDARY SCHOOL, ROSETTENVILLE

The amalgamation of St. Agnes' with St. Peter's has been referred to throughout this chapter. As previously mentioned, St. Agnes' pupils began joining St. Peter's pupils for their school lessons from 1924 and the official amalgamation between the two schools took place in 1934.

The principal of St. Peter's School became the principal of the new St. Peter's Schools⁹² with Fr. Alban Winter CR becoming the Warden and the headmistress of St. Agnes', Miss Broughton, the Sub-Warden of the combined schools⁹³. The three staff members of St. Agnes' began teaching St. Peter's pupils and former St. Agnes' pupils at St. Peter's School. Girls attending St. Peter's Schools had to complete Std VI and then had a choice of progressing further academically or completing a two-year "industrial" course at St. Agnes', which was now the domestic science department of the amalgamated schools (see earlier section on education offered at St. Agnes'). Apart from being the domestic science department offering the two-year finishing course and domestic science instruction for St. Peter's girls, St. Agnes' also served as the hostel for girls attending St. Peter's School⁹⁴. In other words, St. Agnes' ceased to exist as a school in its own right, but served as the domestic science department and girls' hostel for St. Peter's, the school attended by St. Agnes' pupils at least until Std VI.

The reason given by the CR for the amalgamation of St. Agnes' with St. Peter's was economic. Fr. Hill CR reported in a 1924 CR Quarterly that running two schools, one with only three staff members, was difficult in the face of a government "bent on economising"⁹⁵ as far as African education was concerned. A government inspector also suggested that the two CR schools amalgamate⁹⁶, which was a move the CR had been contemplating "for some time", according to Hill.

A further reason for the closing down of St. Agnes' as a school in its own right, was that St. Agnes' had outgrown its usefulness as an industrial school in the face of the growing demand from African girls for academic education. As mentioned in the sections on education offered at St. Agnes' and the ethos of St. Agnes', the school progressed from being mainly industrial, which was the original purpose of the school, to being more academic in the course of its existence. The turning point of this progression was 1912, with the introduction of the teachers' course at St. Agnes', an event which indicated the awareness of the CR and the staff of St. Agnes' that an industrial school offering purely industrial subjects was not sufficient for the education and upliftment of African girls.

3. ST. PETER'S SECONDARY SCHOOL, ROSETTENVILLE: 1922-1956

INTRODUCTION AND BRIEF HISTORICAL OUTLINE

St. Peter's School, situated in Rosettenville, Johannesburg, was a secondary boarding school for African boys and girls which was founded and controlled by the CR¹. St. Peter's was a registered, government-aided mission school².

St. Peter's was the first secondary school for Africans in the Transvaal³. According to Fr. Winter CR, who was the CR member who initiated the founding of St. Peter's, no African day-school in the Transvaal went further than Std. VI at the time of St. Peter's inception in 1922 and pupils could only progress further by attending training colleges for teachers⁴. The various documents recording statements of CR members and others which claim the above, are in agreement with the findings of Wilkinson, author of The Community of the Resurrection: A Centenary History and Horrell, author of A Decade of Bantu Education. Horrell's research indicates that Africans may have had the opportunity to progress beyond primary school level in the Transvaal before the inception of St. Peter's Secondary school, but that their post-primary education was restricted to enrolment in teacher training institutions and catechist training in the case of St. Peter's Theological College also in Rosettenville. Institutions like Kilnerton, Botshabelo, St. Thomas and Pax, were all teachers' training institutions⁵ which offered secondary education but still only as far as the limited African teaching qualifications which did not progress beyond Std. VIII (Native Primary Higher).

When Fr. Alban Winter first arrived from England to join the CR in Rosettenville in 1920, he was faced with the problem that students at St. Peter's Theological College achieved academic standards which fell short of those required for candidates entering the priesthood. Winter explains in Till Darkness Fell, that as there were no secondary schools for Africans in the Transvaal that progressed beyond Std VI⁶, students would enter the Theological College educationally ill-equipped.

After attempts to rectify this situation by supplementing the education of the Theological students, who were adults, had failed, Winter managed to persuade the others of his Community that the longer term method of starting a school which would make provision for children to board and work through from primary to secondary level, would be far more effective than trying to correct the imbalance in African education through the older generation⁷.

Apart from wanting to improve the standard of education for future priests and catechists, the CR's decision to initiate St. Peter's School was based on a desire for the general upliftment of African education to equip Africans for the various new career paths which were opening in the 1920s, such as positions in industry and mining, as well as for better qualified teachers and nurses⁸. The CR intended to equip young Africans not only with the education and qualifications necessary for careers of their choice, but with leadership potential which befitted their desired independence, as stated by a CR member:

This was the direct object [to equip pupils with necessary academic standards], but behind was the deeper aim of training for leadership among their own people.⁹

The CR was also faced with a rapidly expanding urbanized youth which resulted from Africans being drawn from rural areas to the city by jobs available in the mining industry on the Witwatersrand. The Community felt that the urban African youth was being subjected to education of an undesirable nature, such as that provided by life in the city, in the locations and on the mines¹⁰. The CR's solution to this was to provide secondary education through means of a boarding school, which was intended to shelter pupils from possibly detrimental outside influences, as well as offering suitable facilities for study¹¹.

The small elementary day school, which had already been established on the CR's Rosettenville property, was placed under the leadership of Winter, who became the teacher and principal in 1922¹². The small school grew into an institution consisting of a Day School, St. Peter's Hostel for Boys, St. Agnes' Hostel for girls and St. Agnes' Industrial School for girls. As noted in the previous chapter, St. Agnes' amalgamated with St. Peter's for all scholastic purposes in 1931¹³ and its hostel was used to house St. Peter's girls and the girls enrolled in the industrial course which St. Agnes' continued to offer¹⁴. In the 1930s, St. Peter's Day School consisted of a Kindergarten for infants, an Elementary School from Standards 1-IV and

a Secondary School from Standards V-X¹⁵. This changed in 1939, when the long-standing desire of the St. Peter's governing bodies (see section which follows) to convert St. Peter's into a secondary school exclusively, was fulfilled when the Elementary School was removed from St. Peter's and relocated to a site in Orlando, a township south of Johannesburg¹⁶.

The physical removal of the Elementary School was the culmination of a trend which began in the early 1930s of increasingly only accepting pupils who had already passed Std. VI¹⁷. From 1940, strictly only pupils who had already passed Std. VI were admitted to St. Peter's¹⁸. The first Junior Certificate classes (Std. VIII level) were introduced in 1925, an event hailed by Winter as heralding the beginning of St. Peter's functioning as a secondary school proper¹⁹. In 1927 the first St. Peter's pupils were presented for the Junior Certificate (JC) examination and St. Peter's matriculation candidates wrote their examination for the first time in 1933²⁰. This milestone in Transvaal African education marks the progress in a school which, only ten years previously, was attended by forty-five boys and girls mostly in the sub-standards with Std III being the highest level of educational attainment²¹.

THE ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL OF ST. PETER'S SCHOOL

St. Peter's School was closely controlled by the Community of the Resurrection. The CR was primarily responsible for the conduct of the school and hostels, and its control was consolidated by the fact that its brethren appointed the school's principal, the Superintendent of CR schools (who was the CR member who took charge of all CR schools in the district, including St. Peter's) and the wardens of the hostels²². Winter was principal of St. Peter's from 1922 to 1934, when he was succeeded by layman, Mr. H.W. Shearsmith, who in turn was succeeded by two other non-clerical educationists elected by the CR, Mr. D.H. Darling and Mr. M.A. Stern, the latter being principal up until the closure of St. Peter's in 1956. The position of superintendent of schools, which was central in the running of St. Peter's, was always filled by a CR member - Fr. S. Carter CR until 1947, succeeded by Fr. T. Huddleston CR²³.

As explained in the previous section concerning the organization of the CR within the Anglican Church in South Africa, the CR operated within the Diocese

of Johannesburg and was in charge of missionary concerns and Anglican schools in the district roughly covering the city of Johannesburg. The Community of the Resurrection was therefore responsible to the Bishop of Johannesburg, who controlled the Johannesburg Diocese, one of the dioceses which comprised the Church of the Province of South Africa²⁴, all responsible to the Archbishop and the Provincial Synod, (see previous section on the organization of the CR within the Anglican Church). Consequently, the CR had to answer to diocesan authority and ultimately to the highest authorities of the Church of the Province of South Africa, in its running of St. Peter's.

The CR had to answer not only to the Anglican authorities concerned, but to the Executive Committee and the Advisory Council of St. Peter's, which the Community had developed in order to aid in the running of the school. The Executive Committee of St. Peter's met at least quarterly and its functions were essentially to administer the general finances of the school, the development and maintenance of school buildings and property, to advise and regulate the educational policy of St. Peter's²⁵, and generally to ensure that the policy of the Anglican Church was carried out in the school and hostels²⁶.

Before the official amalgamation of St. Agnes' with St. Peter's in 1931, the two schools were placed under one principal, Winter, and only he, the Head of the CR²⁷ and the superintendent of schools, constituted the Executive Committee of St. Peter's. Once St. Agnes' Industrial School had amalgamated with St. Peter's, the Executive Committee widened its membership to include the wardens of the two hostels; the warden of St. Peter's Hostel being a member of the CR and the warden of St. Agnes' Hostel being a sister of the female Community of the Resurrection of Grahamstown²⁸. In 1944 the Constitution of St. Peter's was further amended to incorporate two more members elected by the Rosettenville Chapter of the CR²⁹ and one more member elected by the CR's Sophiatown Chapter into the Executive Council³⁰.

The Advisory Council of St. Peter's met at least twice a year and was made up of members of the Executive Committee as well as six other members, two of them Africans, who were elected by the Bishop of Johannesburg for a period of three years³¹. The function of the Advisory Council was to advise on matters regarding the general conduct of the school and hostels, particularly financial administration, development and upkeep of school buildings and educational policy³². The Bishop of Johannesburg was the school's "visitor" which entitled him to visit St. Peter's at

his discretion to inspect the standard of conduct of the school and hostels and to deal with matters referred to him³³. The Bishop chose not to be a member of the Advisory Council, although the position was offered to him.

The integral nature of the CR's involvement in the leadership and organization of St. Peter's is clear from looking at the constitution and the organizational structure of St. Peter's. However, St. Peter's, being a government-aided school, was subjected to regular inspection by government inspectors, with whom the brethren of the CR did not always maintain a harmonious relationship³⁴.

It appears that there was minimal pupil participation in the leadership and organization of St. Peter's, as in 1945 a suggestion to form a Student's Representative Council which would have access to the governing bodies was rejected. This reaction was not unusual at a time when pupil participation was not the norm. The Executive Committee of St. Peter's agreed that the school prefects already had access to the hostel warden who was a member of the Committee, and therefore, had access to the Executive Committee³⁵. Pupils also had a say in the election of prefects³⁶, who were central in the organization and discipline of the pupil body. Prefects would aid the principal and teachers with discipline and supervised the hostel boys' duties³⁷.

THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF ST. PETER'S SCHOOL

St. Peter's School was situated between Victoria, Violet and Daisy Streets in Rosettenville, on a total of sixteen stands at the time of its closure in 1956³⁸. In 1923, the first classrooms and the first part of the boys' hostel were completed and the African staff quarters were built in 1925³⁹. At the end of 1933, a dining hall and kitchen were erected and the school hall was walled off to form a library for the whole school and a reading-room for boarders⁴⁰. At the same time the school authorities were obliged by the municipality to install a water-borne sewerage system, which created a healthier climate for pupils and teachers⁴¹. Additional classrooms were erected in 1935.

In the late 1930s, government inspectors' reports indicate that the St. Peter's buildings were in good repair, although classrooms were overcrowded, a problem which the school's authorities intended to solve by taking over the classrooms occupied by the Elementary school once it had moved off the Rosettenville

premises⁴². The ten open-air classrooms were fitted with windows in 1938, which did not alleviate the problem of poor ventilation however, and equipment, especially in the science laboratory, was still inadequate⁴³.

The boarding facilities of St. Peter's were evidently inadequate in the late 1930s, as one teacher and about a hundred boys were housed in seven poorly ventilated rooms, sharing two bathrooms. The sixty-six girl boarders were housed in two bedrooms and had to share one bathroom⁴⁴. In 1938 the CR organized a fund-



Figure 3. *St. Peter's School's open air classrooms and playground*

raising campaign in order to improve boarding accommodation by building another hostel for boys and extending the girls' hostel, to alleviate the problem of overcrowding, and to generally extend and improve the school's facilities⁴⁵.

Reports recording the last years of St. Peter's existence describe a school with a physical structure and appearance resembling wealthier private secondary schools, in sharp contrast with many of the other CR schools which were merely one-room constructions. By 1955, the ten brick classrooms were in good repair, each equipped with a blackboard and enough desks for every pupil. The carpentry shop, geography room, domestic science and physical science laboratories were all in good repair and adequately equipped⁴⁶. By this time the school's dormitories had

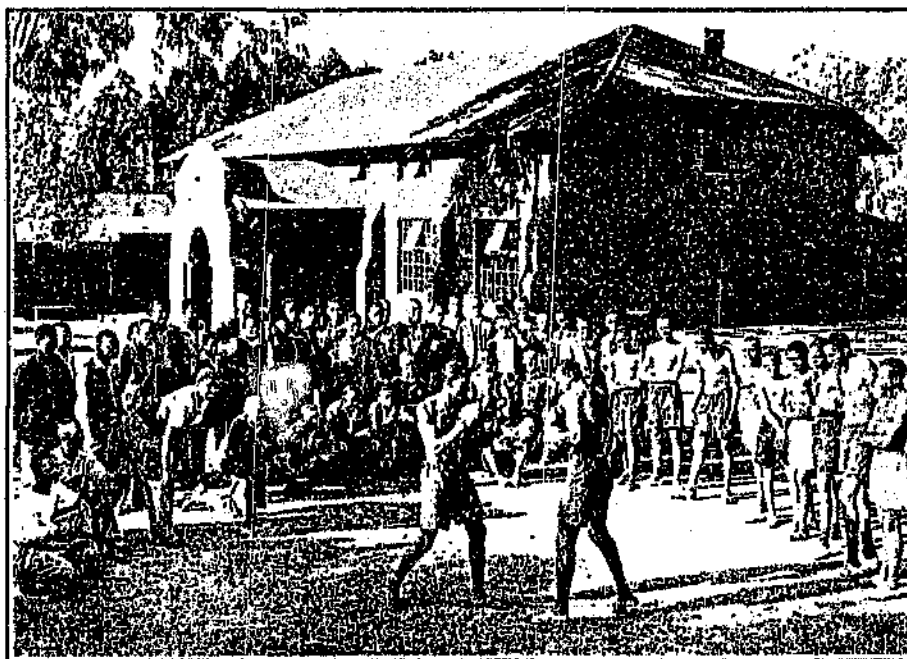


Figure 4. *St. Peter's pupils boxing outside the school's dining hall*

met the municipality's requirements with adequate dining and recreation room facilities⁴⁷. St. Peter's also had twelve acres of playing fields by the 1930s and two tennis courts⁴⁸.

This sketch-map⁴⁹ depicts the layout of St. Peter's Secondary School, Rosettnville. The shaded areas represent sections in existence in 1938 and the

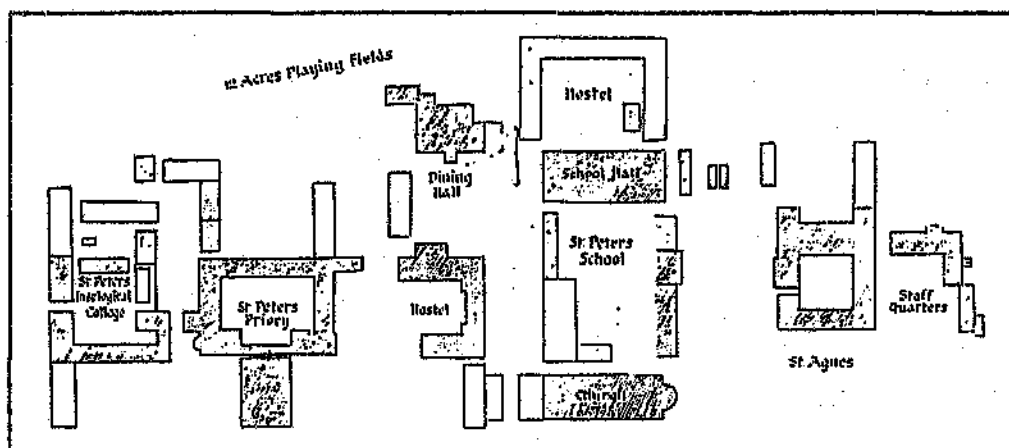


Figure 5. *Sketch-map of St. Peter's and St. Agnes' Schools*

unshaded areas represent planned extensions. As depicted, the school, with the boy's hostel on one side and the girls' hostel (St. Agnes') on the other, lies immediately adjacent to the Priory, the CR's residence, which is joined to the Theological College.

THE FINANCING OF ST. PETER'S SCHOOL

St. Peter's School was financed by three main sources: the government, pupils' fees and voluntary donations. The policy of the Union Government was to assist mission-run African schools, chiefly through its payment of teachers' salaries. Accordingly, the St. Peter's teachers' salaries were financed by the TED (Transvaal Education Department). The equipment and running expenses of the school was financed by the fees of the pupils of St. Peter's⁵⁰. Additional financial assistance was provided by voluntary sources in South Africa and England through money for bursaries and general development and expansion⁵¹.

Government finance:

The TED paid for the salaries of eleven of the thirteen teachers of St. Peter's, the other two teachers being volunteer workers. The TED also contributed to the financing of St. Peter's through equipment grants and, from the mid 1930s, offered grants towards the rental of new classrooms at the rate of 6% of the capital cost up to a certain amount⁵².

Winter mentioned insufficient government grants in an article he wrote which appears in a CR chronicle, the CR Quarterly⁵³. He points out that the equipment grant was withdrawn in 1923 leaving many mission schools, including St. Peter's without money for even basic equipment like chalk, ink and books. In an article in a more recent CR Quarterly, the author, a member of the CR, claimed that the government paid the teachers' salaries but provided no financial help in erecting buildings or supplying equipment⁵⁴. The inadequacy of the TED's equipment grant is stressed further by a government inspector's report on St. Peter's in 1936, in which he describes the dearth of equipment, especially in the science laboratory, and urges the TED to increase its equipment grants⁵⁵.

Inadequate as the TED's equipment grant may have been, there is evidence of the department's contribution towards the equipping of St. Peter's and the school's general development. In 1941, blackboards and teachers' desks were acquired from the TED's eighty pounds equipment grant and in 1942, the department made a grant of 180 pounds for the equipment of two new classrooms as well as a fifty pound "Hobbies" grant, recommended by Dr. Eiselen, Chief Inspector of the Transvaal⁵⁶. The Native Affairs Department (NAD) agreed to pay up to £ 1000 for

the new classrooms and geography room⁵⁷. The TED made equipment grants ranging from fifty to eighty pounds, periodically during the school's existence and also offered yearly bursaries to pupils at St. Peter's⁵⁸.

Pupils' fees:

In 1934, St. Peter's school fee was six shillings a head annually as well as a six shilling science fee for upper school pupils (form I to V). The boarders paid an additional twelve pounds per annum. Parents of pupils also had to deposit ten shillings a term for uniforms and a pound a term for books⁵⁹. School and boarding fees and deposits for books and uniforms increased over the years, although the science fee for matrics was dropped in 1948 in favour of a more general school fee⁶⁰. In 1948, more funds were required for construction work, but the idea that school and boarding fees should be increased to cover the costs was rejected in favour of turning to other sources of financial aid, like the School Development Fund⁶¹. However, in 1949, increased school maintenance necessitated a raise in fees to three pounds a year for day scholars and eighteen pounds a year for boarders⁶². At the time of St. Peter's closure in 1956, the boarders were paying twenty-six pounds per annum⁶³.

According to a report by the Transvaal Association of Missionary Institutions, most Transvaal African educational Institutions were going to raise their annual fees from two to three pounds in 1949⁶⁴, which suggests that the fees of St. Peter's day scholars were well within the average range for the time. It is not clear whether those responsible for the pupils' fees were financially capable of paying these fees, although an article in the CR Quarterly suggests that parents did struggle, most of them only earning between five and eight pounds per month in the early 1920s⁶⁵. Apart from various bursaries offered, a fund was established in 1936 on the recommendation of J.D. Rheinallt-Jones, chairman of the Advisory Committee, which was used for the payment of fees for financially needy pupils. Pupils who benefited from this fund were expected to pay back the amount spent on them once they had left St. Peter's⁶⁶.

Voluntary donations:

Organizations contributing to the financing of St. Peter's by granting bursaries to promising pupils, included organizations like the SPG and SPCK (Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge), both based in England, the Ekutuleni Mission,

an Anglican mission in Sophiatown and the Old Johannians Association, an association of former St. John's pupils. Bursaries were also granted from the South Africa fund and, to a large extent, from individuals⁶⁷.

Several appeals for donations and fund-raising were orchestrated by the CR, especially when the school was undergoing further expansions. The "Save the St. Peter's Fund" organized in the closing years of St. Peter's, enabled the school to function fully as a private, unaided school in 1956⁶⁸. Proceedings from events like concerts also helped to finance the school.

THE EDUCATION OFFERED AT J.F. PETER'S SCHOOL

The external examinations written by St. Peter's pupils were not TED examinations, which were intended for all schools and institutions in the Transvaal. Junior Certificate (Form III) candidates from St. Peter's studied for and wrote the University of South Africa's JC (Junior Certificate) examination and the matriculation candidates undertook the Joint Matriculation Board (JMB)⁶⁹ matriculation examination. The TED objected to the reluctance of St. Peter's authorities to change the syllabus and organization of their school to enable pupils to write the TED examination, and on several occasions, in an attempt to impose government sanctioned subject matter and standards on St. Peter's, TED inspectors and other authorities urged the governing bodies to change their school over to the required syllabus and examinations. In 1947 the TED agreed to allow St. Peter's up until 1948 to make the change to TED examinations in order to sort out practical difficulties⁷⁰. However, St. Peter's did not change over to the TED syllabus and examinations, and up until its closure in 1956, JC candidates were writing the UNISA (University of South Africa) examination and matriculation candidates the JMB examination.

Subjects offered:

The subjects offered for the UNISA JC examination were: English, Arithmetic, a choice of two out of either Vernacular or Afrikaans or Latin, History (Geography from 1938), Mathematics, and Physical or Domestic Science - seven subjects in total⁷¹. The same subjects were offered for the JMB matric examination except that Arithmetic was excluded and students did not have the option of taking Domestic Science instead of Physical Science.



Figure 6. St. Peter's pupils at work in the school's science laboratory

The list of subjects offered at St. Peter's changed during course of the school's history. In 1935, all standard V's and form I's took Afrikaans, and pupils from form II onwards had the option of dropping the subject in favour of Vernacular and Latin. However, Mr. H.W Shearsmith (headmaster) and Fr. Runge CR argued that more Afrikaans should be taught because it was an official language and for the economic benefit to pupils, in agreement with the TED which had long been agitating for greater emphasis on Afrikaans in the curriculum. In 1936, form I pupils could only study Afrikaans and pupils from form II and onwards were given a choice between Afrikaans and Latin⁷². In 1940, Latin was dropped completely and Afrikaans became compulsory at St. Peter's, according to the ruling of the TED. The Advisory Council of St. Peter's felt that no door was closed to pupils who took Afrikaans instead of Latin⁷³. In 1936 the Council decided to phase History out and to replace it with Geography, as it concluded, on the suggestion of Mr. Shearsmith, that African children could not derive any benefit from the European-orientated History taught⁷⁴.

Other subjects offered at St. Peter's were needlework, gardening, carpentry, and singing, none of these being examinable, and Domestic Science, which was dropped from the matric examination subject option by JMB in 1948, as the examining body did not regard it as a pure science⁷⁵.

Teaching methods:

The teaching methods used at St. Peter's appear to have been innovative with much emphasis on learning through practical experience. Winter wrote in a 1923 CRO Quarterly, "Every attempt is made to give concrete, physical expression to what is learned..."⁷⁶, and clay, cardboard and paper modeling was used to achieve this. Pupils studying Geography once made a twenty-five by thirty foot relief map of the Transvaal in the garden and a sand-tray relief of the Congo Basin⁷⁷. Fr. Winter stated that if the syllabus is carried out properly, with emphasis on practicality, African children will not receive a "bookish" education and therefore shun labour⁷⁸. Africans receiving too "bookish" an education were a grave concern to some whites who feared that the learned African would refuse to labour. Winter, in sympathy with the fears of these whites, agreed that too much book-work was indeed an evil for black pupils as well as white⁷⁹, and that the education offered at St. Peter's would include manual work, learning through practical experience and organized games⁸⁰. In a prospectus of St. Peter's, Winter wrote the following:

We are honestly trying to keep abreast with the best of our modern educational methods, as we have no more use than the man in the street for the bookish type of young native whose swelled head is filled with a mass of undigested material, laboriously gathered from books, apart from all experience and real knowledge⁸¹.

Winter introduced a new scheme of education to St. Peter's, the Dalton Plan,



Figure 7. St. Peter's pupils making a map of the Transvaal in the garden, during a Geography lesson

which is innovative even by today's standards. This learning scheme allowed pupils to work at their own time and pace and to chose to work on any assignment provided that all assignments were completed by the end of the month, with teachers available for consultation. The Dalton plan was evidently not popular with the pupils and it was dropped after a few years⁸².

Educational results:

The following graphs, which illustrate the results obtained by St. Peter's pupils in their final JC and matric examinations, reveal an essentially low or mediocre level of achievement in academic results. A government inspector offers his suggestion for the reason of the lack of academic success of St. Peter's pupils in a 1936 report. He writes:

It must be borne in mind that this school has to deal with material that is produced in ordinary Native schools. This material suffers...from a lack of thorough teaching in the earliest stages of the school that is, the sub-standards⁸³.

Mr. M.A. Stern, headmaster of St. Peter's in 1956, explained that the academic weakness of the school could be explained by the following factors:

- a) Inadequately careful selection of intake,
- b) Over-sympathetic promotion from one form to the next,
- c) Deterioration in work standards brought about through a high rate in staff turnover because of illness and teachers returning to England and because of the prospect of the schools' demise in its last years,
- d) Attempts to tackle too much too quickly.⁸⁴

Stern's and the government inspector's suggestions are both probably valid. Pupils entering St. Peter's in Form I had obtained a standard of education which was more than likely inferior and which was, to a large extent, irreversible on account of their age. Initial inferior education is difficult to override, especially with pupils in the early to mid-teen age-group. The prospect of St. Peter's closure must have had a detrimental affect on teaching and learning, a factor which accounts for the low standard of academic results particularly from 1954 to 1956.

JC EXAMINATION RESULTS

Year	Entered	Passed	First	Second	Third
1933	26	15	0	4	11
1934	22	13	0	5	8
1935	22	12	1	5	6
1936	31	21	5	9	7
1937	31	31	4	14	13
1941	11	11	8	0	3
1942	56	54	9	26	19
1952	58	38	5	13	20
1953	53	27	2	7	18
1956	14	4	0	2	0

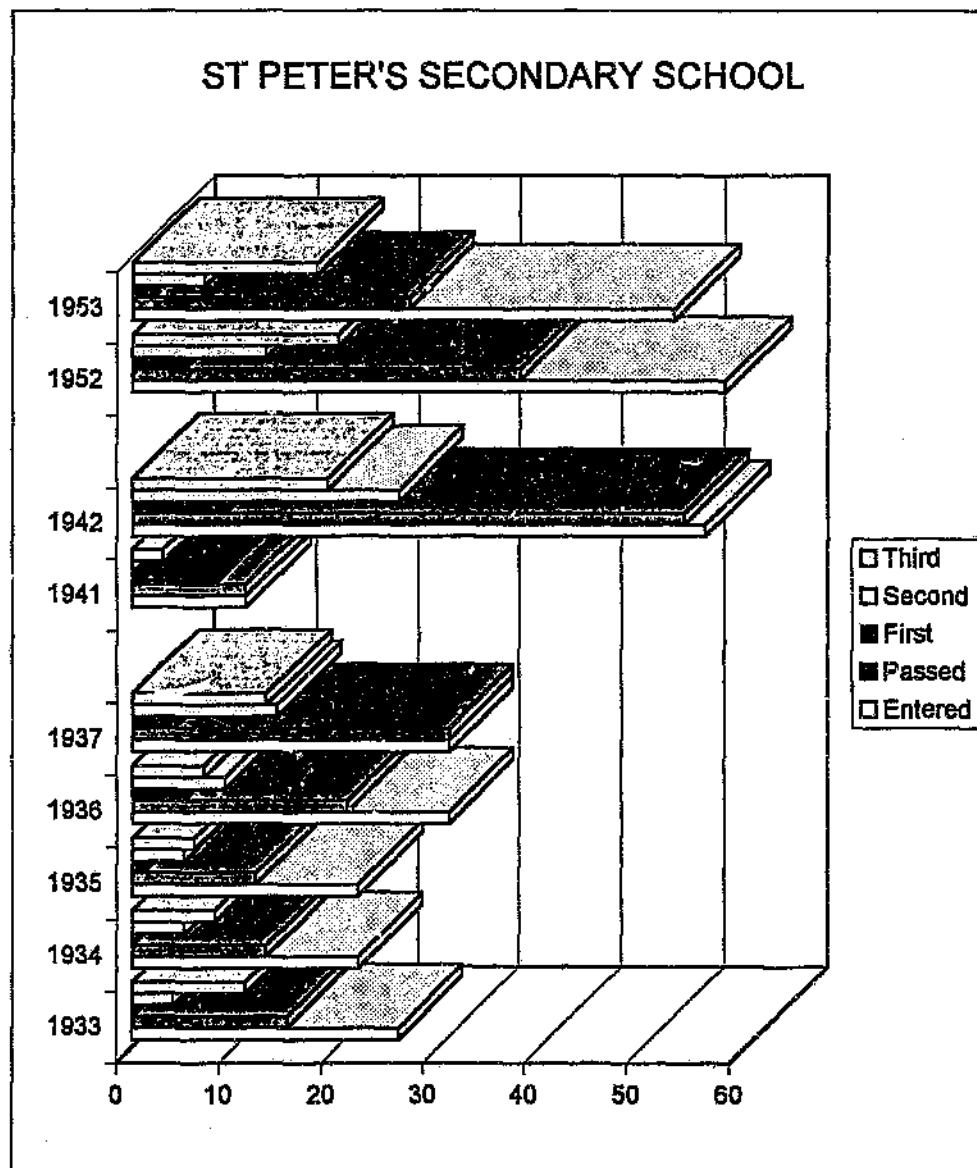


Figure 8. Graphical representation of St. Peter's JC pass-rates from 1933-1937, 1941-1942, and 1952-1953. Based on data available

MATRICULATION RESULTS

Year	Entered	Passed	First	Second	Third
1933	2	1	0	1	0
1934	7	0	0	0	0
1935	4	0	0	0	0
1936	2	2	0	2	0
1937	6	6	3	2	1
1938	8	6	3	2	1
1952	23	15	0	4	2
1953	13	4	0	0	2
1954	11	4	0	1	0
1955	22	4	0	0	1
1956	14	4	0	2	0

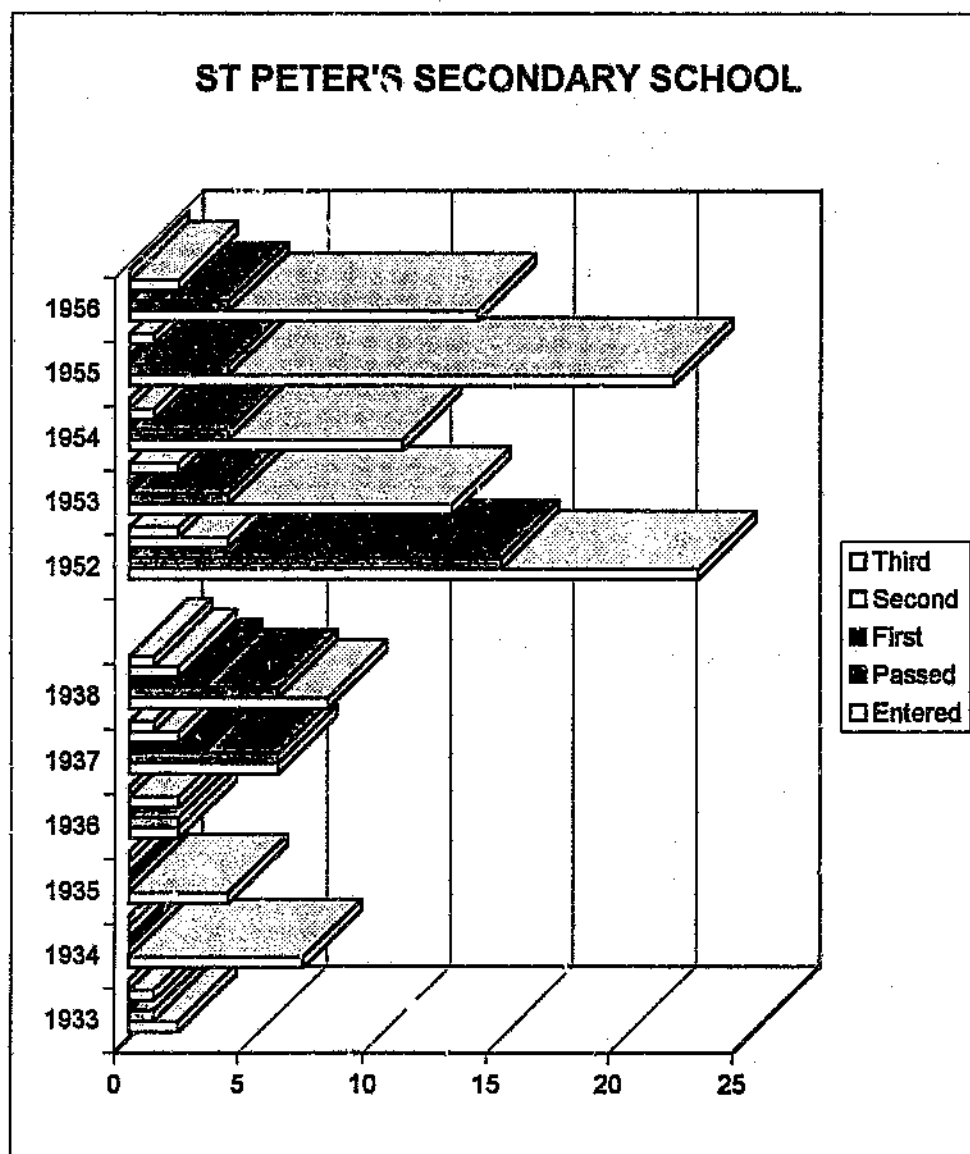


Figure 9. Graphical representation of the matriculation pass-rate of St. Peter's from 1933-1938 and 1952-1956. Based on data available

THE ETHOS OF ST. PETER'S SCHOOL.

The ethos of St. Peter's School was first and foremost Christian and the central motivation of the school was to imbue pupils with the Christian faith. An early St. Peter's prospectus sums this up by referring to its frontispiece as being made up of three figures, the central, main one representing catholic worship dominating the smaller figures on either side, which represented the training of the mind and the hand⁸⁵. The author of this prospectus added that the only way of saving young Africans from the influence of the locations - "strongholds of lust and drink" - in which they lived, was through "the bracing and uplifting power of our Religion to build them up into the Christian character"⁸⁶. Fr. F. Hill CR, wrote of St. Peter's in a CR Quarterly chronicle that

Behind and interwoven with all our activities, whether of body or mind, is our religion. We try to make this the basis and interpenetration life of all (sic)⁸⁷.

Winter and the other CR brethren founded St. Peter's specifically with a view to training African boys to enter the ministry. Winter wrote in an article in the CR Quarterly:

The boys will live in close connection with our own life, and some of them, we hope, will go on to the ministry.⁸⁸

Fr. Leo Rakale CR, a former pupil of St. Peter's, wrote in an article in the CR Quarterly, that the aim of St. Peter's, "deeper" than the aim of academic achievement, was "to train boys and girls in body mind and character, to serve God in the Church and the Community"⁸⁹. St. Peter's boarders taught Sunday School classes and visited people in hospital. Senior and junior branches of the "King's Messengers", a missionary society for young people, attached to the SPG, were active at St. Peter's⁹⁰. It was compulsory for boarders to attend High Mass⁹¹ on Sundays and weekly services were held in school hours. Pupils' morals were also scrutinized and offenses such as gambling, drinking, or, in one instance, writing a letter to a pupil of the opposite sex without permission, were punishable with expulsion⁹².

St. Peter's Secondary School was sometimes known as the "Eton of South Africa" and in many ways, the school reflected an ethos similar to traditional English public

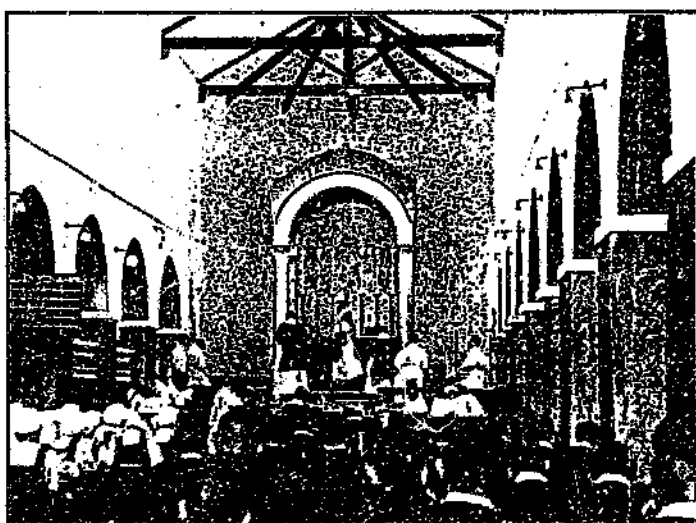


Figure 10. *Weekly Mass at St. Peter's Chapel*

schools. Sport was stressed at St. Peter's and internal matches were played, as well as external football, softball, cricket, tennis and boxing matches which were frequently held against clubs and other schools. In 1935, financial difficulties prompted the Advisory Council to consider disbanding the cricket club, however Mr. D.H. Darling, headmaster at the time, and several other members of the governing body refused to compromise on cricket as they felt that the game was invaluable in forming the boy's character and physical development⁹³. "Character" was indeed an important credential for success at St. Peter's, as far as being awarded bursaries or even being admitted into the school was concerned.

Cultural events were also considered important at St. Peter's and school concerts, choir competitions, inter-school debates, art exhibitions, and the screening of entertaining and educational films, all had a place in school life. There was even a "Huddleston Jazz Band"⁹⁴, named after Trevor Huddleston CR, who replaced Stephen Carter CR as Superintendent of schools. Pathfinders and Wayfarers, the African equivalent of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides respectively, featured prominently in the school life of St. Peter's⁹⁵, with their emphasis on loyalty to God and King and country, outdoor life and charity. There was an atmosphere of reverence and loyalty to the British Royal Family at St. Peter's, in keeping with an ethos abounding in English public schools, evident when the whole school took the afternoon off in April 1947 to watch the Royal Family pass and two days holiday were given in honour of the King's visit⁹⁶.

The founders of St. Peter's intended it to be mainly a boarding school, although

provision was made for day pupils. In 1936 the Advisory Council announced its intentions of limiting the numbers of day pupils and concentrating on St. Peter's as a boarding school⁹⁷. In 1938 the Council decided to make St. Peter's exclusively a boarding school for the following reasons: better facilities for study at the school as opposed to the questionable facilities in pupils' homes and to appease surrounding residents who objected to African children being transported to and from their school in a "white area"⁹⁸. Another clear reason for the decision to convert St. Peter's to a boarding school exclusively, not stated by the Council although acknowledged by the author of the St. Peter's prospectus mentioned above, is that the ethos of a school can be inculcated in boarding pupils far easier than in day scholars who are influenced by their families to a greater extent. Boarding school life was spartan, in the English public school tradition, with duties and morning exercises to be completed by 7:30 am and "lights out" by 8:30pm⁹⁹.

Underlying an English public school ethos was the reality of early to mid-twentieth century South Africa, and the fact that St. Peter's was a school mainly for Africans was never absent in its prevailing ethos. There was an emphasis on manual labour and its virtues not found in English public schools and schools for white children. Specific periods were set aside exclusively for manual labour - subjects like carpentry and gardening featured in the school's syllabus¹⁰⁰. Boarders had to participate in many day to day domestic chores, like cleaning their dormitories, cooking their food and washing up¹⁰¹ - largely unheard of in schools in the English public school tradition, although white borders of St. Martin's, the Anglican school to which St. Peter's was converted after it had closed down, also had to participate in domestic chores mainly for financial reasons¹⁰².

Pupils were restricted as far as language was concerned, not only in class but in their entire school life. English only was to be spoken on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays, and English and/or Afrikaans was to be spoken on Thursdays and Fridays. Pupils could speak any language on weekends and holidays¹⁰³. The underlying unity of Africans in Africa was also stressed at St. Peter's by the CR¹⁰⁴, emphasizing that the Anglican "Eton of South Africa" was essentially for Africans.

THE TEACHERS OF ST. PETER'S SCHOOL

The TED approved twelve teaching posts at St. Peter's and agreed to pay eleven teachers in full¹⁰⁵. There were approximately thirteen members of staff at St. Pe-

ter's, one or two of them volunteer workers from the sisters of the CR, Grahamstown, residing at St. Agnes', and Br. Roger CR, a lay member of the Community who was St. Peter's Hostel warden. Teachers at St. Peter's were Africans and whites predominantly from England¹⁰⁶, and were male and female, varying in ratios over the duration of the school's existence. According to an inspector's report, the teachers were all well-qualified, competent and loyal to the institution¹⁰⁷.

Qualifications of the teachers of St. Peter's naturally varied over time and pinpointing individual teachers and their qualifications is beyond the scope of this study. However, generally, most teachers at St. Peter's held matriculation certificates, particularly white teachers, and virtually all teachers had professional qualifications, which differed according to their race¹⁰⁸. More teachers, black and white, male and female, held degrees over the course of time and degreed teachers often replaced teachers without degrees¹⁰⁹.

Teachers at St. Peter's paid by the TED, received salaries based on their professional and academic qualification and race, which for African teachers were notoriously low. One African male teacher, for example, was being paid seven pounds ten shillings a month plus a salary of four pounds three shillings a month in his capacity as assistant housemaster, an amount considered too high by the Advisory Council¹¹⁰. The teacher was given the choice of working for a lower salary or leaving. African male teachers had to pay 15 shillings a month for food, sanitation, light and lodging, which was increased to one pound for food and ten shillings for board in 1934¹¹¹.

Most of the teachers at St. Peter's resided at the school, the African male teachers boarding at St. Peter's Hostel, the Theological College and at one stage, even in the Hostel's sick-room¹¹². The St. Peter's authorities were aware of the problem of insufficient accommodation for staff and planned to construct a building for staff quarters¹¹³, however this did not materialize as members of staff were still being accommodated in the Hostel, Theological College, Priory and at St. Agnes', according to their race and sex in the 1950s.

THE PUPILS OF ST. PETER'S SCHOOL

St. Peter's pupils came from all over Southern Africa to attend the school, al-

though most pupils came from the Transvaal, predominantly from urban areas¹¹⁴. They represented nearly every race in South Africa, except whites, as Winter notes in an article in a CR Quarterly:

Were we only able to get a few pure-blooded Europeans, both English and Dutch into the school, we should have what I feel to be the ideal state of affairs¹¹⁵.

The mother-tongue of the majority of the pupils was Sotho¹¹⁶. In 1954, the majority of St. Peter's pupils were Southern and Western Sotho speaking, followed by Zulu, Xhosa and Northern Sotho speakers, with a small number of Afrikaans speakers and one Shangaan speaking pupil¹¹⁷.

St. Peter's pupils also represented a wide range of the African social spectrum, from children of chiefs, clergy, teachers, clerks and interpreters to children of labourers and domestic servants¹¹⁸. Bursaries were offered to children whose parents could not afford the school fees.

The majority of the pupils at St. Peter's were boys, perhaps because the boarding facilities accommodated only 70 girls as opposed to 120 boys¹¹⁹ and perhaps because Africans were not as willing to send their daughters to a secondary boarding school as they were their sons, for economic and moral reasons. Numbers of pupils tended to decrease progressively with every higher form, a phenomena which reflects a high drop-out rate of pupils, because of the inadequacies of elementary education for Africans. Average ages of pupils naturally varied from year to year, but could not have been too dissimilar from the average ages of boys and girls in 1954:

Average ages of boy pupils at St. Peter's in 1954.

- Matric - average age 18.1 years
- Form IV - average age 17.8 years
- Form III - average age 17.6 years
- Form II - average age 15.5 years
- Form I - average age 15.9 years

though most pupils came from the Transvaal, predominantly from urban areas¹¹⁴. They represented nearly every race in South Africa, except whites, as Winter notes in an article in a CR Quarterly:

Were we only able to get a few pure-blooded Europeans, both English and Dutch into the school, we should have what I feel to be the ideal state of affairs¹¹⁵.

The mother-tongue of the majority of the pupils was Sotho¹¹⁶. In 1954, the majority of St. Peter's pupils were Southern and Western Sotho speaking, followed by Zulu, Xhosa and Northern Sotho speakers, with a small number of Afrikaans speakers and one Shangaan speaking pupil¹¹⁷.

St. Peter's pupils also represented a wide range of the African social spectrum, from children of chiefs, clergy, teachers, clerks and interpreters to children of labourers and domestic servants¹¹⁸. Bursaries were offered to children whose parents could not afford the school fees.

The majority of the pupils at St. Peter's were boys, perhaps because the boarding facilities accommodated only 70 girls as opposed to 120 boys¹¹⁹ and perhaps because Africans were not as willing to send their daughters to a secondary boarding school as they were their sons, for economic and moral reasons. Numbers of pupils tended to decrease progressively with every higher form, a phenomena which reflects a high drop-out rate of pupils, because of the inadequacies of elementary education for Africans. Average ages of pupils naturally varied from year to year, but could not have been too dissimilar from the average ages of boys and girls in 1954:

Average ages of boy pupils at St. Peter's in 1954.

Matric	-	average age 18.1 years
Form IV	-	average age 17.8 years
Form III	-	average age 17.6 years
Form II	-	average age 15.5 years
Form I	-	average age 15.9 years

Average ages of girl pupils at St. Peter's in 1954.

- Matric - average age 19.0 years
- Form IV - (no girls in this form in 1954)
- Form III - average age 17.6 years
- Form II - average age 16.5 years
- Form I - average age 15.5 years¹²⁰

Ex-Jt. Peter's pupils become teachers, nurses, clerical workers, medical practitioners, priest and the like. Some well-known past pupils of St. Peter's include authors Peter Abrahams and Ezekial Mphahlele, mathematics lecturer Joseph Mokwena and physics lecturer Ambrose Phale and attorney-advocates like Duma Nokwe¹²¹. Ex-pupil Oliver Tambo, former President of the ANC, obtained a first class JC and matriculation certificate at St. Peter's and later returned to the school as a teacher.

THE CLOSURE OF ST. PETER'S SCHOOL

The Bantu Education Act passed by the Nationalist Government in 1954 was designed to remove African schools from missionary control and to place them under "community control"- government control in effect. The CR, like other missionary organizations involved in African schooling, were faced with the choice of relinquishing control over their schools or retaining control over their schools and functioning on seventy-five per cent government subsidy on teachers' salaries as opposed to one hundred per cent government subsidy.

The brethren of the CR decided to close St. Peter's in 1954, as they would not accept government control of the school and they could not survive on seventy-five per cent government subsidy¹²². They also assumed that as St. Peter's was situated in a white urban area, the government would eventually, under the Group Areas Act, prohibit the school's continued existence even if the decision was made not to close it. However, Trevor Huddleston CR, superintendent of schools, requested the TED to allow St. Peter's to exist until December 1956 on one hundred per cent government subsidy, so that the maximum number of pupils could complete a course, JC or matric, by the time the school closed¹²³. Huddleston proposed that there would be no form I in 1955 and that first year failures would not be given a second chance, so that St. Peter's would only cater for pupils who had a chance of completing JC or matric. By 1956 there would only be about a hundred

pupils and only those in form III and form V. Allowing St. Peter's to close at the end of 1956 would also give the teachers a chance to find alternative employment.

The TED did not grant the CR permission and subsidy for St. Peter's to remain in existence until December 1956. The CR's only alternative was to accept full subsidy for the period closing at the end of December 1955. The CR decided to run St. Peter's as a private school from December 1955 to December 1956, in order to fulfill obligations to parents, pupils and teachers¹²⁴. Between the "Save St. Peter's" fund, organized by the CR, which accumulated four thousand pounds and boarding fees which amounted to £ 2500, St. Peter's was able to function as a private school until the end of 1956¹²⁵.

From January 1957 the buildings and grounds of St. Peter's were prepared for the opening of St. Martin's High School, a secondary school for white boys, which was opened in January 1958¹²⁶.

4. CR DAY-SCHOOLS: 1904-1956

INTRODUCTION

In addition to St. Agnes' and St. Peter's, which were the better known CR schools, the Community was also involved in the setting up and running of various day-schools situated in and around Johannesburg. These day-schools varied in size and sophistication, from one-room shacks to the combined schools of St. Cyprian's and St. Mary Magdalene's in Sophiatown, which together formed the largest primary school in the Transvaal at the time of the CR's involvement in African schooling¹.

The day-schools did not provide boarding accommodation for pupils, as their name implies, and they catered for African children, most providing tuition from pre-school classes to Standard 7. Most of the CR's day-schools were government-aided, which meant that they were partly subsidized by the government and therefore subject to government inspection (see later sections in this chapter on financing and organization of day-schools). CR day-schools which did not qualify for government aid were known as unregistered, private schools³.

By the end of the CR's involvement in African schooling in 1956, there were over fifty day-schools, situated on gold mine property and in locations in the Johannesburg area and on farms in the surrounding country districts. The CR's involvement in day-schools meant that Anglicans ran more schools on the Reef than any other denomination involved in missionary work in the area⁴.

The nature of this chapter demands a fairly high degree of generalization, as it deals with a large number of schools which can not be dealt with separately, due to limitations of space and the evidence available. However, individual schools' characteristics and differences will be pointed out where relevant, for instance, their varying physical structures and numbers of teachers and pupils. Aspects of the different schools like their organization, financing, the education they offered, their prevailing ethos and their closure, will be treated as a whole, as these aspects did

not vary much from school to school. The chapter will begin with a brief chronological outline of the setting up of day-schools by the CR and will proceed to describe the various aspects of the schools mentioned above, ending with their closure. It is hoped that this general survey of the CR day-schools, which have not, as far as is known, been the subject of intensive research, will provide a framework on which further research can be based.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE CR'S PROGRESS IN ESTABLISHING DAY-SCHOOLS

When the CR arrived in the Transvaal in 1903, there were no schools for African children around Johannesburg⁵. The brethren of the CR consequently had to start from scratch, and they proceeded to establish five day-schools on mine property and in a large railway compound⁶.

From 1904 to 1913 the setting up of these schools progressed rapidly, with approximately twenty-eight more day-schools established⁷. The CR's quick progress in setting up schools came to a halt in 1913, and the number of CR day-schools remained at around thirty-five until 1932. This period of stagnation in the setting up of day-schools can probably be explained by the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 and the Great Depression which began in the United States in 1929 and rapidly affected South Africa.

CR day-schools began to increase in number again from 1933 (see Appendix 1) at a steady rate until 1947, when the CR handed their day-schools over to the Anglican Diocese of Johannesburg, with the exception of the schools in Sophiatown and Orlando⁸ (see later section in this chapter on closure of the CR day-schools). Once the CR had placed most of their day-schools in the care of the Diocese, no further growth in the numbers of the schools took place, until all the schools were closed down in 1955 in terms of the National Party Government's policies of Group Areas and Bantu Education⁹.

THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURES OF CR DAY-SCHOOLS

CR day-schools varied in physical structure from one-room wood and iron shacks to relatively sophisticated schools consisting of ten or more brick classrooms. A

photograph of an early CR school - a corrugated iron shack without windows, situated on a dusty vacant plot, contrasts sharply with descriptions of the combined schools of St. Cyprian's and St. Mary Magdalene's, which together comprised twenty-seven well-equipped brick classrooms, two chapels, a swimming pool, playing fields, ablution blocks and staff quarters¹⁰. A CR member wrote:

The streets are thronged with boys and girls all making their way to their various schools, which...are good or bad according as (sic) we have been able to find for their erection. Some are excellent, equal to those for European children, but others so poor that we are ashamed to call them schools at all¹¹.

The CR first set up day-schools in churches on mine property and in locations, which were naturally ill-equipped as schools. It was a general policy of the CR not to rent buildings, so, to alleviate the critical shortage of space in the face of the growing numbers of African children flocking to the schools, the Superintendent of CR schools (see later section in this chapter on organization of day-schools) spent much of his time erecting new classrooms¹². These extensions were open-air, brick classrooms, which the CR attempted to have built around a quadrangle to reduce distractions for pupils and to serve as an assembly point and a playground in the centre. The classrooms were built like large verandahs without glass in the windows, to eliminate breakages by pupils, and they could accommodate sixty pupils¹³.

CR day-schools usually had from two to five of these large, open-air classrooms and some schools, especially in urban areas, had over ten classrooms. The physical structure of schools on farms naturally differed from those in locations and on mines. Mine and location schools tended to be more overcrowded than farm schools and had, at best, play grounds which were small dusty enclosures with a few planted trees. Farm schools, on the other hand, were described as being reasonably attractive, if small, with adequate space for pupils' recreation¹⁴.

The size and level of sophistication of the physical structures of CR day-schools depended on finance available for the schools. The Superintendent of CR schools organized the building of new classrooms and other school facilities whenever sufficient funds were made available. Finance was not always readily available because of government policies (see section on financing of day-schools) which ensured that white education received far more funding than African education. The CR also had to contend with the fact that some of its schools were illegally

positioned, because of the segregationist policies of the government like the 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act and the exclusive building rights of mining companies along the Reef⁵. Fr. Carter CR, Superintendent of CR schools, writes in a 1928 CR Quarterly of one of his worse kept schools on the Reef:

Legally we have no right to be there, at all, but the parents and children are there, crying for education, so we plod on, and every year wonder why the government inspector does not condemn it [the school] and cease to pay the teachers¹⁶.



Figure 11. CR day-school on a mine location

THE ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL OF CR DAY-SCHOOLS

A day-school was set up when there were twelve or more children in need of a school in a particular area. Under the influence of a CR member, an African congregation would set up a school at their own expense (see section on financing CR day-schools) with the help of the CR. Once the numbers of pupils attending the school stabilized at over thirty and the school building met the inspector's approval, the government would register the new school and subsidize it¹⁷. Most CR day-schools were registered, government-aided schools and were therefore sub-

ject to government influence and a certain degree of government control, as far as the syllabus, teacher payment (see sections on education and financing of CR day-schools) and school inspection was concerned.

After South Africa became a Union in 1910, provinces individually took control of African primary and secondary education. Provincial bodies were responsible for the legislation and administration of African education for each province and were assisted by the Chief Inspector of Native Education who appointed inspectors to inspect missionary schools¹⁸. These government inspectors visited the CR schools annually to establish whether the school work was being accomplished according to government regulations. Up until the 1920s, missionary schools were inspected by white school inspectors, a situation which the CR felt was unsatisfactory. Special inspectors for African schools were introduced by the government in the early 1920s which, according to the CR, alleviated the problem of inadequate government inspection. However, the long-standing conflict-ridden relationship between the CR brethren and the government inspectors was never resolved. Several letters written by Carter contain scathing remarks about the inspectors, for example, in one 1937 letter addressed to Senator J.D. Rheinallt-Jones, Carter wrote:

Each individual inspector does what he likes and Dr. Eiselen seems powerless to stop them. The inspectorate has long since ceased to be fifty-fifty English and Dutch and inspectors seem to have no supervision over them, but simply to terrorise the teacher and superintendent²⁰.

Aside from this element of government control and, according to the CR, government interference, the CR controlled its day-schools directly through the Superintendent who was a member of the CR and who was appointed by the Community²¹. Fr. Hill CR became the first Superintendent of CR schools in 1907 and he was succeeded by Fr. Carter CR in 1921. Carter was Superintendent for nineteen years until the increased work-load forced the CR to appoint additional member to this position. In 1940 all CR schools were split into an eastern and a western division and Carter was assisted by Fr. A Winter, who was appointed as a second superintendent²².

The Superintendent visited each of the schools under his authority twice a year. He would inspect the religious instruction taught to the pupils and he would give a lesson in religious instruction himself²³. The duties of the Superintendent included,

the provision and inspection of religious instruction, the appointment, payment and, if necessary, the dismissal of teachers, and the maintenance and extension of school buildings²⁴. The Superintendent also had to submit the schools' paperwork to the Transvaal Education Department, including attendance records, pass rates and the like. Trips to Pretoria to appeal for more funds and to complain about the lack of them, were also integral aspects of the Superintendent's agenda. According to CR reports, the Superintendent's biannual visits to schools were important days in the lives of teachers and pupils. Carter, the CR member who was Superintendent for the longest period, was reported to be of great comfort to teachers who, especially in rural areas, had little contact with other educated people²⁵.

The Superintendent of CR schools was assisted in the running of each registered school by a school committee which met quarterly. The five to ten members of this committee were elected by the parents of the pupils attending the school and no less than three fifths of the committee had to be members of the Anglican Church²⁶.

The school committees, headed by the Superintendent, were answerable to both the Transvaal Education Department and the Johannesburg Diocese. Although Diocese was not directly involved in the running of the CR schools and did not interfere to any extent, the Bishop could override any decisions or put a stop to any situation which he deemed to be contrary to the policy of the Diocese (see section in an earlier chapter on the organization of the CR within the Anglican Church).

THE FINANCING OF CR DAY-SCHOOLS

CR day-schools, like all other missionary schools, were financed from three sources; the government, the mission in charge of the schools (the CR in this case), and the African communities serviced by these schools. This section will investigate the three sources of finance for the CR day-schools in turn.

Government sources:

When the first CR brethren arrived in South Africa in 1903, no government provision was made for African education in the Transvaal, although from about this time, the Transvaal government began to offer grants to mission schools. After the Union of South Africa in 1910, the four provinces continued to finance African

education, without the help of the Union Government. This situation was regretted by the CR brethren as they felt that the Provincial subsidies were inadequate²⁷. The structure of government financing of African schools was amended in 1925, when the Union Government assumed greater responsibility for the financing of African education by ruling that it would pay £ 340 000 annually towards it, which was a sum based on the total amount which the four provinces spent on African education in 1921. To allow for expansion in educational costs, the Union Government also ruled that one fifth of the sum collected from Africans' poll tax would be pooled into the Native Development Fund (later the Native Trust Fund) and used to finance African schools²⁸.

The limitations inherent in the system of government finance, of inflexibility and reliance on the lowest income population group, did not escape the attentions of the CR and much of its fifty or so years of involvement in African schooling were spent pleading and protesting to the government to rectify the situation.

As mentioned previously, an African congregation would, with the help of a CR member, start a school by finding, constructing a school building and supplying and paying for a teacher. Once the number of pupils had stabilized at thirty and above and the school building met government approval, the school would be registered and the government would pay the salaries of approved teachers. Teachers would be paid according to their qualifications²⁹. The Transvaal Education Department restricted the number of teachers employed at each school, especially the number of qualified teachers, in order to reduce costs³⁰. The salaries of African teachers were notoriously low, averaging from just over two pounds to five pounds a month, from the late 1920s to the early 1940s. Salaries varied depending on the teachers' sex, qualifications and teaching experience³¹ and was approximately half of what white teachers were earning at the time.

The government also financed most CR day-schools by making a small equipment grant, not exceeding three shillings per pupil. From 1935, the Transvaal Provincial Government annually paid the CR, and other missions involved in African schooling, five per cent or six per cent on the cost of construction as a grant-in-aid of rent³².

However, as previously suggested, government financing of African schools was inadequate, and the CR and other missions responsible for African schooling spent much time attempting to persuade the government to spend more on this neglected

area of education. From 1922 to 1926 no increase took place in government funding of African education and no new African schools could be registered and therefore receive government funding. A short expansionary period in government funding from 1927 to 1928, was followed by another period of stagnation and African schools had to, once again be placed on a long waiting list in order to be registered³³.

CR sources:

Much of the financial responsibility for CR day-schools had to be borne by the CR. The CR was responsible for the cost of construction and maintenance of school buildings and the schools' equipment. The CR had to pay for the Superintendent and his biannual travels to all CR day-schools on the Witwatersrand and for the services of school principals, as the government only paid them in their capacity as teachers. The Community also had to pay the salaries of those teachers who were employed at schools but who were not recognized by the government. The ever-increasing numbers of pupils demanded more teachers than the government was willing to finance, and especially after 1935, when the government limited the pupil/teacher ratio to 50:1, the CR was forced to employ extra teachers and pay their salaries. The CR naturally also had to finance the teachers of unregistered day-schools³⁴.

The CR received financial support from public funds, mainly from Britain³⁵, which were collected by the SPG and the SPCK in London, and also from South Africa³⁶. The Diocese of Johannesburg helped the CR to pay for the cost of the Superintendent of CR schools and the expenses incurred through his duties³⁷.

African community sources:

African communities bore the financial burden of CR day-schools substantially, both directly, and indirectly through taxation. African congregations who set up schools, with the help of the CR, helped the Community pay for the construction of the school buildings, with substantial cash donations and physical labour³⁸. Parents of children attending the schools paid fees, which ranged from three pence per month in the early 1900s to one shilling, six pence a quarter up until the government reduced school fees and then abolished them in 1940³⁹. Parents also had to provide books for their children as these were not included in the fees⁴⁰. This made schooling expensive, although the CR allowed orphans and some children of the

poor access to its schools without having to pay fees⁴¹. The collection of school fees was always a priority of the Superintendent, and one of the duties of CR school teachers was to make sure that pupils paid their fees. According to Carter's annual school reviews, approximately seventy per cent of pupils paid their fees⁴².

School fees:

In 1935, the government ruled that school fees of all mission schools were to be reduced from one shilling, six pence a quarter to one shilling a quarter, a move which was regretted by Carter, CR Superintendent. In a circular to all teachers in CR day-schools, Carter pointed out, that the CR would no longer be able to finance its schools through paying for the necessary extra teachers, whom the government would not pay⁴³. Matters were made worse for the CR in 1940, when the government abolished school fees altogether, with the intention of granting more aid to African schools in equipment and construction through grants-in-aid of rent (see above). The CR was then faced with greater financial difficulties and was forced to rely more on the government, which according to the Community, paid as little towards African education as it could get away with⁴⁴.

THE EDUCATION OFFERED AT CR DAY-SCHOOLS

CR day-schools all offered two pre-primary years - Sub A and Sub B, in accordance with government regulations, and most went as far as Standard VI, offering an eight year primary course in total⁴⁵. Pupils attending the schools were encouraged to progress at least as far as Standard III⁴⁶ and the Superintendent would constantly urge his teachers to encourage the maximum number of pupils to progress to the standards as opposed to dropping out after the sub-standards, as many did⁴⁷.

CR day-schools used the Transvaal government primary school syllabus, which was compulsory for all African primary schools in the Transvaal. The syllabus consisted of the following subjects:

1. Arithmetic - addition, subtraction, division, fractions and problems
2. Vernacular - language, reading, composition, grammar and dictation
3. Afrikaans - language reading, grammar, composition and dictation
4. Nature Study - Biology etc.
5. English - language, reading, composition grammar, dictation and oral

6. Hygiene
7. Geography
8. History
9. Religious Instruction
10. Music and singing, drawing, hygiene, woodwork, sewing gardening and other manual work, all of which were taught but not examined⁴⁸.

Winter, in a memorandum on the African primary school syllabus, suggested that Geography be introduced to the pupils in Standards I and II through stories of other lands, with an emphasis on the physical side of Geography. History, according to Winter, should be introduced to Standard III pupils through biographies on famous historical characters. CR day-school pupils studied various aspects of South African history, although Winter expressed his concern that the only textbooks available to them were written from the "European point of view". Winter also recommended that Civics be introduced as a branch of history in standards IV and V, and that it should deal with the urban and rural ways of life of Africans as opposed to matters like voting, which were removed from the African experience⁴⁹.

Pupils of CR day-schools were taught in English, until 1938, when the government ruled that all African pupils were to be taught in the Vernacular up to Standard II and thereafter, in the language of the majority of whites in the area⁵⁰. The brethren of the CR were opposed to Africans being taught in their own language, as they felt that knowledge of English or Afrikaans was the only path to education in South Africa⁵¹. Teaching pupils in the Vernacular proved to be problematic in urban schools, where several different African languages were represented, as the gold mining industry drew peoples from all over Southern Africa.

Daily routine:

The first hour of each day was devoted to Religious Instruction, on which pupils were examined yearly by the CR. The teaching of Religious Instruction was aided by white Anglican female missionaries who were involved in working with African women on the Reef (see chapter on St. Agnes'). These women would also help the female teachers to teach the girls sewing, which would be inspected by a woman missionary and a female government inspector⁵². Boys were taught "industrial" education, which according to the CR, was more like "manual training", as no appropriate equipment and skilled instruction was available. Boys attending CR

day-schools spent most of their "industrial education" periods doing gardening work⁵³. The government curriculum was taught by the teachers for the rest of the school day.

Teaching methods:

According to Charles Loram, Inspector of Schools in Natal and well-known liberal scholar, missionary education was "bookish" and formal, as finance was not available for enough qualified teachers and teaching equipment⁵⁴. No evidence either substantiating or negating Loram's description of teaching methods in CR day-schools has been located, except the report of a visitor to a CR farm school. The report depicts the pupils learning their lessons in an peaceful outdoor environment, using sticks and stones to measure and count. The article in a 1928 CR Quarterly describes a typical lesson:

..boys and girls in Standard III...are doing an examination paper in hygiene. The questions, which are set on a blackboard, include: "Why is a house that gets the morning sun better than one that gets it late in the day?" The answers, with varying degrees of correctness, are being written in the neatest of script⁵⁵.

Educational results:

Better documented, are the educational results of CR day-schools. The numbers of pupils who passed the Standard VI government exam and the numbers of pupils in each standard are recorded in the yearly reviews of CR day-schools. Out of an approximate one hundred and fifty pupils per school⁵⁶, only an average of two pupils per school⁵⁷ passed their Standard VI exam each year, and only about thirty-five per cent of pupils were in the standards, the rest being in Sub A and Sub B⁵⁸.

The poor academic results of CR day-schools can be largely explained by the shortage of qualified teachers. As a 1951 survey of African schools on the Witwatersrand notes, the government limited the number of teachers on its pay-roll and, from 1935, ruled that no more than fifty pupils could be taught by one teacher. Consequently, missions were forced to employ more teachers, but could not afford qualified teachers, who were paid a higher salary. As a result unqualified teachers taught in the schools, often in the lower standards, as qualified teachers were reserved for higher standards. This resulted in inadequate initial teaching,

which led to a high drop-out rate and a shaky foundation for further education⁵⁹. In short, inadequate financial resources, resulting in a lack of qualified teachers as well as appropriate teaching equipment, led to disappointing academic results in CR day-schools.

THE ETHOS OF CR DAY-SCHOOLS

Like St. Agnes' and St. Peter's, CR day-schools had an overwhelmingly Christian ethos. Although the syllabus of day-schools was the standard Transvaal Education Department's African primary school syllabus over which the CR had no real influence, the Community ensured that Religious Instruction received top priority in its schools. Religious Instruction was not an examinable subject in the secular government curriculum, however, in the CR schools, the first hour of each school day was devoted to studying the Anglican Provincial Catechism and the Bible⁶⁰. The CR drew up a syllabus for Religious Instruction and instituted an annual examination for pupils in higher standards in this subject in the early 1920s, which was subject to the approval of the Bishop of Johannesburg⁶¹.

Christian character as well as Christian knowledge was stressed at CR day-schools. A comment written by Carter to the teachers in a 1931 day-schools review, indicates the emphasis the CR placed on Christian character as opposed to academic achievements:

...I want to press the point that passing the standards is not everything. Our Lord increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man. That is the ideal growth⁶².

Pathfinders and Wayfarers were encouraged by the CR at the day-schools⁶³, helping to imbue pupils with a Christian character, loyalty to King and country, and an appreciation for outdoor life (see sections on ethos of St. Agnes' and St. Peter's). Unlike the two well-known boarding establishments of the CR, St. Agnes' and St. Peter's, most CR day-schools did not offer much in the way of sport because of their limited facilities, although pupils attending St. Cyprian's and St. Mary Magdalene's enjoyed the use of a swimming pool (boys and girls at separate times)⁶⁴. The more common extra-mural activities offered at CR day-schools were art exhibitions and school concerts, both being used to raise money for the schools⁶⁵.

CR day-schools were clearly geared towards Africans - observers at the time could not mistake them for white schools. Manual education was stressed in the government curriculum and approved by the brethren of the CR. Osmund Victor CR wrote:

...there comes a time when the need of Industrial training (his emphasis) comes to the fore. Education, which at first was concerned with the simple truths of religion and with the three R's, widens out to deal with the daily activities of the people, to substitute up-to-date for primitive methods, to raise the standard of life and to give them the skill of hand in all sorts of new directions⁶⁷.

As mentioned in the previous section on the education offered at CR day-schools, sewing lessons were stressed for the girls attending the day-schools. The reasons given for these lessons was that they would enrich girls with knowledge they could not otherwise obtain at home, which would be useful to them at home and in domestic service⁶⁷. The so-called "industrial education" lessons for boys, which were orchestrated by the government, mentioned in the previous section, were unpopular with the CR brethren, only because inadequate equipment and skilled teachers available to the CR schools, ensured that these lessons did not bestow sufficient industrial skills on the pupils⁶⁸.

Not surprisingly, like the two other CR boarding schools already described, CR day-schools were steeped in the Christian ethos and stressed the importance of "character" development, and were also immersed in the reality of segregationist, racist South Africa. However, an important difference between the day-schools and St. Agnes' and St. Peter's was that pupils of day-schools could not be imbued with the schools' ethos as intensely as the pupils of the boarding schools could, because of the shorter hours of day-schools. Naturally the ethos of boarding schools would have had a greater impact on pupils than that of the day-schools, where pupils leave for home immediately after the lessons.

THE TEACHERS OF CR DAY-SCHOOLS

When the CR first set up day-schools in conjunction with African congregations, in 1904, local African deacons or catechists acted as school teachers, in addition to fulfilling their clerical functions. Soon, however, it became clear to the brethren of

the Community that good catechists may not necessary make good teachers, so they began to employ qualified teachers in CR day-schools.

In 1905, Fr. Fuller CR set up the Diocesan Training College on the Grace Dieu farm in Pietersburg, with the intention of training Africans to be qualified teachers⁶⁹. Most of the teachers who taught in CR day-schools were trained at the Diocesan College, which became known as Grace Dieu. Africans were accepted into Grace Dieu from the age of fifteen years and they had to have passed at least the Standard IV exam or its equivalent. The College offered a three year teacher's training course, for which students had to write and pass an annual Transvaal Education Department examination, in order to complete the course. In addition to the government teacher's training course, student-teachers at Grace Dieu had to prepare for an annual examination in religious knowledge conducted by the Church of the Province, and had to attend classes in hygiene, brick-making, practical building, carpentry, and field work⁷⁰. Lessons were conducted in English. At end of the of the three year course, students received the Transvaal Native Teachers' Certificate (T 3)⁷¹.

Students of Grace Dieu were mainly members of the Church of the Province, although students of other denominations were accepted into the Training College. Students attending the College largely came from the Pretoria area and from the Witwatersrand, and represented most of the African language-groups of Southern Africa⁷².

A few CR day-school teachers were trained at St. Peter's and St. Agnes' - the St. Agnes' trained teachers mainly taught in small country schools⁷³. As mentioned previously in the section on financing of CR schools, some teachers employed in CR day-schools were unqualified. The employment of a few unqualified teachers was a financial necessity for the CR, as the government would not pay the salaries of teachers who were employed over its quota of the number of teachers allowed per school. Qualified teachers were often "rationed" amongst schools as they earned higher salaries and were therefore an expense which the CR and other missions involved in African schooling could often not afford.

Teachers employed in CR day-schools were all Africans⁷⁴. The ratio of male to female teachers was about fifty/fifty, although the heads of the schools were male⁷⁵. In an early publication, Fuller made his feelings towards employing women teachers clear:

In the work of a mission, the native female teacher is much less useful than the male teacher, since she is incompetent to take night schools. In some places she demands the same wages as a man; she is very seldom contented and she soon goes away to get married⁷⁶.

The CR, nevertheless, must have seen the necessity for employing women as teachers, since a 1933 CR day-school survey indicates equality in the numbers of male and female teachers⁷⁷. Perhaps this was because many educated African men refused to work for the meagre teachers' salaries (see section on financing of CR day-schools).

Numbers of teachers who taught in CR day-schools ranged from one or two in small schools to fifteen in larger schools⁷⁸. About thirty teachers were employed in the combined schools of St. Cyprian's and St. Mary Magdalene's⁷⁹. In 1933, one hundred and thirty teachers were employed in the thirty-nine CR day-schools, which averages at about three teachers in each school⁸⁰.

As mentioned in the section on financing of CR day-schools, most teachers employed in CR schools were paid by the government according to their level of qualification. Salaries ranged from two to seven pounds a month, in the 1930s and early 1940s. This depended on the sex and qualification of the teachers, and whether they were paid by the government or privately paid (unqualified women teachers who were privately paid by the missions received the lowest salaries)⁸¹.

Much has been written about the inadequacy of African teachers' salaries. A 1944 memorandum submitted to the Economic Advisory Committee of the South African Labour Party, points out that a salary of seven pounds a month was the bare minimum on which an African family of four could subsist at the time. Most teachers therefore, were paid a salary with which they could not live above the bread-line and many of these supposedly respected, educated members of the community were forced to live in poverty or to earn extra money by other means, often illegal⁸².

THE PUPILS ATTENDING CR DAY-SCHOOLS

Pupils attending CR day-schools lived in the locations and the married mining-quarters on the Witwatersrand, as well as in rural areas and on white farms around

the Reef, as many of their parents were labourers and miners. Most pupils were Anglican, although pupils of other denominations were accepted into the schools⁸³. Any African child from the age of six years and over⁸⁴ was admitted to CR day-schools, and although the CR stipulated payment of school fees as a requirement for entrance, in practice many pupils attended the schools without paying regular fees (see earlier section in this chapter on financing of day-schools).

Essentially, the factor determining the acceptance of pupils into CR day-schools was the availability of space. The government limited the number of teachers on its pay-roll, which caused overcrowding in CR day-schools and other mission schools. From 1935, the government ruled that pupils were to be limited to fifty (with five in reserve) per teacher, and that missions could only apply for teachers if they had built the equivalent number of classrooms. Missions had to finance the construction of additional classrooms in order to qualify for additional teachers, and according to Carter, many CR day-schools had additional classrooms built for additional teachers the government had promised to finance but failed to deliver⁸⁵. Consequently day-schools could only accommodate a limited number of pupils. As one CR member explained in a 1944 CR report, "Nearly all our schools are filled to their utmost capacity, and scores of children are turned away every year."⁸⁶

The numbers of pupils attending CR day-schools varied from about seventy a school, to over a thousand in the case of the combined schools of St. Cyprian's and St. Mary Magdalene's⁸⁷. There were, on average, a hundred and fifty⁸⁸ pupils per CR day-school and five of these schools were attended by three hundred pupils or more⁸⁹. Overcrowding was common in CR day-schools. Carter describes the conditions in one of his mine schools in an article in a 1936 CR Quarterly:

At these schools I try to find the most promising children, and see that they are encouraged to go further than this primary stage.. Sometimes it is merely sympathising with [the] two teachers who are struggling to teach 300 kindergarten children in one room. They appear a mass of black faces wedged in and squeezed together, and yet somehow they do learn⁹⁰.

Some CR day-schools offered double shifts, one set of lessons in the morning and another in the afternoon, in order to accommodate as many pupils as possible⁹¹.

There was a high drop out rate in missionary schools due to poverty. According to

two reports by non-governmental welfare organizations in 1938 and 1951 on African school in the Johannesburg area, the large majority of school going children suffered from hunger and malnutrition. The reports stress the poverty of the pupils attending schools in the locations and mine quarters, a factor which was responsible for the high drop-out rate of the pupils in CR day-schools and other mission schools, due to ill-health and the inability of parents to afford books, uniforms and the loss of the additional labour of their children. The reports also mention juvenile delinquency as being a factor which influenced the lives of children of school going age. This, according to the reports, accounted for the fact that, on the whole, more girls attended primary schools than boys, as they were more obedient and less likely to be tempted away from schools to join gangs as boys were⁹².

No reports written by CR members describing the conditions of pupils attending their schools have been located, except an article written by Carter in a 1934 CR Quarterly, which describes how the pupils of CR farm schools had to walk up to ten miles daily to attend their classes daily⁹³.

THE CLOSURE OF CR DAY-SCHOOLS

In 1947, the CR handed over all its day-schools to the Johannesburg Diocese, except those in Sophiatown and Orlando, including the combined schools of St. Cyprian's and St. Mary Magdalene's⁹⁴. No official statement made by the CR concerning the reasons for this move has been located, although one could safely assume that the growing financial burden arising from the day-schools, as well as the increasingly obvious intention of the government to remove African schools from mission control, urged the CR to hand over the burden of most of its day-schools to the Diocese.

As early as 1922, a member of the CR voiced his concern over the eagerness of government inspectors to abolish the system of African schools, which were under the control of many different missionary groups, in favour of a central school under government control⁹⁵. In 1947, Senator J. D. Rheinallt-Jones, Advisor on Native Affairs, sent a memorandum to the Anglo-American Corporation, with the information that it was then the trend to establish community schools as opposed to mission schools and that there should no longer be investment in mission schools⁹⁶.

The CR brethren surely felt powerless in the face of such opposition.

The 1954 Bantu Education Act clarified the government's position on African education. Missions who ran African schools were given the choice, by the end of 1954, of either retaining control of their schools as private, unaided institutions, or retaining control of the schools on a seventy-five per cent government subsidy on teachers' salaries (which would later decrease) as opposed to the former hundred per cent subsidy, or relinquishing control of their schools to Bantu Community Organizations (effectively government control)⁹⁷.

The Church of the Province of South Africa, like most other denominations involved in African schooling, was strongly opposed to the Bantu Education Act. The Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Reverend Ambrose Reeves, who controlled most of the CR day-schools from 1947, was so opposed to government control of African schooling that he refused to lease the school buildings to the government, an option open to missions. The twenty-five former CR schools, which were situated on private property, were handed over to the owners of the property and the remaining twenty-three day-schools situated on Anglican Church ground or in locations, were closed down⁹⁸.

The CR, which controlled St. Cyprian's and St. Mary Magdalene's schools up until the time of the Bantu Education Act, decided to request permission from the Transvaal Education Department to close down the combined schools and reopen them as a private school, with the new name of Church of Christ the King School. Permission was verbally granted from the TED and so the CR, together with the Bishop of Johannesburg, proceeded to reopen the schools as the Church of Christ the King School in 1955, once the parents of the pupils who had attended St. Cyprian's and St. Mary Magdalene's had agreed to pay the school fee of ten shillings per month. However, at the end of 1956, the Transvaal Education Department ordered that the new private school be closed down, following an inquiry made by the Native Affairs Commission in response to "irregularities" on the part of the school authorities⁹⁹. All the CR's involvement in African schooling had ended.

CONCLUSION

The brethren of the CR set up and ran schools for African children throughout the Witwatersrand for over fifty years. Their schools varied in size and numbers depending on the success of the CR brethren in their constant struggle for sufficient funds. Much of the CR's fifty year involvement in African schooling was spent begging for and demanding financial assistance from a government which expressed little interest in African education. The Community's educational efforts must be seen in the context of the realities of limited finance and of government opposition.

The CR's motive in establishing and running schools for African children was unquestionably to spread Christianity. Determining whether this motive was reasonable or destructive is beyond the capacity or concern of this research project and must be left to individual interpretation. What is clear, however, is that the initial patronizing, if not racist, attitude of CR members to Africans and their education, was transformed into a fervent support of equality in education, and a radical opposition to the Nationalist Government's education policies.

Results of CR schooling are mixed. Academic success seems to have eluded pupils of many of the day-schools, mainly because of too few teachers and inadequate space and equipment as a result of a lack of finance. However, many pupils who attended St. Peter's Secondary School matriculated and many more passed their JC examinations. Some past pupils of St. Peter's became well-known politicians, authors and academics, while some past pupils of St. Agnes' became domestics, as well as educated housewives, teachers and nurses. Products of CR schooling therefore ranged from elite African leaders to servants.

The varying results of the CR's involvement in African schooling should not lead to the dismissal or condemnation of this missionary body's educational efforts. The reality of South Africa in the first half of the twentieth century, that is, a general resistance to African education, must be the backdrop against which to view the Community's efforts. The brethren of the CR were pioneers in the field of African

education in their setting up of numerous, sometimes, progressive schools; their training of teachers; and their interest in innovative teaching methods. The CR must also be acknowledged for its relentless struggle with the successive South African governments in an attempt to secure a greater government contribution to African education.

APPENDIX 1

LIST OF CR DAY-SCHOOLS AND THEIR LOCATIONS IN 1933

1	St. Paul's School	Randfontein
2	St. James' School	Nigel
3	St. Augustine's School	Geduld
4	St. Anne's School	Riversdale
5	All Saints' School	Wildfontein
6	St. Cyprian's School	Vlakfontein
7	St. Luke's School	Everton
8	St. John's School	Alandale
9	Bapsfontein School	Bapsfontein
10	Heidelberg School	Heidelberg
11	St. Mary's School	Roodepoort
12	St. Jude's School	Brakpan
13	St. Mary's School	Warrenslaagte
14	St. Paul's School	Poortjie
15	Vlakplaats School	Vlakplaats
16	St. Andrew's School	Carltonville
17	Carlechew School	Carlechew
18	Holy Cross School	Largo
19	St. Stephen's School	Zandfontein
20	St. Bartholomew's School	Geldenkuis
21	St. Luke's School	Robinson
22	St. Andrew's School	Witpoortjie
23	St. Bartholomew's School	Venterspost
24	St. Mary's School	Koppieskraal
25	Holy Cross School	Grootvlei
26	Morgenzon School	Morgenzon
27	St. John's School	Bulfontein
28	St. Paul's School	Krugersdorp
29	All Saints' School	Jacksonsdrift
30	St. Michael's School	Alexandra Township
31	St. Boniface School	Boksburg
32	St. Paul's School	City Deep
33	St. James' School	Germiston
34	St. Thomas' School	Modder Bee
35	St. Andrew's School	Springs
36	St. Mary's School	Van Ryn, New Modder
37	St. Peter's Primary School	Rosettenville

38	St. Peter's School	Crown Mines
39	St. Alban's School	Benoni
40	St. Cyprian's School	Sophiatown
	St. Mary Magdalene's School	Sophiatown

Source:

CR Schools in the Reef and Districts 1933. SAIRR, Black Education. CPSA Archives. AD 843 B 81.1.

Note: Approximately 10 more schools were established after 1933 up until the CR schools' closure in 1955, although the names of these are not all available.

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