

THE GRACE DIEU EXPERIENCE OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH,
1906 - 1958

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that: The Grace Dieu Experience of the Anglican Church, 1906-1958, is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



A P P MOKWELE

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to:

The Teachers of Grace Dieu;

The Dioceses of Pretoria and Johannesburg;

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts;

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge;

And The Author and Finisher of our Faith.

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A P P MOKWELE

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL ORIENTATION

1.1 Introduction

The establishment of Pedagogics as a Science in the second half of the nineteenth century, and of the History of Education as a part-perspective thereof, led to a *past-oriented factor* in Education without which no concrete Education System could be studied. In the nineteenth century History of Education was far and away the most popular and the most prominent as a specialised study in the United States of America (1:14). After World War I, the questioning of its usefulness and applicability began to emerge as a result of *the onslaught of empirical and measurement movements in Pedagogics*.

As a result, the value of the study of History of Education waned from the 1920's to the 1950's in both the United States of America and Germany (2:15). Amongst others, one reason for this was stipulated: "History of Education was insensitive to the tension between the '*is*' and the '*ought*' in education, and it failed to make accurate study of the past meaningful for prediction of the future" (3:15). By the 1930's and thereafter, however, the pendulum had swung back to the value of History of Education. This was mainly because of, amongst other things, certain advantages:

- *it provides us with a genetic method of solving problems;*
- *it helps us to understand the origin and causes of problems, and the problems themselves, and suggests solutions;*
- *it throws light on circumstances resulting in controversial issues (4:15).*

In consequence of the foregoing, History of Education teaches us of man and the things connected with his education. A specialist in History of Education comes across ever-new attempts to answer fundamental pedagogic questions over the enigma of the human being. *The Grace Dieu Experience* is partly an answer to this fundamental question. The experience of man's humanness is also an experience of temporality.

Blindness to the historicity of human existence and education is fatal. What has once entered our consciousness cannot be forgotten without serious repercussions; we cannot escape temporality. Knowledge of our educational past, like that of Grace Dieu, enables the pedagogue or the administrator to modify his educational understanding. Pedagogues or administrators then become pedagogically fruitful, instead of destructive.

In the absence of knowledge of the past the unresolved problems cause aggressiveness, rigidity and inertia. According to John Dewey, *the past (in education) is a decisive factor in the understanding of the present and the shaping of the future*; he asserts very concisely that "the past is of logical necessity the past-of-the-present, and the present is the past-of-a-future-living present (5:20).

The significance of this study therefore lies mainly in its meaning for the future. *The Grace Dieu Experience* need not be fatalistic. It should, instead, fortify us against the frustrations which are bound to occur in efforts to move the Black society and its education in certain directions, and *the Grace Dieu Experience* assures us that man is not the victim of events.

The Grace Dieu Experience also forces us to grapple with certain recurring questions educators constantly face, namely: *What can man become? What particular men can become? For what purpose can man and particular men be educated? What can man be taught to become educated? How can man be taught to become educated? And What the outcome of education can be?*

The examination of such questions in *the Grace Dieu Experience* forces us beyond our sometimes intense denominationalism and provincialism of time and place. We begin to see that the questions can be answered in a variety of ways. The exploration widens our alternatives; deepens our insight, and causes us to raise the kinds of questions educators should continuously raise. The enemy of any free society is the reliance on dogma and absolutism. *The Grace Dieu Experience* shows us that the past was always full of error and inconsistency; in the writer's view, more on the part of the State than on the part of the Church.

In no uncertain terms *the Grace Dieu Experience* reminds us that one cannot identify one's candle's little fitful gleam with the light of the sun; that one's knowledge of reality is indeed limited, and that one must see oneself as simply human, for this is the beginning of all humaneness (6:21).

1.2 Aim of the Study

The main aim and task of this study is to trace and illustrate the contribution made by the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (the Anglican Church) to Black Education in the Transvaal in particular, and Southern Africa in general.

Attention is focused on Grace Dieu because it was the main centre of Anglicanism-in-education in the Transvaal as far as the Blacks were concerned. The other centres were Khaiso Secondary School, Pietersburg; St Peter's, Johannesburg; and Jane Furse, Sekhukhuniland.

Various Departments were instituted at Grace Dieu. These were the Normal Department, the Practising School, the Domestic Science Department, the Woodwork Department, the Woodcarving Department, and the Secondary School. For about thirty years after its establishment, Grace Dieu was also a Mission Centre of a 2 500 square mile (Pietersburg West) Mission District. "The College's" work in the religious field was therefore essentially another "Department".

The most authoritative and complete work on the contribution to Black Education by the Anglican Church in the Transvaal at Grace Dieu, but covering the Normal Department only, is Prof M C J Mphahlele's doctoral thesis: The Development, Role and Influence of Missionary Teacher-Training Institutions in the Territory of Lebowa 1903-1953. He, however, did not include all the educational activities as his main concern was the teacher training section. Moreover, he has treated this branch together with three other teacher training institutions which belonged to other missionary societies. Hence the writer felt the need for a more thorough and comprehensive study of the Anglican Missionary enterprise at Grace Dieu, and not just a "survey".

The Anglican "Venture of Faith" of thirty years ago has now gone full circle in the Transvaal.

The Anglican Church (Multiracial) Private Schools under the Bishop of Pretoria, such as St Alban's in Pretoria and Uplands in the Eastern Transvaal, and now, lately, St Mark's College at Jane Furse in Sekhukhuniland under the Bishop of St Mark the Evangelist at Pietersburg have re-emerged or newly-emerged as the inheritors of the Anglican Spiritual Tradition in general, and of *the tone of Grace Dieu* in particular. *The Grace Dieu Experience* has therefore even become more meaningful than might have been contemplated thirty years ago. Indeed, one's candle's little fitful gleam cannot be compared with the light of the sun. This study, therefore, partly indicates the operation of *the tone of Grace Dieu* more than thirty years ago, but also partly indicates the persistence and continuance of the same in our time.

The writer, a practising Anglican of the fifth generation, is of the conviction that this study might reveal a lot that should be preserved or incorporated in the present educational system. His parents lived and worked within *the tone of Grace Dieu*; and they knew Fathers J L Fuller, S P Woodfield, E D'lepu, C M Jones and R F Adams very well. His elder brothers and sisters were at Khaiso and Grace Dieu; and he himself is a dyed-in-the-wool product of Anglicanism-in-Education at Khaiso. At present he is a Churchwarden and an associate of Priests, Archdeacons and Bishops in the Transvaal. The writer also felt that, by relating the educational activities at Grace Dieu, he would also be expressing his indebtedness to the Dioceses of Pretoria and Johannesburg on behalf of all the former students and staff of Grace Dieu and Khaiso.

1.3 Methodology of the Study

In this study the writer has used the "Historical Method" of research as well as the "Methodology of History of Education". These methods comprise, in the main, three processes, namely, heuristics, hermeneutics and synthesis.

Concerning the employment of heuristics, the writer has gathered all source material, primary as well as secondary, but relying more on the primary - that had something to do with the educational activities of Grace Dieu from 1906 to 1958. Fortunately, the Church of the Province of Southern Africa Record Library at the University of the Witwatersrand has all the Grace Dieu and Woodfield Collections handed in in 1972 and 1983 respectively. The writer spent four weeks of intensive study and photocopying of relevant documents from these collections.

In addition to the foregoing, inspection *in loco* was conducted: the writer visited and inspected all the buildings found at Grace Dieu, and interviewed some of the past students and staff of Grace Dieu and of the Setotlwane College of Education, as well as some "Old Pietersburgians" - of the thirties, forties and fifties. The Gaborone Reunion of the past students of Grace Dieu of September 1987 was of great value in this respect.

Concerning hermeneutics or internal source criticism, the source material was scientifically interpreted and evaluated.

Evidence which appeared authentic, for example, Mission Reports and Annual Reports to the Diocesan Synods and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Minutes of the Governing Body, Inspection Reports, Official Correspondence and entries in the Log Book, was accepted; but doubtful sources such as newspapers and friendly letters were thoroughly checked and examined in the light of the contemporary evidence and had to be confirmed by two or three competent participants or eye-witnesses before they were accepted.

In the final stage, the writer formulated the hypothesis that the role played by the Anglican Church at Grace Dieu (1906-1958) has been of significant influence in the educational upliftment of the Black people, particularly in the Transvaal. That influence is perpetuated by its former students and the newly-emerging St Mark's College at Jane Furse, Sekhukhuniland in particular. The writer's choice of topic was thus justified, and he consequently proceeded to synthesize the source material at his disposal into a scientific document presented herewith.

1.4 Limitations of the Study

The Grace Dieu and Woodfield Collections, referred to earlier, have been the main source of information. But they are obviously cast in an individualistic and denominational-sectional tone of self-assurance and righteousness. The writer, as a staunch Anglican, has found it very often difficult to be free from *subjectivity* in this study. But on the other hand, *objectivity* in historical matters can be as dry as dust, and a lack-feeling and lack-lustre affair can be as less interesting as it can be more scientific.

The writer has, however, attempted to study the topic scientifically.

1.5 Programme of the Study

De Jager et. al. make an assumption that when a person acts *purposefully*, certain *content* will be shaped in a specific *form* in order to put into *function* what has been visualised. We thus have *aim, content, form (method)* and *function or realisation of purpose* in this sequence (7:20).

They go further to point out that the principle of holism is very strongly emphasised here because the components: aim, content, and form cannot be studied separately. If this is done it can only lead to misinterpretation (8:20). We thus have a *triadic structure of aim, content and form which must always remain in perfect harmony. If this happens, a balanced functional outcome can be expected, adding another dimension to the model and making it a fourfold structure.* This is the approach that has been adopted in this study.

After the introductory general orientation covering the significance, aim, methodology and limitations of the study, there follows Chapter Two in which the writer sketches the origin and history of the Anglican Church in England and South Africa as well as the Transvaal Anglican needs for a missionary and teacher-training centre.

The first part of Chapter Three portrays the Anglican Spiritual Tradition as the Anglican philosophy of life which motivated Church bodies, namely, the Community of the Resurrection, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; the second part of this chapter handles the resultant educational aims and the overall medium of operation. The actual educational work of content and form or method of teaching is discussed in Chapters Four and Five respectively.

Chapter Six, the concluding chapter, portrays Grace Dieu in the aftermath of the introduction of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the ensuing crisis of continuation or no continuation, with the latter being the case at the end of "a blank year" - 1958. This chapter ends with a portrayal of the achievements, role and influence of Grace Dieu. In this finale, the writer indicates the silver lining in the dark cloud of the closure of "the College" by referring to the present multiracial Anglican Private Schools as the inheritors of "the tone of Grace Dieu". A selection of pictures has been made throughout the work to illustrate certain points made. The appendices A, B and C have been included on: The Story of Fifty Years' Achievement; Principals, Vice-Principals and Some Staff 1906-1958, and Some Old Pietersburgians or Past Students.

1.6 Discussion of Sources

The main *primary sources* that were used are *The Grace Dieu Records* collected together by Archdeacon S P Woodfield (Vice-Principal of Grace Dieu 1922-1924, Principal 1924-1938 and 1953-1957, died in 1979) and presented in June 1972 to the Church of the Province of Southern Africa Record Library, which is looked after by the library of the University of the Witwatersrand. These records span the years 1906 - 1969 with the greatest concentration being between 1906-1939 and consist of a logbook, minutes, correspondence, memoranda, notes, printed items, press clippings and photographs. From the records a clear picture of the origin and development of Grace Dieu emerges, and of the financial problems encountered throughout the years.

The writer himself is a past student of Khaiso Secondary School (in Pietersburg) which was "a sister school" of Grace Dieu handling "the high school part" of the educational work. As such, and as an Anglican, he has some *personal knowledge* of the educational activities of Grace Dieu from 1951 to 1958.

His knowledge has been corroborated and augmented by *interviews* with some past students and teachers of Grace Dieu, namely, Mr D M R Moloto (former teacher and inspector), Reverends D Masogo and W Phalane (past students and principals of the Practising School), Mr V Bambo (past student and businessman), Mr C A R Motsepe (past student and Deputy Secretary of Education in Botswana), Mr P P Mphahlele (past student and principal), and Father Richard Norburn (vice-principal of Grace Dieu from 1949 to 1958 now in Gaborone, Botswana).

Already the black clergy had the right of a seat and a vote in the Diocesan Synod, but as there were no black clergy, this did not help much (190:29). The first National Conference of the Diocese of Montreal, the membership of which was mainly from parishes and other lay preachers met in Fredericton in 1885 and strongly recommended a central mission centre for training teachers. The significance of this Council lay in serving as a double feedback medium between the congregations and the Diocesan Board of Missions. The latter body was directly responsible for the founding of Grace Hall, but the groundwork was done by Father Fuller himself. [See Pictures A and B showing the founder and early buildings of the College].

After roughly two years of work on the River, Father Fuller was able to report thus:

We ... had produced the skelton for future development; our centre for forming with Ontario College, West School, Ouellet, Printing Press and Shop; our skelton station along the River, with our both of preaching, evangelizing, congregations and schools; our visits to the country with their Outposts, Diocesan Conference and Winter Missions. There was the skelton fairly complete but waiting for three serious problems. We wanted Native Clergy; we wanted a Grace School; we wanted a school for training teachers. (191:2)

(The underlining is the writer's).

2.8.2 The Needs and Problems of the Reef Mission District

The four black helpers were poorly equipped for their job. Their English and their religious and general education were elementary, but they were most willing and hardworking (28:15). In the country congregations, Father Fuller records:

Well, we found a strange melody and a queer state of things; there were men in charge of these many little congregations, generally self-appointed, often hardly able to read or write, never able to do either well; the people had no Churches to meet in; no schools, no writs except the general idea that they were under a Bishop whom they never saw; no books, for they had all been commandeered by one side or the other (27:24).

The reverend gentlemen Collin Rae would have been most happy to see these people reduced to poverty. But work they did:

Yet holding with wonderful tenacity to every bit of Church Teaching that they had, and quite prepared to fall tooth and nail upon any Methodist teacher who might try to expound false doctrine (28:24).

To improve the system of information, conscious unity and general information in the District and the bigger world, a Church Magazine was introduced in 1904 (29:28). Things did improve. So in the Magazine and in the Synod of the Diocese, Father Fuller and his co-worker began to ask for a definite Council of the Church in which the Black congregations would be represented by their own people.

The first part of the report is devoted to a description of the work done during the year. It is divided into three main sections: the first deals with the general work of the office, the second with the work of the various departments, and the third with the work of the individual members of the staff. The second section is the most important, as it contains the details of the work done in each of the departments. The third section is also important, as it shows the work done by each of the members of the staff, and the results of their work.

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The Church of the Province of Southern Africa
acknowledges the supremacy of the Anglican
Communion:

Provided further that the Provincial Synod
of the Church of this Province shall be
subordinate to the higher authority of a
General Synod of the Churches of the
Anglican Communion, to which this Province
shall be invited to send representatives,
whenever such General Synod shall be
convened (15:18).

2.8 The Anglican Missionary Effort in the Transvaal

At the turn of the century the Diocese of Pretoria
received a new lease of life with the discovery of
gold on the Rand in 1886. By the early 1890's the
Parish of St Mary's in Johannesburg was established
(16:23). Of significance to this study is that the
Rev C B Shaw of the Parish of St Mary's had also, at
this time, started building up a black congregation
in the District (17:24). At the end of the Anglo-
Boer war in 1902, the Diocese had at least one
Mission centre in a Pretoria Black residential
area under Canon Farmer (18:8-9).

When Father Tulier arrived on the Rand in 1902 (19:10),
again (the first being 1877) the Boer Transvaal
State had been annexed by Britain, firstly, because
of its gold; and secondly, because of its being in
the British 'sphere of influence'. Be that as it
may, by the turn of the century the Boers and the
Transvaal Blacks, and Blacks elsewhere in Southern
Africa, were kept under control and subjected to
British discipline.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, honored as "first among equals", is an important symbol of unity among 35 million Anglicans, and is frequently expected to speak as their spokesman in international and ecumenical affairs. Other symbols of unity among Anglicans are the Book of Common Prayer - not in any different versions, and traditions throughout the world - and the Lambeth Conference which brings together all diocesan bishops for mutual consultation once a decade. English language and culture, which were formerly important bonds of unity, are now less significant as the Anglican Communion grows rapidly in Africa, Asia and other non-English speaking countries. (14:30)

At present there are forty-three provinces in the Anglican Communion. Each Province is led by an Archbishop (Metropolitan), Primate, or Presiding Bishop.

A Diocese is an aggregation of parishes and mission congregations under the administrative and pastoral care of a bishop. In Anglican tradition, a "local church" in its fullness is thus not a single congregation but the common life of all who share the leadership of the same bishop. A frequent goal of Anglican mission is to establish an indigenous episcopate and an independent church, to make its own witness in, and to share the life of each politically independent country where Anglicans are found in sufficient numbers to make this possible.

As Anglicans spread to a growing number of countries during the missionary and colonial expansion of the nineteenth century, it was felt desirable that, at least, the bishops should meet together from time to time, to co-ordinate planning, strengthen the bonds of unity and to consult about major issues facing the church.

and further, it disallows for itself
the right of altering any of the aforesaid
Standards of Faith and Doctrine (13:15).

Grace Dieu, the subject of this study, was in the
Diocese of Pretoria, although its successor - the
present Setotoane College of Education now
falls in the new Diocese of St Mark the Evangelist
with headquarters at Pietersburg.

2.7 The Anglican Communion

The use of the word "Province" in association with
the Anglican Church is meant to suggest an
administrative unit of the Church in various parts
of the world. The head of such a unit is an
Archbishop or Metropolitan. The body of the world-
wide spread of such units constitutes the Anglican
Communion - "Communion" here meaning believing in
and sharing the same "Standards of Faith and
Doctrine". Robert Harris describes The Anglican
Communion in the following terms:

The Anglican Communion, which exists on all
continents of the world, is a fellowship
within the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic
Church of those duly constituted dioceses,
provinces or regional churches in communion
with each other and with the See of
Canterbury. The relationship between them
is based on recognition of a common history,
deriving from the Church of England, a
common tradition of doctrine, discipline
and worship, and mutual responsibility and
interdependence in their missionary task.
It is a freely chosen partnership, with
emphasis on the autonomy and independence
of the various branches of the Church.

The Diocese of Pretoria was in fact the ninth Diocese to be founded in the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Its first Bishop was Dr Henry Brindham Bousfield. At its establishment the Diocese of Pretoria included Johannesburg. However, in 1922, the Diocese of Johannesburg was established and became the twelfth diocese to be founded in the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. The eighteenth Diocese, in this process of multiplying Dioceses, is the Diocese of St Mark the Evangelist at Johannesburg founded in the year of grace, 1987. Up till its establishment, the Diocese of St Mark the Evangelist has been part of the Diocese of Pretoria.

In 1870 the Church of the Province of Southern Africa drew up and adopted its constitution (12:15). The Bishop of Cape Town was then accepted as Metropolitan. The Diocese became an Archbishopric in 1897, the year of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria. The constitution indicates clearly that the Church of the Province of Southern Africa is essentially one with "the Mother Church" in England:

The Church of the Province of Southern Africa, otherwise known as the Church of England in these parts, retains the doctrine, sacraments, and disciplines of Christ as the same are contained and commanded in Holy Scripture according as the Church of England has set forth the same in her standards of Faith and Doctrine, and in reverence the Book of Common Prayer, and of Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, to be used, according to the form therein prescribed, in the Public Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Holy Offices; and it accepts the English version of the Holy Scriptures as appointed to be read in Churches;

Thirdly, the Elizabethan churchmen applied the principle of hierarchy. The Church and the State were for them inseparable, two aspects of one whole, and thus the establishment was not just a useful expedient, it was an essential expression of the unity of the secular and spiritual realms. (10:161)

Today the Archbishop of Canterbury is the Administrative and Spiritual Head of the Church of England, and the King or Queen of England is its Titular Head.

The Founding of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, 1847

From 1806 to 1847, the Anglican Clergy at the Cape were licensed from, and were part of, their home dioceses in England. Before 1820, many of them were army chaplains. It was only in 1847 that Dr Robert Gray arrived in Cape Town from England to become the first Bishop of the Diocese of Cape Town. This event marks the founding of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. The vast Diocese of Cape Town was reduced by the establishment of four more Dioceses: Natal in 1853, Grahamstown also in 1853, St Helena in 1859 and then Bloemfontein in 1863, whose first Bishop was Dr Edward Twells (11:107). Bishop Twells, a much travelled man, was responsible for licensing the first clergy in the Transvaal. As the result of this, the Diocese of Pretoria came into being, in 1878, with encouragement from the Bishop of Zululand (Natal) Diocese having been founded in 1870, as he found himself being asked to give some help to people in the Transvaal.

Elizabeth's goal was uniformity in the State and in the Church, but as soon as attempts were made to enforce it, rifts appeared in the national life. Archbishop Parker issued a Book of Homilies and a Catechism, and in addition, his so-called Advertisements. The cumulative effect of these formulations of doctrine and Order brought out into the open a considerable body who refused to accept the partial reformation as adequate or final.

The Puritans were those who longed for, and tried to establish, a Church which was pure, by which they meant one in accord with New Testament doctrine and practice. Though these reformers had naturally been much influenced by the continental reformers, they were essentially 'native'. There were convinced 'nonconformists' in the land, and among them were those who looked to Calvin both in theology and in the realm of Church Order.

The other extreme opposition party, the Roman Catholics in the north of England, remained strong and unreconciled. The hopes of the Roman Catholics were not strengthened by the action of Pope Pius V in publishing a Bull proclaiming the deposition of Elizabeth, for by this action all Roman Catholics were made potential traitors. The massacre in France on St Bartholomew's Day (1572) also helped to harden the feeling of England against 'papists', while the sailing of the Armada in 1588 confirmed in many the belief that Roman Catholicism and treason were virtually synonymous. (p. 160).

parsecutory laws against the Lollards and heretics were re-enacted, and inevitably there was a considerable number of victims, including Thomas Cranmer who will ever be remembered for his litany and his Books of Common Prayer, with their ordered and dignified liturgy, and their many beautiful collects. The Anglican Church owes him a priceless debt. (8:159).

2.5 The Elizabethan Settlement of 1559

When Elizabeth succeeded her step-sister on the throne she found very little unity in the country except a widespread dislike of extremes, that is, the Edwardian Protestantism on one hand, and the Marian Catholicism on the other. Mary had most effectively ended Rome's chance of success; her Spanish marriage had contributed much to this. The new queen was a Protestant, but whether she had a real and personal faith is open to doubt. Her outlook was calculating and cool, and for her religion was part of the State and could be used as an instrument of policy.

An Act of Supremacy, 1559, whereby the Queen was declared the 'Supreme Governor' of the Church in England, and an Act of Uniformity, 1559, which made it obligatory for all to join in one public worship according to the rules laid down, were placed again on the statute book, and were rigorously enforced. Matthew Parker, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, was a reformer, and he proved to be cast in just the right mould for the Queen, being able and vigorous but not extreme. In fact, he represented the average clergy in the country.

Henry himself and Cranmer were responsible for the
Ten Articles of 1536, which laid down that the
people should be taught the Bible and the three
Catholic creeds. Justification was by faith and
good works; Christ was physically present at the
Eucharist; masses for the dead, invocation of saints,
and the use of images were all desirable. Three
years later there was issued a more 'Catholic'
statement, the Six Articles, in which
transubstantiation, communion in one kind, and the
celibacy of the clergy were insisted upon.

The reign of Edward VI (1547-1553) witnessed the
triumph of Protestantism in England. The young
king had been brought up a Protestant, and the
Council appointed for his minority was predominantly
Protestant too. But despite the apparent success
of the Reformation, all was not well. Martin Bucer
observed: 'All is done by ordinances, which the
greater part of the people obey very grudgingly.'
(7:158). Although in London and in South-East
England the Protestants were strong, the majority
of the people had a hankering after the old ways.

2.4 The Marian Catholic Interlude 1553-1558

Thus it is not really surprising that the daughter of
Catherine of Aragon, who succeeded her step-brother
and sought to restore the papal supremacy, had much
popular support. Parliament submitted to the papal
authority, though the confiscated Church property
was not restored.

Assured of popular support, Henry sought by stages to secure the submission of the clergy and to wear them away from allegiance to the Papacy. He forbade the payment of Annates and Peter's Pence, and the old statute of Praemunire was revived, forbidding the taking of suits outside the realm. Convocation was persuaded to declare Henry to be Supreme Head of the Church in England, and Parliament decreed that the Church had power to judge all ecclesiastical cases without reference to Rome. In 1533, the King was secretly married to Anne, Parliament declared the marriage legal, and by the Act of Supremacy (1534) declared that the King is and ought to be Supreme Head of the Church. The Pope was declared to possess no power greater than any other foreign bishop. Thus the breach with Rome was complete, and that which had been prepared for by many years was actually effected for Henry's own personal ends.

But, with the actual breach accomplished, other causes of disagreement arose. The Church of England had broken with the Papal See, but was it Protestant? Henry himself was by nature a conservative in churchmanship; he clung to the old ways, and took some pride in his reputation for orthodoxy. What Henry really wanted was the Church as it had been, with himself in the Pope's place of authority. Henry was an astute ruler who realized how little his people desired changes, and the steps he took were, in the main, popular. In terms of doctrine little reformation was either attempted or desired.

Biggs (4:125) puts it that behind the barrier of the Channel, churchmanship had developed strong nationalistic features even during the Middle Ages, when papal claims had made many restive. The degradation of the Papacy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had alienated the best minds in the Church, while Rome's financial claims had alienated the rulers and the nobility. Thus, when the king sought to cut the links with Rome, he found that he was supported by most of his subjects.

Political and economic considerations had therefore an important place in determining the breach with Rome; in fact, the one definite thing that can be said about the Reformation in England is that it was an act of state. But, over against that, it must be remembered that merely political considerations played but a small part in determining the minds of men towards reform, though they had much to do with shaping the form which the movement afterwards assumed.

2.3 The Break from Rome 1534

It was Henry VIII who made the breach with Rome, mapped out the course which the Church of England was to follow, and helped to give it some of its most distinctive features. The occasion was the divorce which the king desired. There is no reason to doubt that in his early days Henry was a sincere Roman Catholic who loved his Church. He entered the lists against Luther and wrote his treatise On the Seven Sacraments which brought him the title of Defender of the Faith from a grateful pope.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

Before the fourfold structure of aim, content, form (method) and functional outcome can be embarked upon in the four subsequent chapters of this study, it is necessary to give a short survey of the Anglican Church and the ideals and needs of this Church in as far as Blacks in the Transvaal were concerned at the turn of the century. The key-words in the title of this study, namely, 'Grace Dieu', 'the Anglican Church', and '1800-1858' make such a short survey imperative. In other words, the medium of operation for the fourfold structure must be understood.

2.2 England Before the Reformation

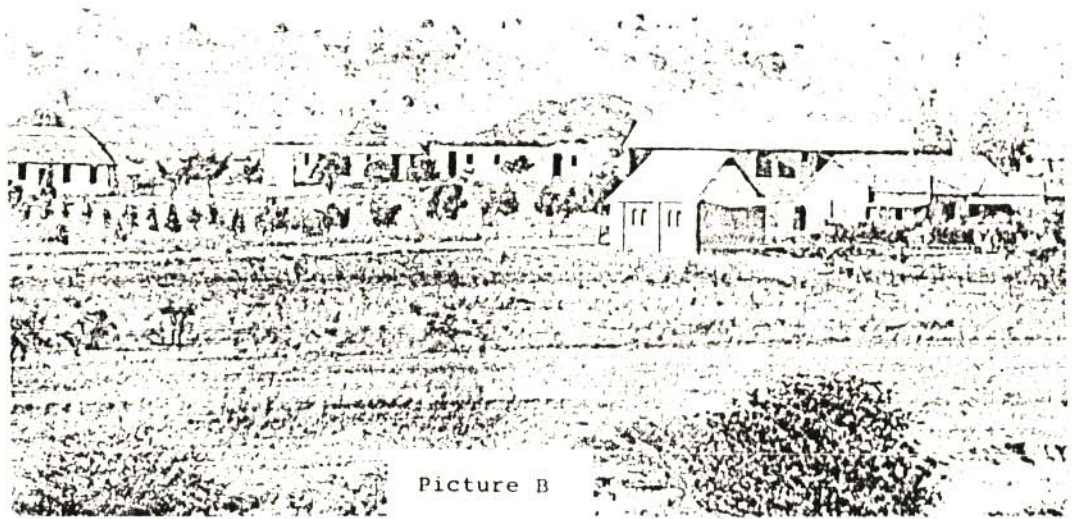
A radical, insular and isolationist spirit of the English people may be discerned throughout English history, not unconnected with the spirit of revolt against external authority. Some have suggested that this spirit has historical links with the Celts resisting the Saxons and Romans, and the Saxons resisting Norman overlordship (1:155). Lollardy (2:154) was by no means dead by the time of the Reformation, and in various parts of the country secret, sporadic, informal meetings for worship were being held, with an earlier simplicity resisting Roman ritual and intervention; with lay opposition to medieval priests and monks, annates and Peter's pence (3:128). Be that as it may, the Reformation in England was not an imported movement, although it was influenced by Lutheran, Zwinglian and Calvinist doctrines.

LITERATURE

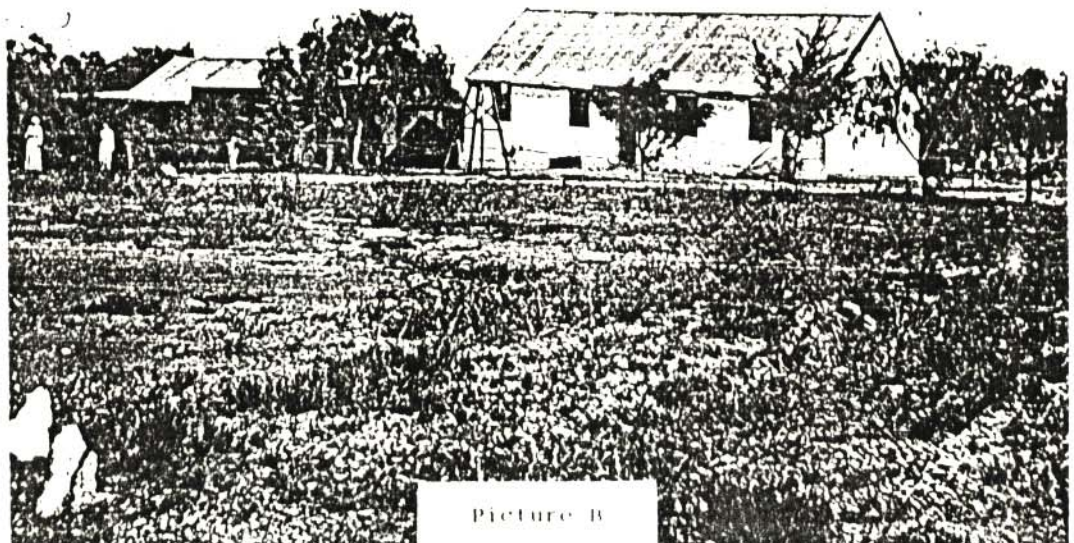
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Picture A



Picture B



Picture B

It was in the pursuit of meeting the underlined needs that Bishop Carter of Pretoria, who was always enthusiastic for the extension of the Church among the Black people, sent Father Fuller to the Northern Transvaal to investigate the possibility of establishing a mission centre.

2.8.3 The Anglican Church Amongst Blacks in the Northern Transvaal (Pietersburg) at the Turn of the Century

In 1904, the Vicar of Pietersburg, the Rev A G Forbes, had actually asked Bishop Carter for someone to take over mission work in his area (32:1). So Father Fuller came up to Pietersburg in the summer time to visit any Black congregations there might be, because the Rev Forbes (himself a former missionary in Natal) could not cope with developing Black Christianity in a populous region like the Northern Transvaal.

The Black congregations in the Pietersburg East and West Mission Districts have their origins from the converts from the Kimberley Diamond and Johannesburg Gold Mines. During the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), these congregations were visited by British army chaplains under the auspices of the Pietersburg Parish incumbents, and through the agency of interpreter and lay preacher Mr W M Phaleng (Later Father Fuller's guide on tour of Pietersburg East and West Missions and co-worker at Grace Dieu and priest). The Black congregation in Pietersburg met in the old Zoutpansberg Printing Office on Sundays, but the venue was also used as a schoolroom.

These schooling activities later (1913) became the Khaiso Secondary School under the supervision of Deaconess Alice Snow. It is interesting that more than eighty years have passed before a Diocese was established to try and cope with Black evangelisation in the Northern Transvaal.

The first Black congregation to be visited by Father Fuller was at Witkopje, some ten kilometers south-east of Pietersburg. After Witkopje, (present Silicon Mines) Father Fuller visited Moletji. At Moletji, about 30 kilometers north-west of Pietersburg, he found four little groups of Anglicans at distances of about ten kilometers (33:69). One of the four congregations, St Thomas at a place called Ga-Hlahla, was established well before 1903. At the chief's place, St Mary's, there was also a school established by 1904. The other two congregations were most probably St James at Ga-Manamela and St Luke at Ga-Chokoe. Father Fuller describes the state of the congregations as follows:

From a Church point of view they were extremely primitive. There was only one place where they had anything to be called a Church. Books were extremely rare; a surplice was unknown; the singing beggared description - I don't quite know what this means, but it sounds a good strong expression - and theology had not arrived. And there were rumours of other little groups of Church people much further away to the west. (34:69).

The Moletji congregations formed part of the nucleus of the Pietersburg West Mission District, now Parish of Moletji and Matlala.

Accompanied by the Moletji schoolmaster, and on bicycle, Father Fuller also visited Ga-Mamabolo, about 35 kilometers east of Pietersburg. Under a big tree, and with between thirty and forty men, Father Fuller held a long palaver:

Now this was the question, and one of principle. The people had been Lutherans. Rightly or wrongly they were convinced that the Lutheran authorities had treated them unjustly in a question between them and the Native Chief; they declared, and held to their declaration, that not only had they separated from the Lutherans but also that the separation was vital and permanent (35:71).

Father Fuller's line of argument was that they should go back to their church because, firstly, the Anglican Church did not need wobblers; and secondly, the breakaway was not a doctrinal matter. It was only when they brought out their counter decision to join the Ethiopians, an African separatist church movement (36:40-46), that he relented. This was the beginning of the congregation of St Andrews at Tshware, some six kilometers east of the University of the North.

The other congregation visited was across the mountains, most probably the now defunct St Philip's at Thune. On their way back to Pietersburg, they visited St Augustine's at Ga-Mothiba, where he found the church building literally built on a rock because of the problem of ants. They also visited another small congregation near Ga-Mothiba, the now defunct St Paul's at Kalkfontein.

These congregations later became the Pietersburg East Mission District, now the Parish of Tlhatlaganya. Father Fuller was in-charge of this Mission District from 1920 to 1921.

Father Fuller found the country within a radius of forty kilometers of Pietersburg healthy and charming; but for a priest, there is more than that:

there is the call of those hundreds of thousands, turning in a wonderful way to thoughts of God, and very often looking to the white man to show them the way. For hundreds of miles in the northern country, all the way to the Rhodesian and the Portuguese borders there is teeming population of heathen, and we must not tarry too long if we are to help them. (37:77).

2.8.4 A Decision on a Mission Centre in the Northern Transvaal is Made

By the end of this first visit to the North, Father Fuller had two problem areas to decide on, namely, *the needs and problems of the Reef Mission Centre as described in 2.8.2 above, and the obvious need of another mission centre in the Northern Transvaal.* He felt it was impossible to work at a mission district from a centre more than three-hundred kilometers away. So the question of having some place where he could train teachers and extend his ministrations to the Black people in the Northern Transvaal at the same time was growing more and more pressing (38:78). A large piece of land at some distance from the town of Pietersburg would be suitable, he decided.

After reporting to the Bishop he came to Pietersburg again later in the year to scout for a farm. He was accompanied by Mr W M Phaleng. With the help of a storekeeper he met, he came to a farm - Jakhalsfontein, some thirty kilometers west of Pietersburg. As this farm was cheaper than another farm on the road by Bloed River which he really wanted, he decided to buy Jakhalsfontein (39:1). About the same time a benefactor in England had sent R600,00 to Father Nash to be used for some Black Mission as a memorial for a dead loved one. This amount was just sufficient to buy the roughly five hundred hectares Jakhalsfontein.

Later in 1905, the Diocesan Board of Missions at Pretoria resolved that a school for Black teachers should be instituted at Jakhalsfontein, and be under the management of the Community of the Resurrection (40:8). The initial provision of buildings, water supply and bursaries would be financed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts Bicentenary Fund Committee and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The Government would provide the initial equipment and some part of the schoolmaster's salary (41:8).

2.9 Grace Dieu is Founded, 1906

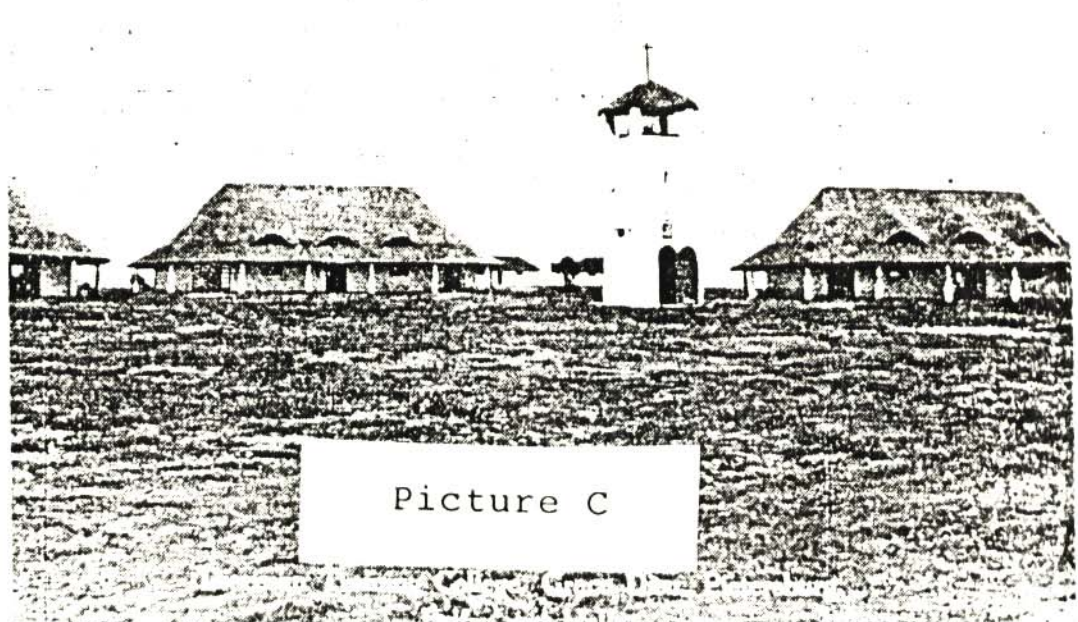
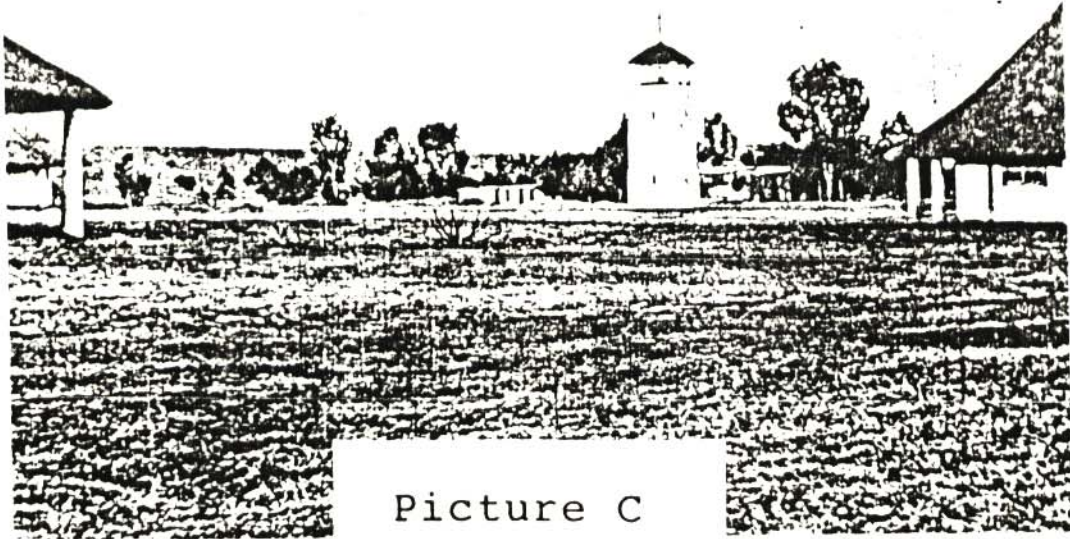
In July 1906, the Practising School opened with seven pupils with Mr W M Phaleng as schoolmaster. In August of the same year, Mr C O'Dell of Zoutpansdrift (Potgietersrus) arrived as first headmaster, and six students were registered in the Training School.

The institution was, however, registered in 1907 with the enthusiastic support of Inspector Clarke of the Transvaal Education Department. The Transvaal Education Department made it a condition for a grant-in-aid that girl-students should be admitted together with boy-students. This condition was, however, only met in 1913. Father Fuller's description of the founding is as follows:

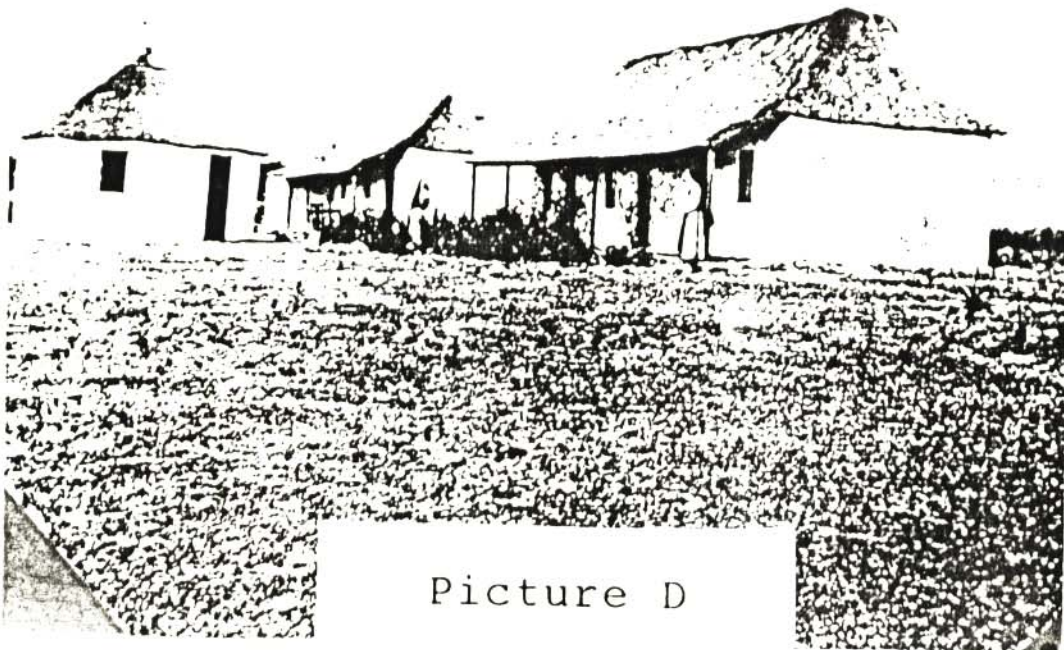
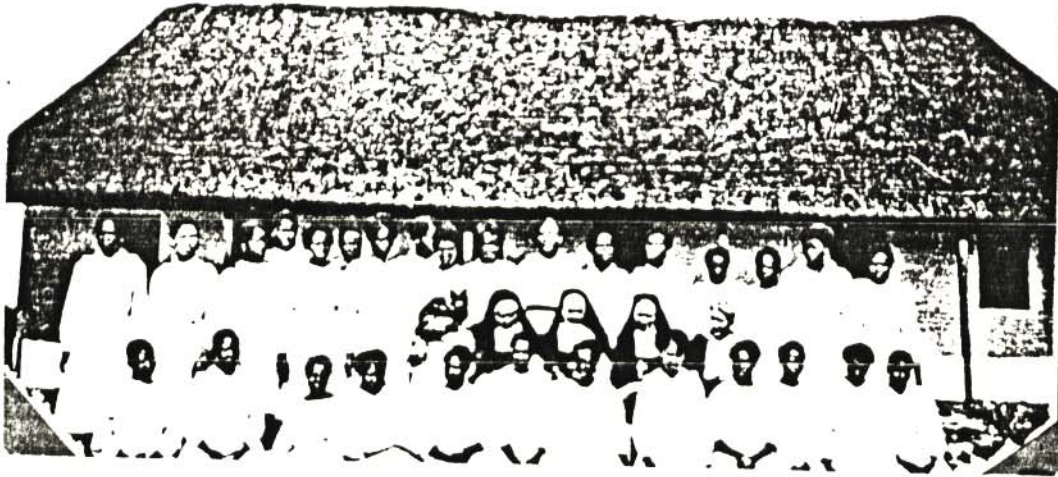
The buildings are necessarily rough and primitive, but we hope that before long young men trained in such arts as building and carpentry will join us and devote their talents to God's service in our Mission field; then we will have buildings worthy of their purpose and able by their beauty to inspire those who follow (42:104).

It is, however, people (students and teachers and programmes) that matter, and not buildings (43:4).

The Mission Centre as a whole was given the name Grace Dieu - literally meaning 'the Grace of God'. This was in honour of an old monastic house, Grace Dieu, in Leceistershire, Father Fuller's home shire. Situated between two Black tribal areas, Moletji and Mashashane, and the Matlala tribal area not very far off, in due course this Grace of God spread into these areas in the form of a multiple of congregations. This was the Pietersburg West Mission District, now the Parish of Moletji and Matlala. In this Mission District, Grace Dieu has always been affectionately referred to as "Kholetšheng" (At the College). [See Pictures C and D].



Picture D



Picture D

2.10 Conclusion

When Father Fuller arrived on the Reef in 1902 he soon realised that the Black congregations in the locations and in the neighbouring countryside needed Black cadets for Anglican trained teachers and for the priesthood. Anglican mission schools depended on Anglican teachers who received their training at institutions belonging to other Missionary denominations (mainly Botšhabelo founded in 1878 and Kilnerton founded in 1886 in the Transvaal) and unemployed teachers of other denominations.

At about the same time the Northern Transvaal also needed a mission centre and a missionary to look after the budding Black congregations, and for further evangelisation. *The above, the spirit of the Anglican Church at the time to open up mission schools and churches whenever and wherever possible, and the encouragement of Inspector Clarke of the Transvaal Education Department led to the founding of the Diocesan Training College at Grace Dieu in 1906.*

The mission centre was under the supervision of the Diocesan Board of Missions, but registered as the property of the Diocesan Board of Trustees. It was from that centre that Anglican mission work spread in all directions to cover the entire territory known as Lebowa today. It is from this centre that the Anglican Church trained its own teachers who helped to propagate the doctrine of the Church of Province of Southern Africa and education to their own kith and kin.

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The Ethiopian Movement can be traced back to the 1880's when an ordained Black Minister of the Wesleyan Church in Pretoria left his church because of Black - white politics in and out of Church. He founded an independent Black church. By 1890 Marabastad in Pretoria had become the nursery of Ethiopianism. The name of the movement is in appreciation of the centuries' old political and religious independence of the state of Ethiopia. The Rastafarian movement in Black thinking is but a branch of Ethiopianism (Ras Tafari is the family name of the Ethiopian royal family).

In 1885 a Black Wesleyan pastor in the Eastern Cape, James Dwane, broke away from his church and went to America to return in 1897 as General Superintendent of the Ethiopian Church in South Africa and began to organize the A M E as a branch of the American institution. In 1900 he made overtures to the Anglican Church and was accepted into Anglicanism on certain conditions with his following and appointed Provincial of the Order of Ethiopia. Father Fuller's palaver with and acceptance of the Mamabolo dissident Lutherans in 1904 must be seen against this background. Today (1987) the Order of Ethiopia in association with the Anglican Church is led by Bishop Dwane, a grandson of James Dwane.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE ANGLICAN PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE AND AIMS OF EDUCATION AT GRACE DIEU

3.1 Introduction

In section 2.8 of the foregoing chapter it has been indicated that the Pretoria Diocesan Board of Missions wished to train their own Anglican teachers-cum-lay preachers at their own training college primarily for their own Church schools. This statement of affairs implies certain essential questions to be posed and answered, namely, *To what purpose did Grace Dieu educate and why?* Any attempt to answer these questions implies an own Anglican philosophy of life which in turn forms the basis for the selection of aims of education.

In this chapter such an own philosophy of life as the basis for the selection of aims of education for the Diocesan Training College at Grace Dieu will be discussed. Indeed fifty years (1955) after the founding of the College a crisis occurred when this strong wish and determination to train their own teachers according to their own philosophy of life was interfered with by the state. This indicates the extent to which the philosophy of life and its link with educational aims are important.

3.2 What a Philosophy of Life is

What is a philosophy of life? Searle and Medlen (1:43) summarise it as the way we see our lives and the lives of others; what meaning there is in our lives and the lives of those we are responsible for, and what principles we hold in regard to the way we live our lives in relation to others.

From the foregoing there has come the understanding that the philosophy of life is the means by which man tries to understand himself and the world he lives in. It is man's guide in looking at life and human conduct; it is man's guide in determining his ideals and the way he utilises these ideals. Of relevance here is the contextualisation of these meanings in the Anglican Church.

3.3 What the Anglican Philosophy of Life is

Since the Oxford Movement of 1833, which brought about a definite swing towards Roman Catholicism in the Anglican Church, one never quite knows what to expect when one goes to an Anglican service in a church which one has not attended before. The reason for this is the great variety of forms of worship and belief found in the Anglican Communion thereafter. Today some Anglican services are hardly distinguishable from those of the Roman Catholic Church: this is the 'high church' or Anglo-Catholic wing. On the other hand, some Anglican services may be extremely plain: this is the 'low church' or Protestant wing. This situation in the Church obviously makes for a variety of positions in the Anglican Philosophy of Life.

The Community of the Resurrection founded in 1892 (2:170), of which Father Fuller was a member, is a 'high church' religious order. The Church of the Province of Southern Africa is of a very 'high church persuasion'. The Anglican Philosophy of Life is most evidently reflected in the Anglican Spiritual Tradition, which is essentially the current doctrinal principles of the Church.

3.3.1 The Anglican Spiritual Tradition as the Anglican Philosophy of Life

The Anglican Spiritual Tradition may be itemised and discussed as in the paragraphs that follow.

3.3.1.1 The Anglican Spiritual Tradition as both Catholic and Protestant

The Anglican Spiritual Tradition is both Catholic and Protestant. It is Catholic first of all in its forms of worship. The Anglican Church, in the first place, remained part of the Western European Church until 1534 when King Henry VIII of England broke with Rome, and the Church of England became independent. *This made little difference to doctrinal matters except for belief in the papacy, which was no part of the Catholic faith as expressed in the three Creeds of the Church (3:216).* The Anglican Catholicism (The Church) is based on the worship of the early Primitive Church before the Middle Ages when certain doctrines and practices were planted in the Church.

The Anglican Church is Protestant in the second place in that *it is Biblical, prophetic and based on the preaching of the Word*, emphasising the personal relation of the soul to God, and greatly concerned with man and his needs (4:211). This Anglican Spiritual Tradition makes for a philosophy of life which is neither Roman-Catholic nor Protestant, neither Nonconformist nor "earth-bound", *but Anglican.*

3.3.1.2 The Anglican Spiritual Tradition and The Book of Common Prayer

The Book of Common Prayer keeps to a fixed liturgy, allowing no place for extemporary prayer or self-devised services of praise and preaching such as are common in nonconformist churches. It is fundamentally catholic in that it is based on the writings of the ancient Church Fathers and the traditions of the Church (5:212).

It is not merely a permissive liturgy, to be used or abandoned according to taste. It forms, with the Bible, "the authorised Missal and Breviary of the English Branch of the Catholic Church" (6:212). It contains a calendar whereby the worshipper is led through the Christian year, and kept informed of the saints. In addition, the following are indicated: Morning and Evening Prayer, to be said daily, and which contain a confession of sin, the Psalms and Canticles, two readings from the Bible and a number of prayers; the communion service with collects, epistles and gospels for every Sunday and festival of the Church's year; and services of baptism, confirmation, matrimony, visitation of the sick (with an act of penitence) and burial of the dead.

It was intended to contain all that was necessary for daily worship and the Occasional Offices, a catechism setting out what a Christian should believe and be, the Ten Commandments, as the basis of Christian behaviour both towards God and towards man; and the Litany, the Athanasian Creed, the thanksgiving of women after childbirth, forms of prayer to be used at sea and on the anniversary of the day of accession of the reigning sovereign.

The Prayer Book is thus meant to meet every occasion, and to need nothing but the Bible to go with it. With these two books, the parish priest could conduct his services every day, and, indeed, the Prayer Book has been used daily in every cathedral and in most parish churches:

It is full of the liberal and scriptural catholicism which is the basis of all Anglican thought, and which stems down from the New Testament, through the Fathers, to the first centuries of the Church's life, before it became overloaded with medieval customs and theology which the reformers were anxious to get rid of (7:213).

It gives a lot for the laity in the congregation to say and to do; it holds up the ideal of 'holiness and righteousness' (which are mentioned no less than twelve times in its pages); it is truly sacramental with all the emphasis upon the Holy Communion which is verily, 'the Body and Blood of Christ' to the faithful.

The Catholic Church is mentioned in the three Creeds; but the Athanasian Creed specifically begins with the words: "*Whosoever will be saved: before all things it is necessary that he hold (sic) the Catholic Faith*" (8:21). Not the faith as taught by the Roman Catholic or any Protestant Church, but the faith of the Catholic Church reaching far back into the first few centuries of Christendom. The Prayer Book is the expression of this faith and:

doth not contain in it any thing contrary to the Word of God, or to sound Doctrine, or which a godly man may not with a good Conscience use and submit unto, or which is not fairly defensible against any that shall oppose the same (9:215).

With the abandonment of the papacy, great power was given by the Church to the bishop, who became the chief source of authority in the Church. He is taken very seriously in all Anglican teaching. The Prayer Book (10:5) says that where there is any doubt about how the services are to be conducted, reference should be made to the bishop of the diocese; he is to be informed of anyone refused permission to receive the sacrament; he is to give the absolution and the blessing if he is present at any service of Holy Communion; he is to be informed of any baptism to such as are of 'riper years'; he conducts all confirmations and ordinations; he is likened to the apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and doctors of the Church, and is ordered to be 'a shepherd, not a wolf to the flock of Christ'.

All this gives great authority to the bishop whose office is drawn from the 'Holy Scripture and the ancient canons' of the Church of God. This takes us back to the early Church, long before the Pope or Bishop of Rome emerged as sovereign pontiff.

3.3.1.3 The Anglican Spiritual Tradition and The Thirty-nine Articles

The Thirty-nine Articles are also loved by the evangelical (Protestant) party in the Church.

But they represent what was the teaching of the Church in the sixteenth century, and things have changed considerably since then. Predestination and election (i.e. being specially chosen) are something which not many members of the Anglican Communion would nowadays accept, nor that "works done before the grace of Christ and the Inspiration of his Spirit are not pleasant to God" (11:207-208), which seems to rule out all good work done by unbelievers as having 'the nature of sin'.

The part of the Articles which the Evangelicals hold firmly is the declaration that the Bible contains all things necessary to salvation, and the teaching about sin and redemption, predestination and justification, all of which are either Lutheran or Calvinist in their origin. But the Thirty-nine Articles are also ceasing to have the authority which was once theirs. They are no longer regarded as a test of loyalty and orthodoxy.

3.3.1.4 The Anglican Spiritual Tradition and Sin

Sin is regarded as a very real thing, underrated by writers of the present day. Sin means transgression against God's laws and will, and caring for the world and all that this life has to offer when, in fact, everything that we do should centre in God. This is something which affects everyone. Sin is either inherited, as is the sin of Adam and Eve in the Garden, or committed 'in thought, word, and deed, and in what we have left undone'.

It has run through all Anglican teaching from the Reformation to comparatively modern times, when, like so much else, it is beginning to fade away as people accept the teaching of the psychologists.

Sin is universal and profound. It can be forgiven only by Christ and his redeeming death on the cross. It plays an important part in the Thirty-nine Articles where it is described as "the fault and corruption of the Nature of every man whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness ... and therefore deserveth God's wrath and damnation" (12:171). The Prayer Book is full of it. Morning and Evening Prayer start with a confession of sin in which the priest and the congregation say:

"We have erred and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep: we have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts; we have offended against thy holy laws; we have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not to have done; and there is no health in us" (13:3).

The Holy Communion service is full of the idea of sinfulness. "We acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness The remembrance of them is grievous unto us; the burden of them is intolerable" (14:236).

The thought of sin and its forgiveness is mentioned over and over again in the collects, where Anglicans pray that they may be delivered from their sins and wickedness.

Moorman (15:220) comments that there is, in fact, very little joy in the collects as printed in the Prayer Book: God is the God of justice rather than of love, the God who condemns and punishes us for our sins rather than the God who exhorts us to love one another in the spirit of Christ. He goes further to say that this means gloom rather than joy, sorrow rather than jubilation, as a fundamental part of the Christian religion. Perhaps sin is overrated, but the fact remains that man is born in sin, that he is a sinner all his life, and that he must confess his sins regularly.

The high-churchmen have taught people to confess their sins privately in the sacrament of penance, and to receive priestly absolution. Although many Anglicans would regard sacramental confession as unnecessary, and perhaps even wrong, they would not really mind other Anglicans doing it if it does them good. It is, after all, encouraged in the Prayer Book, where anyone whose conscience is disquieted with sin is told to go to a priest and open his grief to him so that by the ministry of God's holy Word he may receive the benefit of absolution.

3.3.1.5 The Anglican Spiritual Tradition and Good Behaviour

The Anglican Spiritual Tradition has always laid great emphasis on good behaviour as something most necessary to every believer in Christ. It demands that people live a good life, abstaining from the more conspicuous sins, giving alms to the poor, trying to live exemplary lives of the kind which would encourage their neighbours, and do good to the society of which they are part.

Good behaviour, family life, the training of their children, all these matter a great deal to the true Anglicans.

These are the people who go to church at least once a week, almost certainly to Holy Communion which has recently become the chief service to be held every Sunday morning. They say their prayers regularly, never allowing a day to pass without kneeling down by their bedside to pray. The prayers they use may perhaps be rather formal. Mental prayer or meditation is practised by some of the more devout, possibly when in retreat. Bede Frost makes a great appeal for this kind of mental prayer - being with God, attention to Him, reflection upon spiritual realities, "an intercourse of the spirit with God" (16:221).

They read their Bibles, though not as much as they used to do. They think about God a good deal. Some of them trust God as watching over them all the time. They attribute everything that happens to them to God, who tells them precisely what He wants them to do, does everything necessary for them, and is their universal Provider and Guide.

Others put their trust in Christ. They follow Him and try to be like Him in all that they do. They take His sayings very seriously. They read the Gospels assiduously, and try very hard to translate all that Christ said to modern conditions. They learn passages by heart, and meditate upon them as they go about their work.

The Anglican Communion is full of christocentric devotion and piety. Christ means everything to them; and many of them can name the place and the hour when, in St Paul's words, they 'put on Christ' and accepted Him as their Redeemer. From that moment their lives were dedicated to Him, wholly in His hands.

This devotion to Christ goes with considerable liberty of conscience. Anglicans are not bound by authority except that of the Bible, which is paramount. The Church, as such, does not count for very much, and it is often disregarded. They accept none of the authority of a Pope, of Canon Law, encyclicals or decrees. The best South African example of this is the so-called heretic first bishop of Natal, John Colenso, (1853-1883), who refused to insist that polygamists divorce their wives when baptised as ruled by the Church of the Province of Southern Africa under Bishop Gray of Cape Town (the Metropolitan) who finally excommunicated him in 1866.

Bishop Colenso's commitment to justice and truth caused him to champion the cause of Langalibalele in 1873-1874 and of Cetshwayo during the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879 in opposition to the policy of the Natal Colonial Government and the British Empire.

Evelyn Underhill (17:222) speaks of the Anglican spirit of reverence, sobriety, moral earnestness and sturdy realism; and is right to do so, for these are the characteristics of good Anglican piety.

The Anglican Spirit reverences God above all things. It also has respect for the saints, but eschews statuary and images which it thinks totally unnecessary to devotion. It loves ceremonial on big occasions like an ordination of a priest or enthronement of a bishop or a marriage of English royalty.

3.3.1.6 The Anglican Spiritual Tradition and a Sense of Mission

The Anglican Church has a very strong sense of mission. The history of its work overseas is remarkable. Men and women went out and gave their lives, in Africa or the Far East, in order to win souls for Christ and to build up the Church of God, and their work and their sacrifice are now bearing fruit abundantly.

The really important thing is to convince the unbelievers of the existence of God, of His goodness and love towards mankind, of His demands on us His children, and of the joy of serving Him. *The task of the mission is to bring men "to face both the guilt and the grandeur of the human soul" (18:222), through the Grace and Love of God that passeth all understanding. This is what Anglicanism, in the last resort, is always concerned with, the one thing that brings perpetual joy and peace to the believer.* Nothing could more clearly spell out the Anglican Spiritual Tradition, which is well described by Martin Thornton, who writes of the English School of Spirituality as:

sane, wise, ancient, modern, sound, and simple, with roots in the New Testament and the Fathers, and of noble pedigree, with its golden periods and its full quota of saints and doctors; never obtrusive, seldom in serious error, ever holding its essential place within the glorious diversity of Catholic Christendom (19:223).

3.3.2 The Anglican Spiritual Tradition and Effective and Satisfying Personal and Social Life

The Anglican Tradition as the Anglican Philosophy of Life is the basis for more specific and practical values for effective and satisfying personal and social life. Some of these specific and practical values are:

the recognition of the importance of every individual human being as a human being regardless of his race, national, social, or economic status; opportunity for wide participation in all phases of activities in the social groups in the society; encouragement of variability rather than demanding a single type of personality; faith in intelligence as a method of dealing with important problems rather than depending upon the authority of an autocratic or aristocratic group (20:34).

These were the values aimed at at 'Grace Dieu and all Anglican missionary educational institutions in South Africa and elsewhere.

The values suggest educational aims and objectives in the sense that they suggest the kinds of behaviour patterns, that is, the types of values and ideals, the habits and practices in terms of potential specialised skills, intellectual and emotional development, individual and social welfare, national consciousness and upliftment, the aesthetic and ethical awareness, and religious training and committedness as the overriding end-product. Indeed a most balanced adult. *These aspects of adulthood had to harmonise with the Anglican Spiritual Tradition as Anglican Philosophy of Life.* But Father Fuller and his successors were also aware of educational maxims:

The comprehensive goal of education must give due consideration to the life and reality that are. It must link up with, begin from and do justice to the child in his particular situation. In other words the ultimate goal, which the child ought to reach must take into account what he is and what he can and must become. (21:103).

This is evident in the discussion of the educational aims of Grace Dieu in the more than fifty years of its existence.

3.4 Aims of Education

Aims of education emanate from the philosophy of life. Their description and discussion are therefore imperative. Before the educational aims of Grace Dieu are indicated and discussed, it is essential to explain the meaning of educational aims as understood for purpose of this study. There is a difference between educational and teaching aims as shall be indicated below.

3.4.1 Human Actions and Aims

There is a particular relationship between human actions and aims.

3.4.2 The Educational Aims

Human actions and activities are always purposive or directed at a goal. The educative concurrence is yet another goal-directed activity. The pupil receives continuous support and guidance from the adult, with the aim of bringing about a change in him in terms of a specific philosophy of life and set of values. The educational aim to be achieved is, therefore, always discernible. *The ultimate aim of all education is to accompany the child to responsible and total adulthood as understood by the persons involved at that time.* When one makes a study of the teaching occurrence, this ultimate aim must always be borne in mind.

Stuart (22:35) says that when a person does something or performs a certain action, he always has something in mind. This indicates that man always hopes to achieve something with a specific action. The aim is that something which is to be achieved by means of the action as an ultimate result, somewhere beyond the action. *It may thus be concluded that the aim indicates the final destination to be reached, or that which lies hidden behind a particular action.*

He goes on to say that the aim describes the long term goal which a particular action hopes to realise; that the formulation of an aim is thus vague, abstract and couched in general terms; and that the extrinsic behaviour which can be observed, and which is performed in order to execute a particular action is not described by the aim (23:35). This is the function of the learning objectives which fall outside the scope of this study.

3.4.3 The Value of Aims in Education

The value of aims lies in the fact that they direct the specific actions which lead to realisation of the aim. These specific actions are the objectives which are repeatedly evaluated. The aim encompasses and directs the specific action or objective which must be executed in order to reach the aim. The more comprehensive the aim is formulated, the greater the likelihood that a specific action or aim can be judged and altered. The realisation of an aim will thus be facilitated by formulating it as completely as is possible. (24:35). The general exposition of aims, given above, now makes it possible to define teaching aims.

In short it would appear that the significance of educational aims lies in their attempt to characterise what is really worthwhile in terms of a given philosophy of life and set of values; *indeed to offer criteria whereby one can judge whether any one action or set of actions is a worthwhile one or whether it has been achieved.*

3.4.4 The Teaching Aims

Stuart (25:36) says that education can only be realised through the teaching event. This pronouncement implies that particular teaching aims also have to exist; that these teaching aims will of course be based on the educational aims. This pronouncement also implies the concrete school situation.

3.4.5 The Value of Teaching Aims

From what is said in the previous paragraphs, it is clear that (general) educational aims, as well as (particular) teaching aims, direct the activities in the school. These broad aims in turn give rise to subject content aims, which are to be realised by using specific syllabus themes. The realisation of the syllabus aims contributes to the child's gradual mastering of the life content by which adults live, which allows him to move closer to proper adulthood. Also, as far as the teacher is concerned, the syllabus aims will determine how he should set about planning and preparing, how he will instruct, which learning achievements he will expect of the pupils and how he will evaluate these achievements.

From what has been said about educational and teaching aims and their value, it is clear that firstly, the teacher must prespecify the outcomes of his teaching; secondly, that the teacher must adopt those means which he has reason to believe will lead to the prespecified outcomes.

The means would be, firstly, the content through which the outcomes would be achieved and, secondly, the particular methods employed by the teacher. The aims, the content and the method tailored to achieve these aims, and the final evaluation, would seem to be the educational-teaching model. In so far as teaching throughout a school or college is planned on those lines, this would seem to be the model of the curriculum. A statement of ultimate educational aims at Grace Dieu is therefore a necessary first step in this model.

3.5 The Educational Aims of Grace Dieu

Any comprehensive and universally valid aim of education conforms or ought to conform to certain fundamental aspects of the idea of adulthood. Some of these aspects are the physical, the emotional, the intellectual, the social, the historical and national, the aesthetic, the ethical, and the religious. These aspects of education and of adulthood will be understood invariably in given philosophies of life and set of values during a particular point in time. Van Vuuren (26:100) contends that within a given cultural pattern, every man in his own individual way gives shape to the idea of adulthood, but that the particularity is, however, also marked by multiformity. The fundamental aspects of the idea of adulthood as also aims of education must therefore be seen in both their unicity of man and their particularity and multiformity of purpose. These aspects of adulthood may thus never be seen as separate units but as unitary in structure and function.

3.5.1 The Physical Aspect

The physical aspect of adulthood involves the child and his progress to adulthood pre-eminently in his corporeality. The acquisition of specialised skills as well as sound hygienic habits is therefore important for the child to become in the human way what he can and ought to be. The physical aspect was taken into consideration at Grace Dieu.

For instance, in 1921 the Government Inspectors were happy that *order and neatness* prevailed in the school and that due care was given to the intellectual as well as the *physical* and moral development of the pupils (27:248). Again in 1927, when the members of the Government Native Commission visited the college, they were highly delighted with the *practical* nature of the work done (28:249). Indeed Government Education Departments in the whole country have always regarded book knowledge as a necessary means to the end of "true" native development i.e. development generally speaking, on agricultural or manual or practical and not on literary lines.

This "true" native development must have meant something else for the governments because the authorities at Grace Dieu were not against agricultural, technical, industrial or practical training, but they only did not regard these as priorities, Mphahlele (29:252) points out.

Indeed Grace Dieu introduced the Transvaal well-known Woodcarving Department in 1925, the Domestic Department in 1917 and the first Agricultural Instructor (an Afrikaner, a Mr Moolman) in 1944 (30:3-4), against the following White objections:

- *that the teaching of scientific farming and the useful arts to the natives would create a menace to white skilled workers and undermine the social conditions which prevail in the province;*
- *that the raising up of a class of skilled natives would tend to make native labour scarce for the different industries that employ this labour (31:252).*

The physical aspect of adulthood and therefore also of education was thus never ignored or neglected at Grace Dieu. In addition to the foregoing activities, recreational sports centred on inter-house matches in basket-ball, cricket, football and tennis throughout the year, while an annual Sports Day was held at Michaelmas (the patronal day of the College) when Houses again competed.

3.5.2 The Emotional Aspect

The emotional aspect of adulthood demands the least direct intervention because the emotional life at its best flourishes in an atmosphere of love which brings with it the essential feelings of security and being accepted (32:90). The courage to dare and conquer the unknown springs from these security and acceptance which in turn give rise to feelings of trust and safety.

At Grace Dieu the authorities and the staff were so committed and so dedicated to their work that they created the feelings of security, acceptance, trust and safety in their students. And this in itself made the students susceptible to the good and the beautiful, and open to religious and moral influence.

The foregoing statements can be supported quite amply. On his visit to Grace Dieu during Holy Week, Father Geoffrey (33:3) expressed satisfaction that the religious and *moral influence that was brought to bear upon the students was beyond praise.* Again Messrs Geen and Spence, visitors to the College during the Easter Week-end in 1948 say this about the atmosphere at the College:

Grace Dieu is the centre of a happy and useful Christian community, where white and black alike work and play together in preparation for the difficult yet vital task of racial co-operation, which must succeed in South Africa, if the country is to survive in the years that lie ahead (34:245).

The most touching evidence of the emotional response to the personal life and behaviour of the authorities and staff and their committedness to their work came in 1953 at the impending closure of the College. It was in the form of the unsolicited views of students in Form III. One said:

I feel that the College should not be closed but it should continue educating the students The Government can take over provided the Church is still there.

The main part of the College is the Church. The College came to power because of the Church. The College should not be sold to the Government because the Government may get rid of the Church which is the important part of this College. (35:1-2).

Another said -

They want to rob us of our mission schools. If they are not willing to abolish our churches but wanting to rule externally, well and good, let us give them that privilege, though we do not foresee what their future aim is. I imagine the College changed to a Secondary School when it has been one of the best Training Colleges for teachers. I also think of losing our teachers who have been very kind to us working hand in hand with us. (36:1-2).

Yet another said -

The Government should just hire the buildings because the Church is most important. Before we can proceed with our studies we must know about God first. If the Government hires everything the staff will be changed (sic). I think if the Sisters will look after the Girls that will be good indeed, and the Fathers to carry out the duties of God and look after the Boys and Hostel I hope that the school will not close down or else we are gone with the wind (37:1-2).

(The underlining is the writer's)

3.5.3 The Intellectual Aspect

The intellectual aspect of adulthood involves more than the acquisition or absorption of a certain quantity of knowledge.

Intellectual information must have qualitative meaning as well; it must improve the possibilities of the student and must have a favourable effect on his development as a person (38:91). To be able to cope with the unicity and multiplicity of man and the complexity of the human world, knowledge must foremost be a grip on the world and on life (39:92).

The intellectual aspect of adulthood should not be limited to rational knowledge; it should also include knowledge stemming from belief, intuition, love, art, etc. True intellectual knowledge and insight concerns man in his indivisibility. It enriches his life in its social context; it opens up possibilities of fulfilling the cultural task, and it sets higher moral demands on man to remain human (40:93).

Because an educational institution is primarily responsible for intellectual adulthood, this aspect featured prominently at Grace Dieu. A training College is an institution in which students learn *what* they will afterwards teach, and *how* they will teach it, and *why* they will teach it, and to what *purpose* they will teach it. *It is also the function of the training college to take the untried dependent youth and transform him from a mere thinker and imitator into an independent actor on the stage of life able to lead rather than be led (41:248).* This was apparently the most fundamental and the most difficult aim; and at Grace Dieu it was to be carried out in an Anglican Christian spiritual tradition.

To equip the student for this task the academic entrance qualification for the teacher-training course was then only Standard III in 1906, but in 1915 this was raised to Standard IV, and again in 1924 to Standard VI (42:1).

In 1935 the Cape Native Higher Primary Course for those with the Junior Certificate (Standard 8) was introduced, and in 1945, the Secondary School up to Junior Certificate (Standard 8 or Form III) was opened with the subsequent closure of the Native Teachers' Lower Certificate Course (Third Year), and the introduction of the Native Higher Primary Teachers' Course (43:4). At the time of the closure of the College in 1958 the Secondary School was extended to matriculation (Standard 10 or Form V). Further attention will be given to this aspect when the educational content or curriculum is discussed in chapter 4.

3.5.4 The Social Aspect

The social aspect of adulthood involves man as man-in-community. Only in, and through, the community can man properly respond to his individual calling and give proper shape to his humanness (44:93), without of course surrendering his own personality. Man's existence therefore essentially means co-existence. On the other hand community indicates human ties, human co-existence and co-existing self-realisation (45:93). The social aspect of adulthood as also an aim of education thus means the student himself must be given the chance to adopt a standpoint in the social sphere, to make his own choices and bear responsibility for them, and at the same time to accept responsibility for the welfare of his fellow-men.

At Grace Dieu the sporting and recreational activities mentioned in 3.5.1 provided the training of the student in the social aspect, as well as the friendly informal teacher-student, priest-student, student-student, school-school and student-community relationships. The years 1925-27 will always be remembered as the time of drought in the Pietersburg district. People in the district were existing on three meals a week while actual cases of starvation were not unknown. As soon as the students of Grace Dieu knew of the terrible conditions in the neighbourhood they asked permission to give up some of their own meals and to be allowed to take the food thus saved to homes in the district. This permission was gladly given, and each Sunday groups of boys were to be seen carrying bags of mealie-meal to those in such distress.

Again through the Student Christian Movement, a world-wide organisation introduced in 1923, student-members of which carried out evangelisation missions in the outlying tribal areas of Moletji, Mashashane, and Matlala, the social as well as the religious aspects were trained (46:11). The Student Christian Movement was introduced by Mr Hazael Maimane, an ex-student of the College, then member of the staff in 1923 who was its first Chairman. Mr Maimane was ordained priest in 1926 and became the first resident priest-in-charge in the Pietersburg East Mission District (now Parish of Tlhatlaganya) stationed at St Thomas Spitzkop in 1930.

However, the famous non-academic social institution given to Black education, South Africa and the world at large by Grace Dieu is the Pathfinder Movement founded by Father Woodfield in 1922 and its female counterpart - the Wayfarer Detachment in 1926. By his labour and unceasing encouragement it grew into an organisation extending throughout South Africa and beyond; and it was one of the proudest days of his life when Pathfinding was made a part of the Boy Scout Movement, and the Chief Scout himself, at a great rally held at Durban in 1936. He helped to draw up the new constitution.

With its motto of: *"We lead - others follow!"* (that is, path-finding or pioneering), its rallies and campings, its altars and religious services amongst the un-converted, and its non-racialism, its socialising impact was tremendous at Grace Dieu. One school inspector reported with utter satisfaction that he had noticed that *a greater desire for social service in the towns and villages came from those teachers trained at Grace Dieu than was usual in those trained at other Colleges* (47:242).

3.5.5 The Historical and National Aspect

The historical and national aspect of adulthood involves acceptance of common national values and the strengthening of such values by a member (48:95). To arouse the national sentiment in the student he must be taught and be made familiar with the religion, traditions, customs and history of his people.

At Grace Dieu the Anglican spiritual tradition as the philosophy of life and education pervaded all teaching. The specific and practical values for effective and satisfying personal and social life mentioned in 3.3.2 of this chapter were to be the measure for the religion, traditions, customs and history taught and made familiar to the student.

The accusations levelled at the spirit and aim of education described in the foregoing paragraph by Verwoerd (49:7) as "*blindly producing pupils trained on a European model*", was unfair and unfortunate. The fact of the matter was that Grace Dieu and the other English-speaking institutions were aiming at and teaching the religion, traditions, customs and history of the student's people and of the civilized Western world at large which produced a *true African nationalism at variance with the National Party Policy*.

There was no justification at all that the English-speaking missionary institutions like Grace Dieu were producing 'Black Englishmen'. This variance was, and is, in fact, the point of the clash between the State and the Church over 'the educated Native'. The Church on the one hand regarded him as:

Like one waking from a long sleep he sees himself treated as of no account, he resents the habitual tone of superiority adopted by those, whose only claim to patronise or dictate is that of colour (50:251).

The State's attitude on the other hand was and in all probability still is:

There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community, where he cannot be absorbed. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze. (51:24).

3.5.6 The Aesthetic Aspect

The aesthetic aspect of adulthood involves knowledge, experience, and creation of beauty as part of man's many ways of giving meaning to his being-in-the-world (52:96). This aspect of adulthood as an aim of education involves mainly the teaching of the student to experience, enjoy and appreciate the beautiful. The inspiration he draws from this may perhaps result in aesthetic creation. To Grace Dieu the experiential and the creative aspects of aesthetic education are of relevance. The best examples of this education are in the field of church music and woodcarving. Under Father Palmer (principal from 1912 to 1924) the singing in the chapel:

was raised to a level that is now traditional in the College to preserve. Many a Friday night the students would remain practising until past eleven, while Father Palmer dinned the Mass music into their heads, occasionally - may it be said? - by banging two heads together.

The result was wonderful, and the music then learnt has been passed on from one generation of students to another so that it remains quite fresh -- although slightly 'Bantuized' in the course of time. (53:2).

Writing of this quality of music in 1921, Bishop Talbot of Pretoria was greatly impressed:

I have not enjoyed anything for a long time so much as the singing here. There is no instrument, and Palmer starts all the hymns the congregation pick it up at once, and the result is quite wonderful. They sing very slowly, with long-too long-pauses at the end of each phrase or line, and with a curious rising and falling swell-like a wave which slowly breaks. The tone of the male voices is amazingly rich. At first I looked round to see whether there was an organ, and found it was only the sonorous quality of the voices which produced the effect like a diapason stop. They sing really good music, notably a Mass by some old fellow of Palestrina's time, whose name I have forgotten as I write, - but which I must get hold of. And the hymn singing is thrilling. I have never heard congregational singing like it. (54:1).

In as far as woodcarving is concerned:

The chief aim ----- is to show that the African artist has his own means of expression, and that he can submit, without loss of inspiration, to the discipline of technical training. That attitude which regards a carving as good because it was done by an African and not because it is a good piece of work (a very sentimentalist attitude and very bad for the African) needs to be stamped out; and it will only be done if the African learns the true technique of carving or of any art) and adds to that his own manner of seeing things.

The inspiration is there, the thorough grounding is still, in most instances, far to seek. But it can be done. (55:3).

3.5.7 The Ethical or Moral Aspect

The ethical or moral aspect of adulthood involves man-given ethical or moral choices to arouse the aspirational life and the appreciative life of the student to enable him to sense the moral good and obey the norms emanating from it (56:97). Every decided choice is related to man's philosophy of life which in turn involves giving preference to the higher values which enable man to fulfil his mission and give expression to his humanness. Man must always decide in freedom how he will choose; the good must be chosen because it is good, and the bad must be rejected because it is bad. Therefore, the ethical or moral aspect of adulthood as also aim of education essentially explains man's relation amongst human beings.

The Anglican spiritual tradition as Anglican philosophy of life and set of higher values especially (see 3.3.1) were, and, still, are the baseline for an Anglican's relations amongst human beings, and in relation to his God:

The name of the college itself, Grace Dieu, emphasises the moral element in the education and edification of Native life, the Grace of God. The students were taught above all the meaning of the Grace of God who made them 'in His Image' to live a godly, righteous and sober life and they were thoroughly drilled in the practice and use of the means of Grace, the church's precious heritage that 'we simply cannot keep within national limits, without denying the Love of the Father for all His children'. (57:6-7).

3.5.8 The Religious Aspect

The religious aspect of adulthood involves man's reaching out for certainty because of his openness for absolute help or leaning on a thing beyond his ability (58:98). In other words faith as "*the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen*" (59:11-1), dominates man's attitude to the world and other men. Man's religiousness means this enduring yearning for final stability, absolute peace and the most profound certainty. The religious aspect of education, therefore affects the existence of man in his deepest being, and it is therefore impossible to guide the student to self-reliance without in one way or another, giving him support in this aspect of adulthood.

At Grace Dieu, as evident in Chapter 2, the founder of the College, Father Fuller (Bishop from 1913) described the type of men needed in the following terms:

..... in this Mission we want men, and we want those who are ready to cut themselves free from the ties of the world in order to give themselves particularly to devotion to God and His work; for such men there is always an opening, whether they be priests or laymen, provided that they are in hard earnest and not afraid of obedience and simple life (60:109).

The general atmosphere of the College was geared towards this end although its main secular work was the training of Anglican teachers primarily for the Transvaal. Everything was to be done and applied to the building up of the City of God (61:109).

The College also served as headquarters of a 2 500 square miles mission district - later the parish of Moletji and Matlala. Each day there was a celebration of the Holy Eucharist in either the College or the Sisters' Chapel. Every Anglican student-product of the College was expected to extend the work of the College, namely, the evangelisation of the Blacks in the Transvaal. This could only be done if the College kept its training and education in general Christian and Anglican. It was therefore very important for the character-production of students to be taught by "missionary-hearted" teachers and not by teachers who would call the students "damned niggers", and accusing the missionaries of "ruining the kafirs by education" because "the Christian Kafir was no good" (62:11). In this spirit, the Grace Dieu authorities believed:

The work of the church amongst the Natives is bound up with education ... every Mission Station should include not only a church but a school where the Christian Faith is taught as an integral part of education (63:5).

In other words, *it is the care of man in the honour of God* that is decisive in education. It is therefore not surprising that the College chapel was the scene of all the great functions connected with the administration of the College:

here the school captains are admitted to office, and here takes place the most moving ceremony of the year, the annual dismissal of those students who are leaving. The Principal lays his hand on each student's shoulder and blesses him in his going out, and sends him forth in the name of the Lord. (64:10).

One is reminded of the knights-at-arms of the Age of Chivalry.

3.6 Conclusion

In concluding this chapter the writer wishes to make the following observations:

The writer wishes to emphasize the significance for multiformity of the educational aims. Their having been discussed in their particularity does not in any way suggest that they do not subsume or imply one another. They are only facets of education as a unit and must not be seen as separate components. What is significant about these aims is that the Grace Dieu authorities regarded Anglican - Christianity as the overriding medium for education; the intellectual and other aspects were regarded as mere tools to achieve the overriding religious purpose.

The Grace Dieu authorities *believed that it is very nice to be clever, but that it is much more important to be good, honest and straightforward.* The State, on the other hand, seems to have regarded the intellectual manual-practical aspects as the basis for teaching and "*native development*" and the most important end of education. In short, the Grace Dieu authorities believed in *the ideal of education of training the whole personality, body mind and spirit, and that all true Education should be based on a strong Christian foundation (65:1).* Spiritual leadership was therefore a requirement for principals of missionary educational institutions.

The Anglican Spiritual Tradition as the Anglican philosophy of life dictated educational aims at Grace Dieu which embraced: the dignity of every human being, opportunity for participation in all phases of life, encouragement of variability rather than demanding a single type of personality, and faith in intelligence rather than dependence on the authority of race or autocratic group - as values for effective and satisfying personal and social life. Canon Bull, a master at Diocesan College, Cape Town, a similar institution as Grace Dieu but for Whites, talked of trying "*to make very ordinary (little) boys a little less ordinary*" (66:3).

And that, doubtless, has been the no easy aim of the Grace Dieu College "*throughout its fifty years*"; to give the young men and women who came to it an "*extra plus*" to start off in life. To express this intention and sentiment and the difficulties involved, the motto: "*Per ardua ad astra*" (By hard work to the stars) was adopted in 1921. To achieve these aims and values, the work of the Church was always to be bound up with African education.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE CONTENT OF EDUCATION AT GRACE DIEU

4.1 Introduction

In as much as there is a relation between a philosophy of life and educational aims as we have seen in the previous chapter, it is evident that there is a relation between educational aims and educational content. In other words, the question: *To what purpose does man educate (aims), and why (philosophy of life)*, must be complemented by the question: *What to teach?*, to realize the educational aims. In other words, the perennial question: *'Which knowledge is of most worth to man?'* can be answered thus: that knowledge which meets the educational aims of that society at that time. This chapter handles the answer to the question: what was taught at Grace Dieu to realize the educational aims discussed in the previous chapter?

4.2 The Concepts Educational Content and Curriculum

Like in the case of 'a philosophy of life' and 'educational aim' in the previous chapter, it is also essential to explain the meaning of 'educational content' and 'the curriculum'.

4.2.1 The Concept "Educational Content"

Verster, et. al. (1:80) indicate that the school situation must be viewed as a bipolar structure, with the student and the teacher on the one side, and the idea of adulthood on the other; between them, *the educational content* forms the route which the student must traverse to reach adulthood.

Nicholls and Nicholls (2:48) give more specifics on this educational content when they say "content might be described as the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values to be learned". The educational content (as explained) selected, graded and arranged in a specific area of knowledge, for purposes of this study, will be referred to as *subject content* or merely *subject*.

4.2.2 The Concept "Curriculum"

Verster, et. al. (3:80) say traditionally the curriculum has always comprised the series of formal school subjects selected by reason of their accepted importance or value, and which are used chiefly to impart knowledge and to promote intellectual discipline. The curriculum and the subjects that comprise it for a specific course of study therefore constitute the planned route which someone must cover to progress from ignorance to knowledge, or from insufficient knowledge and ability to sufficient knowledge and ability.

This is basically an Essentialist-Conservative view of the curriculum which perpetuates the cultural heritage and sees this heritage as being directed at modern needs through the fundamental academic disciplines such as English, Mathematics, Science, History, etc. The performing arts, industrial arts, vocational studies, physical education etc, are regarded as "additional" to "the disciplines".

4.2.3 Summing Up

The curriculum, and the subject contents that comprise it, therefore, embraces *the material with which the purpose or aims of education* are most likely to be attained.

It is evident from the discussion of the educational aims in the previous chapter that sometimes it occurs that the educational content and curriculum may be viewed differently in terms of their importance and value as determined by a philosophy of life. At Grace Dieu the State (inspectors) on the one hand, and the Church (College) authorities) on the other, did not always agree with regard to emphasis and priorities on the curriculum and/or the subject-content. The main cause of their differences was of course the adherence to different philosophies of life. The differences become apparent in the subsequent sections of this chapter and in the subsequent chapter. Essentially these differences entail the so-called tensions or dualisms in the curriculum.

4.3 The Courses of Study

During its fifty years of existence Grace Dieu offered no less than five departments or courses of study with their specific curricula and subjects. The discussion of these departments or courses of study, their curricula and subjects now follows; however, their importance and value must always be viewed in terms of the educational aims discussed in the previous chapter.

Again these specific curricula and subjects must always be seen within the Essentialist-Conservative view of the curriculum.

Further, the relative importance and value of a subject can be judged or gauged by the time allocated to it on the school or college time-table. In as far as Grace Dieu was concerned the position vis-a-vis subjects and their duration for the Lower Course, for instance, was as follows in 1935:

TABLE 1

SUBJECT	MINUTES PER WEEK		
	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year
Arithmetic	225	225	-
English	405	225	330
Afrikaans	120	120	120
Vernacular	120	120	120
Scripture	150	150	150
Drawing and Blackboard	90	120	120
Music (Theory)	45	90	-
History	90	90	-
Geography	90	90	-
Writing	75	30	-
Hygiene	90	45	-
Drill	90	90	90
Choir and Group			
Singing	180	180	180
Handwork	600	600	600
School Method	-	90	225
Agriculture	-	45	120
"Apparatus Making"	-	-	105

The inference from the above table is that the Transvaal Education Department and/or the Missionary Authority concerned had certain requirements stipulated for the training of the students. The importance and value of subjects in terms of the time allocated to them on the time-table will be referred to constantly in the discussion of the subjects taken at Grace Dieu.

4.3.1 The Normal Department: Transvaal Native Primary Lower Certificate

The entrance qualification for this three-year course was Standard III in 1906, Standard IV in 1915, and Standard VI in 1924. It was popularly known as "T3", and later as "Lower Course". The course was closed in 1945 but re-introduced in 1950 because of very few students who passed Standard 8 to qualify for the Native Teachers' Primary Higher Certificate. The curriculum of the Transvaal Native Teachers' Primary Lower Certificate was as follows:

4.3.1.1 The Academic Branch

This branch covered mainly the first and second year's work and in its full-fledged form in 1935 consisted of the following subjects:

(a) English

English is a foundation study and communication medium for the basic skills of *literacy* and the related *oracy*.

English was also the medium of instruction of College preaching since 1913 and of general communication for students because Northern Sotho was just as foreign to many of the students as was English - the language in which they would be examined (4:7). The variety of tribes at Grace Dieu included the Southern Sotho, Shangaan, Tswana, Zulu and Shona (5:1). Besides, to the Grace Dieu authorities English was the language of acculturation and evangelization; whereas to the Blacks, English was equivalent to education. Indeed literacy and oracy could be indirectly promoted by many other literary subjects such as History and Geography. Because of these factors, English as a subject assumed great importance and value. For instance, the Lower Course time-table for 1935 indicates that at first-year level English enjoyed 17.0% (the second highest after Handwork with 25.3%) of the total time per week; at second-year level 9.7% (together with Arithmetic the second highest after Handwork with 26.3%); and at third-year level 15.3% (the second highest after Handwork with 27.8%).

The cumulative effect of these intra - and extramural uses of written and spoken English was the high standard of proficiency:

The English of 1st and 3rd years is of a high standard; the reading was fluent - and often showed rare understanding, the oral composition was decidedly good, all spoke freely and many had facility of expression (6:26).

As a result of this high level of proficiency, and the mere fact that literacy and oracy are also instruments, the aesthetic, moral, ethical, and intellectual sensibilities of students were promoted by the study of literature. The true end of education will be concerned with values - what to avoid and what to bring about. To what end should a literate and numerate citizen use his knowledge and understanding of the physical and social environment? Simply to preserve himself and to advance his own interests, or to some wider end such as the welfare and upliftment of the community or respect of accepted values? An introduction to the serious consideration of such questions must be regarded as the most important aim in education.

Attitudes and feelings will always be closely associated with values - the ends to be pursued by the individual in his private life and through society, and the cultivation of a developing system or refinement of the feelings must attend the development of moral sensibility. To achieve some of these ends at the College in February 1928 the students successfully performed The Merchant of Venice, in December 1930 Julius Caesar, and in 1954, The Pageant of St Michael, for instance (7:4). The writer attended the latter performance whilst a student at Khaiso Secondary School and the impact of this performance remains vivid and indelible on his mind.

(b) Afrikaans

Afrikaans was on the whole a despised and disliked language partly because it had just been raised from the level of "Kombuistaal" to that of official language in 1925; and partly because it is a local language "not going beyond the Zambesi River", and partly because Black-Afrikaner relations have never been that particularly good in the country.

Nonetheless Afrikaans promotes *literacy* and the related *oracy* just like any other language; it is therefore a foundation study for other skills and subjects. For a Black man in South Africa a good knowledge of Afrikaans is essential for communication in the public service, the private sector, and for better human and racial understanding and employment opportunities. With Afrikaans-speaking inspectors and the conditions for government subsidy, the proper teaching of Afrikaans was constantly insisted upon in teacher-training curricula.

At Grace Dieu Afrikaans was allocated only 5.0% of the time at first-year level, 5.3% at second-year, and 5.6% at third-year. Compared to English, this was a very meagre allocation of time. As if this were not enough indication of its inferior status, it was taught by a teacher from the Practising School, and the quality of its teaching was weak.

The Afrikaans-speaking teachers were of course loathe to go to an English missionary institution like Grace Dieu.

It was only with the appointment of an Afrikaans language specialist (a Mr W Jensen later an inspector in Bantu Education involved in the closing down of Grace Dieu) in 1933 that the standard of this language really improved. It is interesting to note that since 1959 when Grace Dieu was taken over by the Government and renamed Setotolwane (the original Sotho name of the locality), the status, use and influence of English amongst the College authorities and White and Black staff have been replaced by that of Afrikaans.

One cannot help feeling that the Afrikaner, a late-comer in the missionary enterprise, is begrudging the English of their privileged place in the heart of the Black man. At any rate, the competition should be more spiritual than political.

(c) Home Language

The status and level of teaching the Home Language (Northern Sotho) was initially on the same level with Afrikaans. It was allocated the same percentage of time as Afrikaans from first to third-year level.

The home language was supposed to have been mastered from an early age and its further study and usage were not deemed of great importance and value. The teaching of the home language in teacher-training institutions was actually enforced by the Transvaal Education Department only in 1924 because the home language was the medium of instruction in the lower classes of the primary school (8:1). At Grace Dieu the home language (Northern Sotho) was taught by teachers from the Practising School, and later home languages such as Zulu and Southern Sotho by anybody such as clerks who could speak and write that particular language.

Nonetheless in the Western world pride of place is given to *literacy* (including the related *oracy*) in the native language. But to Blacks, English as 'a window into the world' has always assumed more importance and value than the home language and Afrikaans. *The Blacks have always believed that basic literacy involves also communication with the outside world; and communication with the outside world involves also literacy in 'a world language' like English.* So, the emphasis like that of the Lutherans, perhaps an over-emphasis, of the home language as a study for basic literacy smacks of the Lutheran-and Afrikaans-initiated dark spectre of Bantu Education which was beginning to loom on the horizon in South Africa.

It may be pointed out that a people does not become more concerned of another people's language than the people themselves.

(d) Arithmetic

Arithmetic (or its mother-discipline Mathematics) together with the home language are usually given the most prominent place in the curriculum in the more advanced countries. This subject promotes *numeracy* on which so many other subjects like Science and Geography are dependent. Arithmetic and English were, and still are, foundation studies for wider study, i.e. they promote intellectuality.

In the first-year Arithmetic was allocated 9.5% of the time, and in the second-year 9.7%. There was no Arithmetic in the Third-Year. Arithmetic, especially Mental Arithmetic, was usually associated with a high intellectual ability. Examination results always depended on passes in Arithmetic and English as key-subjects. In 1943, for instance, the principal reported that "the examination results were not good - this being largely due to so many Third-Year students having to re-write Arithmetic" (9:1).

(e) Scripture

Scripture was a very important subject at Grace Dieu.

As already indicated in Chapter 3, at Grace Dieu priority was given to ensuring that "all our students grasp the essentials of the faith so that they leave us to help their fellow Africans with education founded upon a rock 'against which the gates of hell shall not prevail'" (10:2). Obviously, the College authorities had in mind the Anglican denominational sense of religious instruction whilst the state (in the person of Chief Inspector Dr W W M Eiselen and author of Bantu Education) tended towards:

A time when Religious Instruction will consist of Bible stories only - mainly from the Old Testament - and that this instruction will be so colourless that it will be the same in every school and can be examined by a secular Education Department (11:2).

The spectre of Bantu Education was looming over the horizon. The Anglican (and other English) missionary teaching was anathema to the state.

Later when the Grace Dieu authorities stood alone amongst the then existing missionary institutions in favour of denominational teaching of Religious Instruction, the authorities introduced the (Anglican) Archbishops' Teachers' Certificate Examination in Theology for the Grace Dieu students in addition to the "official" Religious Instruction examination (12:1).

The Archbishops' Teachers' Certificate Examination in Theology was later made optional; but the religious atmosphere of Grace Dieu remained typically Anglican up to the end (1958), in spite of "the official Religious Instruction". The reason for this was of course the fact that the majority of the boarders and staff were Anglican although no non-Anglican teacher or student or mission farm-tenant was coerced into being an Anglican. The time-tabled Religious Instruction enjoyed 6.3% of the time during the first-year, 6.6% at second-year, and 6.9% at third-year. *The moral-religious sensibility was thus abundantly catered for; after all, Grace Dieu was founded primarily for this moral-religious training.*

(f) History

History promotes a knowledge and understanding of *man and his social environment*. In other words, *it develops the cognitive and affective aspects of the student*. Knowledge in this context refers to knowledge of facts and principles whilst understanding goes beyond knowledge by its concern with an ability to relate one bit of knowledge to another (13:125). In the final analysis *knowledge and understanding of anything are really in themselves instruments (like literacy and numeracy) of the true end of education, namely, concern with values - what to avoid and what to bring about.*

At Grace Dieu a broad sense of these meanings was applied by the teachers whilst the state's view (i.e. that of the inspectors) was to confine it to:

History is obviously intended to give a clear picture of how the different groups, both Native and European, were oriented and placed in South Africa (14:1).

The dark spectre of Bantu Education was clearly emerging. However, History enjoyed 3.8% of the overall scheduled time at first-year, and 3.9% at second-year. There was no History at third-year level.

(g) Geography

Geography promotes knowledge and understanding of *man and his natural or physical environment*. What applies in the case of History also applies in the case of Geography except that the environment is now more natural or physical than social and cultural. Geography was the only subject in the category of a science. Strictly speaking, it would be more accurate to talk of a "natural science" or "physical science" such as Biology or Chemistry or Physics or Physical Science.

At Grace Dieu, Geography enjoyed the same allocated time as History, which was not much.

Geography develops the cognitive aspect of a student as well as other human sensibilities like fashioning one's environment. In this category can also be placed Hygiene and Drill, and Physical Exercises.

(h) Hygiene

Hygiene was concerned with *the bodily health and its associated aspects such as cleanliness and nutrition*. Hygiene was allocated only 3.8% of the time at first-year, and only 2.0% at second-year. The students benefited well from this subject.

(i) Drill and Physical Exercise

Drill and Physical Exercise, in *their widest sense, promote the idea of physical well-being and are concerned with the development of bodily health and fitness together with certain motor skills (15:127)*. Drill and Physical Exercise received serious attention at Grace Dieu. In 1920, for instance, it was reported that in Drill:

A very high standard is again shown in this subject, and the effect of this efficiency is evident in the general discipline of the institution (16:1).

Drill and Physical Exercises enjoyed 3.8% of the time at first-year, 3.8% at the second and 4.2% at the third.

(j) Other Subjects

Other Subjects at first and second-year levels were:

Drawing with 3.8% of the time at first-year, but incorporating Blackboard Work at second and third years with 5.3% and 5.6% of the time respectively; Theory of Music with 1.9% and 2.6% of the time at first- and second-year levels respectively; Writing with 3.2% and 1.3% of the time at first- and second-year levels respectively; and Choir and Group Singing with 7.6% of the time at first-year, 7.9% at the second, and 8.3% at the third. These subjects were concerned mainly with *developing and training practical skills and dexterities* as part of the creative arts and the fashioning of the environment. It is a field where the ethical sensibility meets a knowledge and understanding of the environment.

4.3.1.2 The Industrial Branch

At second-year the industrial part was added to the academic part of the first-year. This part comprised mainly Agriculture and Handwork.

(a) Agriculture

Agriculture promotes *a knowledge and understanding of man and his natural or physical environment*. In other words it is a science like Geography in the foregoing paragraphs.

Modern day thought demands that we shall know something of scientific thought. We need to think scientifically, and various sciences appear in our syllabuses. The one difficulty is that in the teaching of most of the sciences, expensive apparatus is required. But there is one subject which is a science and which is not expensive to teach: the study of nature and the things closely connected with that study, namely, Agriculture.

The study of growing things helps us to make observations. We can experiment, we can arrive at conclusions, we can test them out; we can begin to learn from them. *Agriculture is thus a subject which is of value to education as an instrument.* It also happens to be of paramount importance from the economic point of view.

It was always the wish and intention of the College authorities to make the College self-sufficient or to reduce costs in certain respects. The College farm was of importance in this respect, but unfortunately, Grace Dieu has a very low rainfall, and the soil is poor, and the provision of water from boreholes was a problem for many years. Writing in 1923 "Hope Royal" indicated:

A young and capable English farmer, a returned soldier, has taken charge of the farm, and the boys are taught intensive farming, cattle raising and care of poultry and pigs - the latter with the idea of specialising in bacon and ham (17:1).

There was also gardening, and classes attempted to win from the reluctant soil all the usual crops, but chiefly maize and vegetables. It was a great struggle. Nevertheless, the work done in the garden gave the students very valuable experience in the more modern methods of planting, for they were to a large extent able to put into practice the theory learnt in the classroom.

However, the appointment of the first Agricultural Instructor (a Mr Moolman) was in 1944 in preparation for opening the Secondary School up to Standard 8 in 1945. In 1948 Mr Geen and Mr Spence, visitors to the College, referred to him as "a representative of all that is best in the Afrikaner tradition" (18:19). Agriculture enjoyed 2.0% of the time at second-year and 5.6% at third-year. Of course much of it was done during other times than allocated time, for example, as manual work.

(b) Handwork

Handwork enjoyed the maximum time-tabled time at Grace Dieu, namely, 25.3% at first-year, 26.3% at second-year and 27.6% at third-year. *This is part of the fashioning of the environment through the development of the creative arts.*

This subject was taken throughout the three-year course, but changed in character; in the first-year it was general; and in the second it was leatherwork, cardboard-modelling and gardening; and in the third, woodwork and gardening (19:7). *The whole purpose of manual handwork went beyond school-examinations, namely, to initiate students into the ways and means of living self-reliant and independent lives with the aid of some elementary knowledge of the various aspects of manual handwork.*

4.3.1.3 The Professional Branch

The third year was devoted largely to the professional part added to the other two sections. The professional part comprised mainly of school Method and "Apparatus Making".

(a) School Method

The Third Year Lower students spent about eight weeks on teaching-practice in the year. Some went to the Khaiso Primary School in Pietersburg, by kind permission of Mrs Fuller; a few to the schools in the surrounding reserves; but most to the College Practising School. Then the ordinary teacher stepped to the back of the class and watched the student with a critical but helping eye; and the master of the method visited the class-room to hear a criticism lesson and to ensure that the principles of the method lesson were being practised in the actual teaching.

This was naturally the most difficult part of the course, as any teacher will tell, and also the most important. The student slowly - if he was a good student - gained command of his class, acquired a manner which neither bored nor amused the children, and put into practice the precepts of dry pedagogy. School Method enjoyed 10.4% of allocated time.

(b) Apparatus Making

This was closely associated with Handwork, but concentration was on producing suitable educational media such as teaching aids, and encouraging improvisation and resourcefulness in teaching. The idea behind this being to make learning as less book-bound as possible. This activity enjoyed 4.9% of the allocated time. Apparatus making involved making charts; models; pictures; and other illustrations.

4.3.1.4 Summing Up

The curriculum seems to have been appropriate and balanced in terms of the aims of education in Chapter 3. But it was definitely too overloaded and very little time was left for essential balancing off by extramural activities and broadening of the mind through private reading.

4.3.2 The Normal Department: The Transvaal Native Primary Higher Certificate

In view of the growing number of pupils in the Transvaal Black Secondary Schools who were passing the Standard 8 (the Junior Certificate) each year, the Grace Dieu authorities applied to the Transvaal Education Department to introduce this course in January 1935. The Transvaal Education Department, however, did not feel justified in drawing up a scheme for a Higher Primary Certificate course at that time (20:1). Grace Dieu was therefore allowed to follow the course and take the examinations prescribed for Blacks by the Cape Province. Grace Dieu was the only College in the Transvaal to be authorised to conduct this course at the beginning of 1936. The Transvaal Education Department, however, introduced its own Primary Higher Certificate in 1945 (21:4), when the Native Primary Lower Certificate was discontinued (but re-introduced in 1950).

It was a two-year course open to students who had passed the Junior Certificate Examination and to qualified teachers with the Primary Lower, and of not less than two years' experience who had been recommended by their Inspectors. As in the Primary Lower Certificate, the course consisted of three branches: the academic, the industrial and the professional work. The academic work included three languages and the usual school subjects; and the industrial work included agriculture and carpentry; and the professional practice-teaching, school method and blackboard work, etc.

The basic principles indicated in the various subjects of the Primary Lower Certificate also applied in the Primary Higher Certificate, but this course was geared to students with a higher academic background (Standard 8) and who were being prepared to teach the higher classes of the Primary School.

In conclusion, it needs to be emphasised that teacher-training was the first reason for the existence of Grace Dieu, hence the name Diocesan Training College at Grace Dieu. The Normal Department was therefore the most important, and the other departments were subsidiary or complementary but incidentally some of them became quite famous. That is why the old Lower Course was re-introduced in 1950 after realising that the Higher Primary Teachers' Course did not have sufficient numbers.

The main motivating factor was to produce as many teachers as possible per annum. In fact, the College produced about thirty teachers a year by the late 1940's and the Transvaal Education Department thought this was too small a number and pressed for at least fifty teachers a year.

4.3.3 The Practising (Primary) School

The classes were from Sub-standard A to Standard 3 in 1906, to Standard 4 in 1915, and to Standard 6 in 1924. Scholars in the final classes wrote the Transvaal Native Higher Primary Certificate Examination.

The Primary School therefore produced students for the Normal Department as well as serving as a practising school for the same Department. Almost all the pupils were children of tenants of the Mission farms or lived on the neighbouring farms. The teachers, including the headmaster, were all Black and many of them were former students of the Training College. The Primary School was therefore a subsidiary department of the Normal Department. The medium of instruction was English except in the lowest classes (22:3).

The usual subjects for the primary school course, namely, Scripture, English, Afrikaans, Northern Sotho, Arithmetic, Nature Study, Geography, History, an industrial course, music, physical training, and manualwork were taken. The basic principles involved in the teaching of these subjects have already been explained earlier in this chapter. What can be pointed out here is that *the upper classes of the primary school course ensured a mixed diet of literary and applied subjects*. This disproves those who criticised the education of that time as being too literary. Another subsidiary unit of the Normal Department was the Secondary School.

4.3.4 The Secondary School

The Secondary School was opened as from January 1945. The classes were from Standard 6 (Form I) to Standard 8 (Form 3) in preparation of entrance to the Transvaal Native Primary Higher Certificate course, and open to students who had passed the Primary School Standard 6.

Scholars in the final class wrote the Transvaal Junior Certificate Examination. The Secondary School was therefore a subsidiary department of the Normal Department. The principal subjects studied were English, Afrikaans, a home language, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Agriculture or Domestic Science, and Scripture (23:18). The basic principles involved in the teaching of these subjects have already been explained earlier in this chapter. Nearly all the students in the Secondary School were boarders. The course must have had a good take-off because *the first Junior Certificate examination indicated a very good "15 out of a possible 16 including 2 1st classes" (24:106).*

4.3.5 The Industrial Courses

The following industrial courses were offered as independent vocational training courses:

4.3.5.1 The Carpentry Department

The Carpentry Department was begun in 1921 by a Mr Cyril Lewis, but only registered some sixteen years later in 1937 (25:1-2). The reason for this being, according to Father W A Palmer [See Picture E] third principal of the College:

so far the policy of the respective education departments has been to spend money on the training of teachers only with the deplorable result that in all native institutions the many boys and girls who have no vocation or wish to be teachers are forced to take the teachers' course because the education departments provide no other.



Picture E

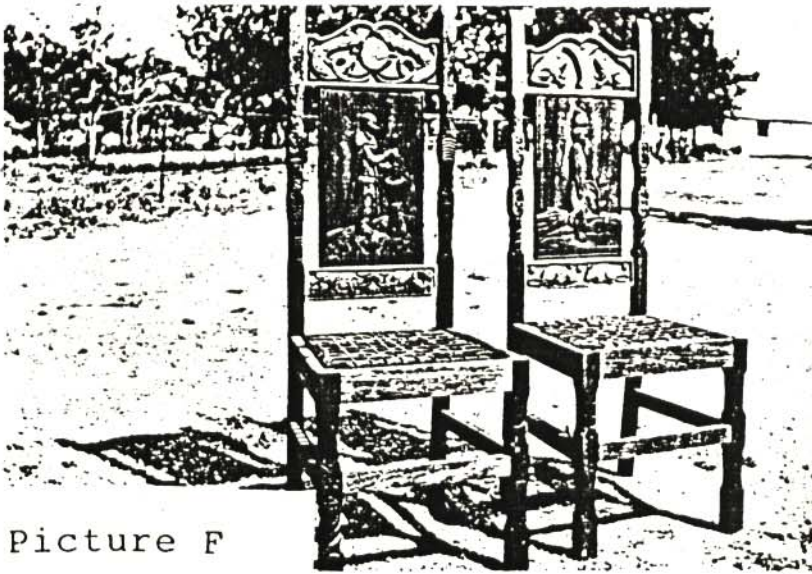
At St Matthew's, Cape Province, all the useful manual work instituted by the late Canon Taberer was stopped by the Cape Education Department, and where such work is being done, it is at the cost of some missionary society. Missionaries are very keen on trained manual work, but the Government gives no assistance in this direction. (26:1).

Nevertheless, for a number of years the Carpenter's shop at Grace Dieu was the only industrial course for Blacks under the Transvaal Education Department. The course lasted for four years and led to a Certificate of Proficiency awarded by the Transvaal Education Department. Before registration of the course, the College issued a Certificate of Competence. The instruction was under the care of fully trained qualified Black carpenters. The students were given as wide a training as was possible in theoretical and practical work. They were sound general craftsmen by the time their course was completed, and they would have become most valuable members of the community.

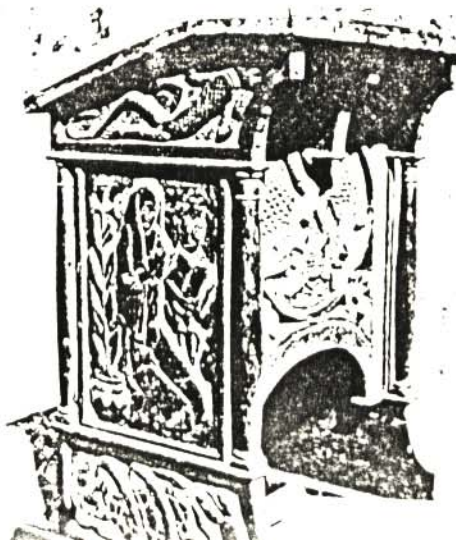
From this shop came a constant stream of desks, benches, blackboards, easels, tables, and other furniture for the many schools and mission churches in the district. [See Picture F]. The whole of woodwork and furniture in the College buildings, including the roofing, was also supplied by the labour of the shop.



Picture F



Picture F



Since this was the case, it seems strange that a Government which continually stressed the importance of manual training for the Black youth should have omitted to give this department any sort of grant whatsoever although it was the only shop of its kind in the Transvaal, and (the possible answer for this state of affairs was the Government's fear to alienate white unskilled and semi-skilled labour) it had been established for nearly twenty years.

In addition to the fulltime apprentices, the senior students of the Normal Department received instruction in elementary woodwork as part of their curriculum. The basic educational principles involved here are the fashioning of the environment through the creative arts and the creative aspects of technology, and development of the aesthetic sensibility. The Carpenter's Department was an independent unit of the College, that is, it was a vocational course in its own right. Complementary to the Carpenter's Department was the Woodcarving Department.

4.3.5.2 The Woodcarving Department

The Woodcarving Department began in 1925 in the care of Sister Pauline (Community of the Resurrection), who, without any experience of the craft, cheerfully embarked upon the work as part of her handwork.

At first the only materials used were ten cents pen-knives and a piece of glass for smoothing off the finished article, and odd pieces of wood thrown away by the carpenters. The work proved popular, and in the course of a year or so, handwork was being carried out in no less than eleven kinds of materials; these included grass, raffia, wood, tin, papier mache, cardboard, wire and bones!

Later there was a woodcarving department with full-time students in addition to the students from other departments of the College, and there was a continuous stream of orders for prayer-desks, altar-panels, book-stands, trays, and plaques which kept the department always busy. Earlier members of the staff, namely, Father Paterson and Miss Anderson provided the designs but gradually the students began to make their own contributions in this respect.

In due course woodcarving became part of the College in its own right and the reputation of the work being done spread in church circles throughout South Africa, and orders for church furniture and decorations began to come in. In many churches you will still find altar-panels, statues, pews, crucifixes, choirstalls, and font-covers carved at Grace Dieu. There is a Grace Dieu prayer-desk in the church of St Michael and All Angels, Turfloop; there is another in Christ Church, Pietersburg. The carvings are characterised by the African figures of the Saints, and the depiction of native reptiles, animals and plants.

This department was, however, not a commercial concern. Orders were accepted only if they could be carried out by the then available staff within a certain time. The unauthored and undated "The Diocesan Training College, Grace Dieu" says:

The chief aim of the shop was to show that the African artist had his own means of expression, and that he could submit, without loss of inspiration, to the discipline of technical training. That attitude which regards a carving as good because it was done by an African and not because it is a good piece of work (a very sentimentalist attitude and very bad for the African) needed to be stamped out; and it could only be done if the African learned the true technique of carving (or of any art) and added to that his own manner of seeing things. The inspiration is there, the thorough grounding is still, in most instances, far to seek. (27:3-4).

But it could be done. The work of Ernest Mancoba [See Picture G] and Job Kekana [See Picture H] proved it. Both began their widely renowned carving under Sister Pauline of Grace Dieu. Woodcarving involves the fashioning of the environment through the creative arts and the creative aspects of technology, and the developments of the aesthetic sensibility.

4.3.5.3 The Domestic Science Department



Picture G



Black Madonna

Picture G



The Domestic Science Department was registered in April 1927 after a recommendation to do so by the Transvaal Education Department Director of Education and was situated at St Mary's, about two kilometers from St Michael, which was the main campus. The course was begun in 1917 by the Sisters of the Community of the Resurrection. Here Black girls who had passed Standard 6 were trained to become mothers of the next generation. The Director had promised bursaries after being highly impressed by what he saw at St Mary's. It was firmly believed at Grace Dieu that it was an important part of Black education to train young women who would be able to establish sound Christian homes; for it is the mother that has the greatest influence on the early environment of the child.

In the rural areas the word of the housewife and the mother did not count for much, and her status needed to be raised by education. In the townships the need was even more urgent, for their family life was being destroyed by economic pressure, and there was no stable unit for Black urban life. If Black women could be trained in sufficient numbers these evils could in part be remedied. This was what the Domestic Science Department was helping to do. The course lasted for three years; at the end of each term, the girls were examined by the Transvaal Education Department and a certificate issued. The young women were thoroughly trained in cookery, housewifery, laundry and needlework; they were also given a careful grounding in hygiene and mothercraft.

Final year students were examined by the Transvaal Education Department, and if successful, were awarded the College Certificate of Proficiency endorsed by the Transvaal Education Department. The girl who had finished her course was in great demand as a domestic servant, and many requests for girls were received that could not possibly be met. By 1939, four Sisters of the Community of the Resurrection were responsible for Domestic Science.

So while the boys helped to equip the College chapel with furniture the girls helped:

to supply it with banners, vestments, hangings, etc. which are also necessary for the beauty of worship. In this way the students learn the happiness to be derived from work done for the Church and when they leave they can continue to work for the Church in which they worship (28:4).

The basic educational principle involved was the fashioning of the environment through the creative arts and the creative aspects of technology, the development of the aesthetic sensibility, and the development of good health habits and economic practical skills. The Domestic Science Department closed in 1953.

4.3.6 Summing Up

Although teacher-training was the first reason for the existence of Grace Dieu, it later turned out in its development that to achieve its broad Christian aims of *the care of man in the honour of God* and *to make very ordinary boys and girls a little less ordinary*, vocational training in areas such as woodwork, woodcarving and domestic science were necessary. In these areas of vocational training the College had to foot the bill alone in the early years because the policy of the Transvaal Education Department at that time did not allow for a subsidy.

4.4 The Non-Curriculum

In Section 4.3 the courses of study and their various formal school subjects have been discussed. It has been clear that the series of the formal school subjects were selected by reason of their accepted importance or value, and were used mainly to impart knowledge, skills and competences. The so-called non-curriculum, on the other hand, refers to *the formal and systematic activities of the school in the form of organised clubs and societies (29:63)*. These activities are not planned to have specific learning outcomes as with the formal curriculum discussed in Section 4.3, though they are officially approved of because they further students' knowledge, skills, and social competences. Unlike the formal curriculum, where intentions are explicit, *the intentions of these activities are more implicit (30:63)*.

The organised and optional leisure-time activities at the College were Athletic Sports and Games. The Pathfinder-Scout Movement, The Wayfarer Guide Movement, The Student Christian Movement, the Library, Drama, the Debating and Discussion Society, Music, and the Old Students' Association.

4.4.1 Athletic Sports and Games

Although athletic sports and games began with the College itself, it was only in 1931 that their organisation took the form of the "House System":

In 1931 Mr James and Mr ShearSmith introduced into the College the "House System" of Games and Sports - a system which has well proved its effectiveness and has revolutionised the whole playing of games. Challenge Cups were contributed by the Governors and the Staff for Cricket, Football, Netball, Tennis and Sports and these are competed for annually. The three Houses were named after three people whose work for and interest in the College will never be forgotten: Bishop Neville Talbot, Dean Palmer, and Father D'lepu. (31:18).

The training of the body was not neglected any more than the training of the mind and soul. Regular inter-house matches were played throughout the year culminating in the final Sport Day Competitions held at Michaelmas (the last Sunday of September). Later in 1939 a fourth house named after the outgoing principal and the man synonymous with Grace Dieu, Canon Woodfield [See Picture I] was added.



Picture I

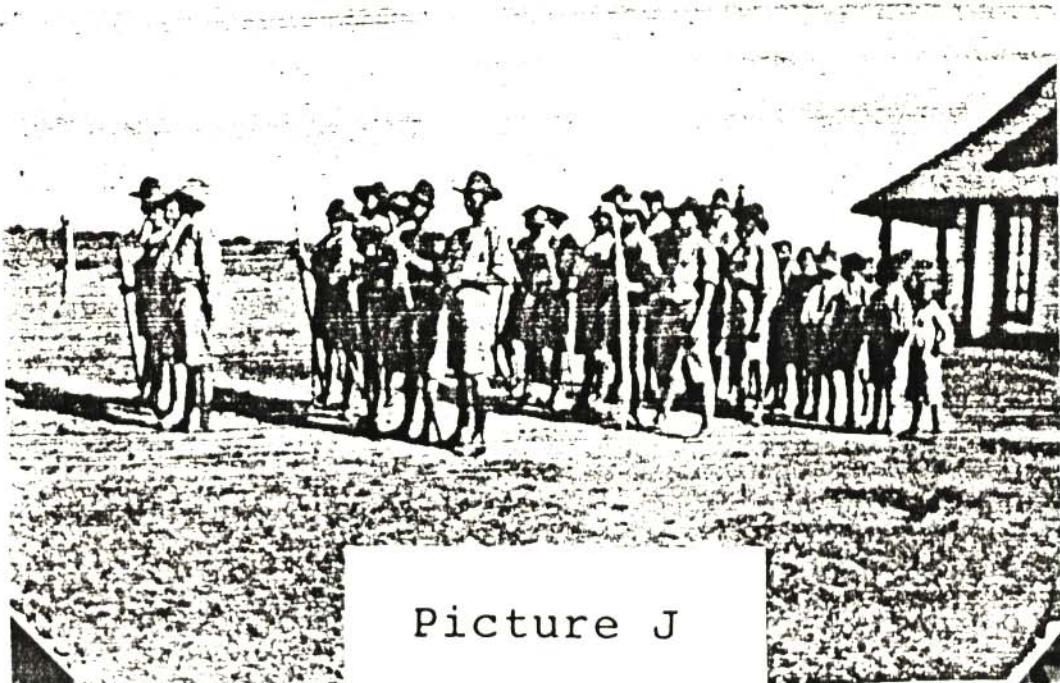
The House system introduced keen and at times fierce competition, loyalty to the House, teamwork, and the spirit of fairplay.

4.4.2 The Pathfinder-Scout Movement

Grace Dieu is the birthplace of the Pathfinder-Scout Movement. In 1922 the enrolment of the first Pathfinder Troop in South Africa took place on St Michael's Day as Father Woodfield's idea. [See Picture J]. Much correspondence between the College and the Transvaal Scout Association had been entered into; the aim was to start a Troop of Boy Scouts amongst the students, as both Father Woodfield and Mr Wilkinson were keen Scout officers of some experience. But racial prejudice was strong and it was only after a conference of missionaries and the Transvaal Scout Council that a separate organisation known as *the Pathfinder Movement* was allowed to come into being under the control of the Transvaal Scout Association.

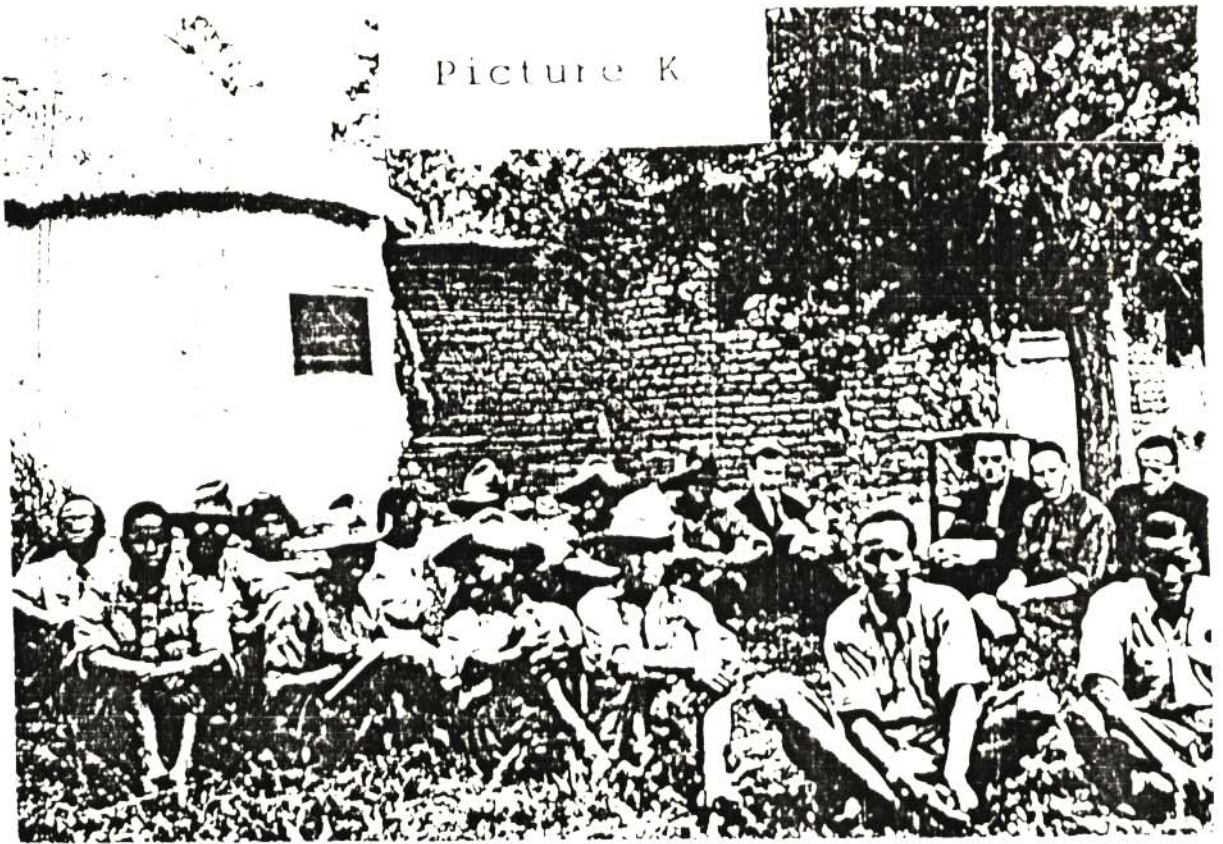
For a whole year Grace Dieu's was the only Troop - then Khaiso School, Pietersburg, ventured on; then Pretoria and the Reef, the Transvaal, South Africa and Zimbabwe. During those early days the College Court of Honour [See Picture K] would meet on Saturday mornings under the Indaba Tree and discuss the regulations already drawn up and suggest improvements which in nearly every case were adopted by the Headquarters Council. So that a good deal of the present Pathfinder Handbook is based upon the early experience of the College Pathfinders in days when the Movement was still unknown.

Picture J



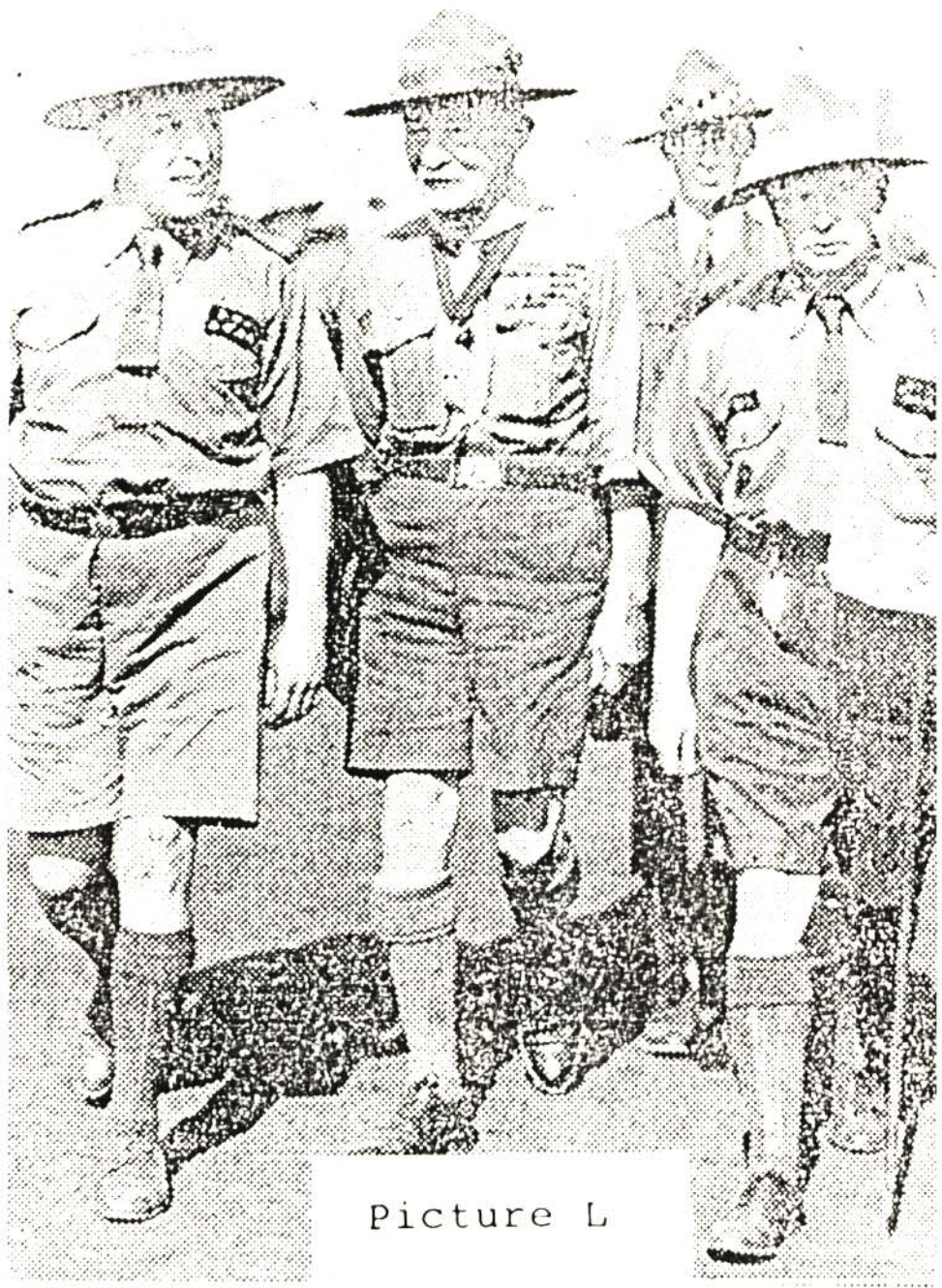
Picture J

Picture K



The first Pietersburg Pathfinders had as their motto: 'We lead, others follow' and they did their best to live up to it. Many of the Pathfinder Officers throughout South Africa gained their first experiences of Pathfinding at Grace Dieu, while some of them held senior officers' warrants. During the course of their history, the College Pathfinders were inspected by His Excellency, The Earl of Athlone (Pietersburg 1924); His Royal Highness, The Prince of Wales (Pietersburg 1925); The Chief Scout, Lord Baden Powell (Johannesburg 1926); and His Excellency, The Earl of Clarendon, who was then Governor-General and was on a visit to the College in 1932 (32:10). It was one of Father Woodfield's proudest days of his life when Pathfinding was made part of the Boy Scout Movement, and was made the Chief Scout himself at a great rally held at Durban in 1936. [See Picture L]. He helped to draw up the new constitution. This was great solace to him after suffering great disappointment when in 1933 the South African Government refused the issue of passports to two picked Pathfinders under strict supervision to attend the International Scout Jamboree in Hungary (33:11).

The writer was a Pathfinder in the late 1940's at primary school and later became a member of the Khaiso School Troop, Pieterburg, in the early 1950's. The movement declined with the advent of Bantu Education, and today the movement is virtually dead. *The value of the movement lay in training loyalty to God and the country, social service, bushcraft, cheerfulness, resourcefulness and other manly attributes.*



Picture L

Pathfinders in the country had hoped that the movement would endure as a monument to Father Woodfield's name. In the Church ranks Father Woodfield rose to be Archdeacon and Canon. In the Pathfinder-Scout Movement he held *Warrant Number One*, by the time he retired in 1952 he was *the Chief Scout Commissioner for the African Boy Scout Association of South Africa* when ex-Senator J D Rheinallt Jones (a former member of the Grace Dieu Governing Body) who held the rank retired to Higher Service in January 1953 (34:8). In Pathfinder circles and in the then Pietersburg West Mission District the older generation affectionately called him "Ramankejane" - the decorated Father of the African Boy Scouts.

4.4.3 The Wayfarer-Guide Movement

It was during the year 1926, that the girls of St Mary's formed themselves into the first Transvaal Detachment of Girl Wayfarers. *This was a similar movement to that of the Pathfinders with similar aims and objectives*; but it was not recognised by nor did it receive any assistance from the South African Girl Guide Association. In spite of many changes of officers the Detachment never looked back, and several girls left the College already qualified as Sub-Leaders. One of the most interesting activities was dancing the English, Welsh and Scottish folk-dances [See Picture M] introduced by Sister Pauline and Father Jones [See Picture N] the fifth principal of the College.

Picture M



Picture M





Picture N

As in the case of the Pathfinder-Scout Movement, the main problem of the Wayfarer-Guide Movement has always been a racial prejudice. Even when Lady - Powell, the Chief Guide, was in South Africa in the 1930's, a good deal of ill-feelings had been manifest on the part of some of the officials (35:1). However, the Wayfarer Movement at Grace Dieu persevered until the very end of the College. The Movement has at least outlived the Pathfinder Movement, although today the numbers have dwindled.

4.4.4 The Student Christian Movement

One of the organisations in the College which deserves special mention was the Student Christian Association. Formed in the year 1923, by Mr H M Maimane, (later Father Maimane) who was its Chairman and prime mover, it gradually enlarged its membership and sphere of action under successive officers not least of whom was Mr C J Skett who succeeded Mr Maimane when he left in 1924. *Its work consisted of special services for inter-cession, meetings for Bible study and discussion of theological matters, simple services in neighbouring villages and similar acts of witness to our Lord.* Not least, the value of the Student Christian Movement lay in the fact that here students of all religious denominations could co-operate in evangelistic work on a common basis without feeling that they were "outsiders" (36:11).

Many hearers (candidates for baptism) were brought to the Church as a result of these activities.

Two royal houses of two chiefdoms, namely, that of Moletji and Mashashane, became Church people (Anglicans), partly because of the activities of the Student Christian Movement. This movement is still alive and well at the Setotolwane State College of Education (Successor to the Grace Dieu College) mainly because it received the blessing of the Bantu Education authorities.

4.4.5 The Library

It was about 1923 that the present Library came into being. Father Woodfield collected spare books from members of the staff and housed them in his room until after a year or so when they were removed first to the College Office, and later to a classroom until somewhere in 1937 when the Library was built (37:11). With regard to the Library, Father Woodfield writes:

here can be read the latest papers and magazines in English, Afrikaans and the Bantu Languages. The popularity of the library is shewn by the fact that in the students' free time it is seldom empty. Books, too, may be borrowed, and during the College session in addition to those belonging to the library there is a good supply of useful literature supplied by the Carnegie, Non-European Library at Germiston. In this way a love of reading is inculcated before the students leave College and they are encouraged to continue their reading after they have left. (38:2).

(The underlining is the writer's).

The expanding of the student's horizon of knowledge and profitable use of leisure time were trained through the use of the Library.

4.4.6 Drama

Drama trains the development of the moral and aesthetic sensibilities and it is physical education in its widest sense. Drama is also pure entertainment and didactic. The Grace Dieu authorities were very conscious of this, and to develop these sensibilities, in December 1922, the Bethlehem Tableaux [See Picture O] were staged as a form of God's speed to Sister Catherine (Community of the Resurrection) who was leaving for the United Kingdom, and were deemed of appropriate context at Christmas-tide. The performers were students of the College, and the tableaux were grouped and arranged mainly by Sister Catherine and Mr Wilkinson of the staff. People in the district were invited. An observer commented thus after some initial doubts:

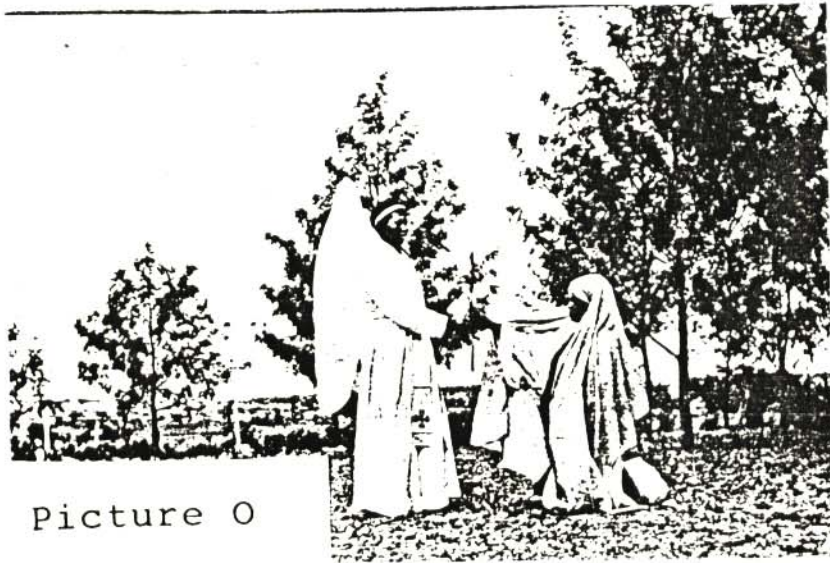
It would be difficult to select any particular scene for special praise, when all were good, but I think the last tableau, "The Desire of All Nations", deserves individual commendation. The grouping was perfect, the performers were so motionless during the five minutes, the curtains remained open, that the whole tableau resembled a group of statuary rather than human beings.

While this last tableau was shown, Canon Palmer concluded the Gospel readings and the choir sang sweetly and softly a Christmas carol, after which the audience filed out in an appreciative silence. (39:14).

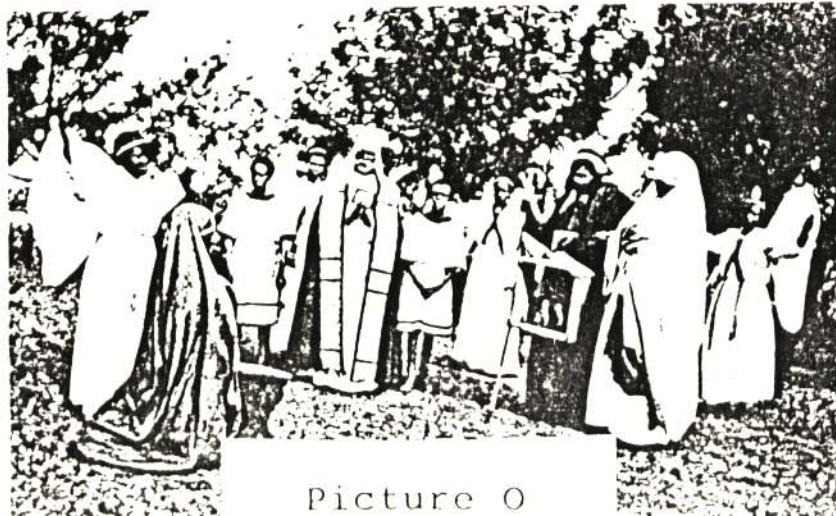
Early in the year 1928, Father (then still Mr) Jones also embarked upon the production of a Shakespearean play, Merchant of Venice [See Picture P] which was a credit to all concerned.



Picture 0



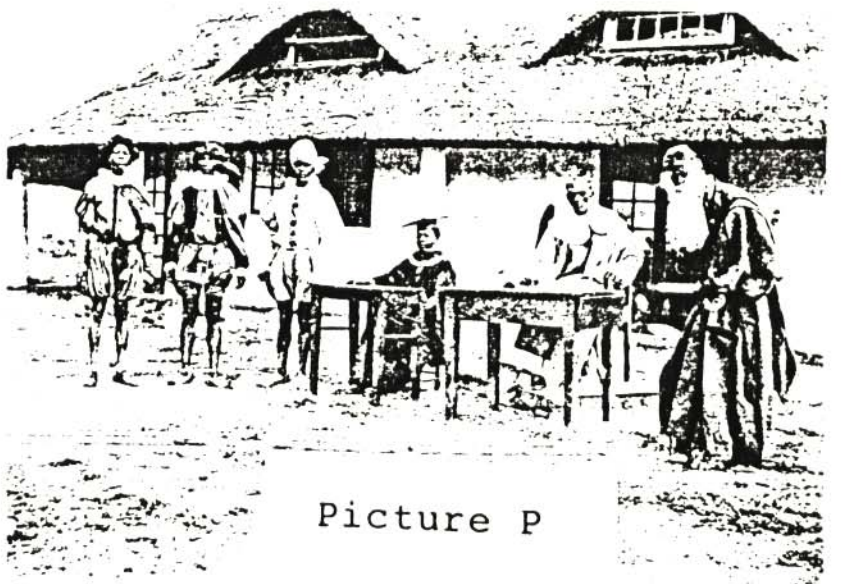
Picture 0



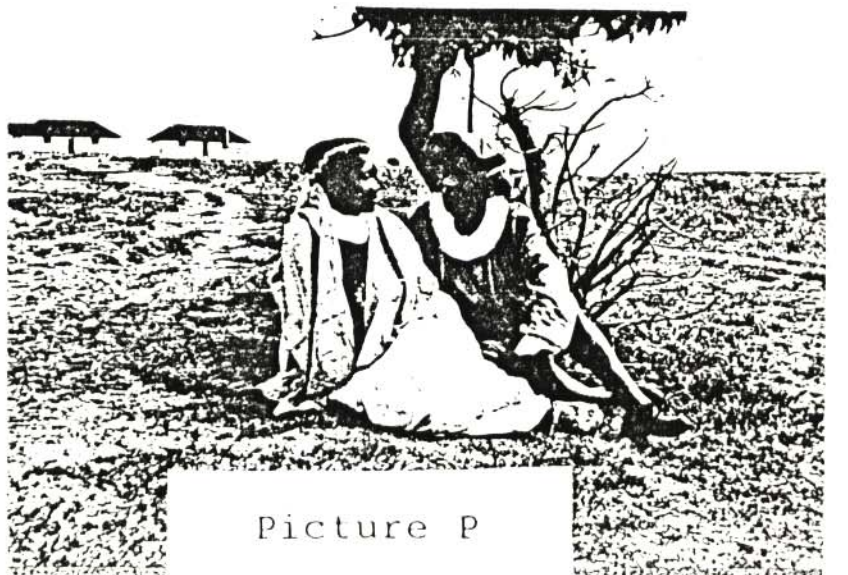
Picture 0



Picture P



Picture P



Picture P

The following December (1930), encouraged by their former success, the students produced an abridged edition of Julius Caesar [See Picture Q] which was even more successful than the first play had been. In 1954 the students of the Secondary School presented The Pageant of St Michael in honour of their Patron Saint St Michael. The Pageant is based on Milton's Paradise Lost. It was devised by Mrs B Norburn (on the staff) and produced jointly with Father Norburn [See Picture R], her husband (also on the staff). The Pageant depicts the Fall of Man who is ultimately redeemed by Jesus the Son of God. *The story of the Pageant is related to the work of the College - the fight against evil by doing like Michael.* This was a most ambitious presentation, and its renowned success proved once again that the Blacks love acting and being free from self-consciousness and can throw themselves whole-heartedly into the character they are portraying. The Zoutpansberg Riew observed:

Many scores of students took part in the pageant which was most impressive in its impact on the audience. The costumes made at the College were most colourful and created an atmosphere of spiritual sanctity. The acting and mime by the students of the choir added to the extreme reverence of the ceremony and to the message which it conveyed. (40:9).

4.4.7 The Debating and Discussion Society

In January 1939, a Debating and Discussion Society was formed, and it began very well; many fluent and eager speeches were heard, marred only by the fault of extreme digressiveness.



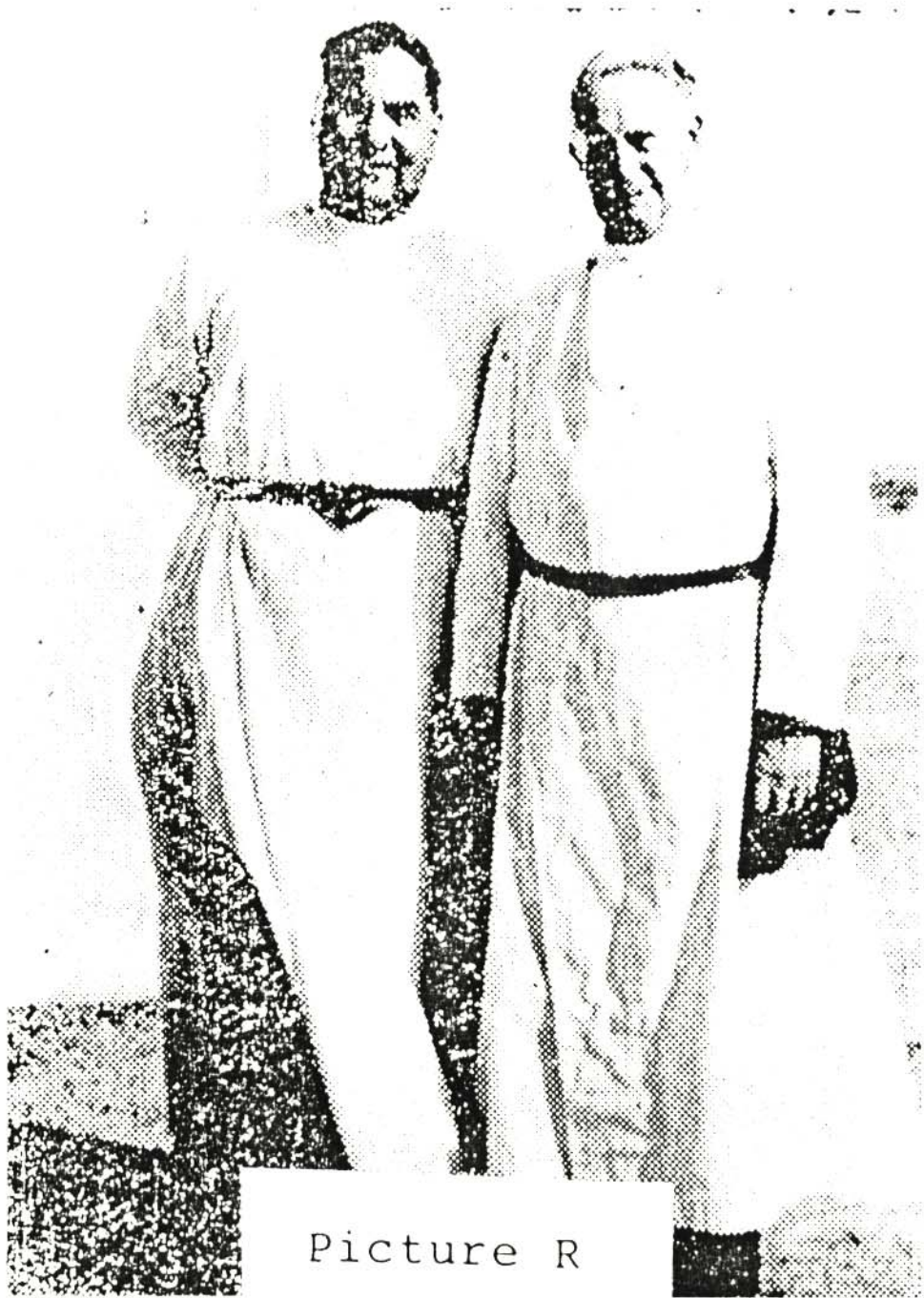
Picture Q



Picture Q



Picture Q



Picture R

As far back as 1921, Father E Talbot remarked that "Some of the speeches were excellent, some a mere stringing of as many crackjaw words as the speaker could remember" (41:1).

Debates and Discussions improve the literacy and the oracy as well as widening the students' horizons of knowledge. The tradition and good standard of internal and inter-college debates continued to the very end of Grace Dieu. In 1955, the writer was a member of a debating team representing his school, Khaiso, against Grace Dieu. Khaiso lost nobly. Debates and discussions were mainly in English, the medium of instruction and of examination, and of general communication at Grace Dieu.

4.4.8 Music and Singing

Music and Singing was clearly understood and loved by the students. On Wednesday evenings there was singing, and on Friday choir practice. Here, without doubt, the African shone; he has an inborn sense of harmony on which the teacher could build, and he is a sight-reader of the first class (42:9). The Principals of Grace Dieu have all been able to use these gifts to the full, and by 1938, there existed in the College a very strong tradition of singing, and a high standard was maintained. The main themes of the students' singing were hymn-singing, Negro Spirituals and African choral-singing and singing for entertainment. Hymn-singing was rapturous and fascinating, and lifted the soul up to God, especially at Eastertide and Michaelmas.

The pomp and ceremony, and indeed the beauty of worship of the Anglican "High Church" came out most beautifully in the musical bent of the African students.

The College had House competitions in music and singing in addition to smaller singing groups. There was also the College choir which competed against other teacher-training institutions and secondary schools. As early as 1933, it was reported that a College Choir was successful in winning the trophy for Mixed Choir from other institutions at the Black Eisteddfod in Johannesburg (43:1). Music and Singing, therefore, became a living tradition at Grace Dieu to the end of its days. *Its value lies in the development of the aesthetic, moral and physical (in its widest sense) aspects of a human being.* Music and Singing is an expressive art, and the African was second to none in this, definitely not at Grace Dieu. Their Excellencies, Lord and Lady Clarendon, were for instance, particularly impressed by the singing of "Nkosi' Sikelela" by the students in 1932 (44:19).

4.5 Conclusion

The educational content and curricula of the different departments at Grace Dieu seem to have adequately, and in a balanced manner, actualised the envisaged educational aims as discussed in the previous chapter.

The curriculum in general was basically Essentialist-Conservative directed at modern needs in the Primary, Secondary and Training Departments through the fundamental academic subjects and teacher-professional studies and certain "additional" Vocational Studies in the Domestic Science, Carpentry and Woodcarving Departments. Woodcarving in particular put Grace Dieu on the Southern African and United Kingdom maps.

The Grace Dieu non-curriculum was diverse and rich, although the official curriculum was too packed to enable the students to exploit the non-curriculum fully. Again Pathfinding and Wayfaring in particular put Grace Dieu on the world map.

On the whole the academic curriculum was in accordance with the long and honourable tradition of grouping knowledge for pedagogic purposes in four major categories - the Human Sciences, the Natural Sciences, Mathematics, and the Humanities. These broad groupings of organised disciplines are generally recognised as basic cultural interests of modern societies which constitute both the resources and the obligations of the schools (45:108).

The curriculum at Grace Dieu was typified by certain tensions or conflicting views. Clearly the main tensions or dualisms were: *Firstly*, the Anglican view of educating an individual to enable him to make his own place in society as against the White government's view of educating an individual to fit him for a place in society. This tension partly led to the closure of Grace Dieu in 1958 after the introduction of the Bantu Education Act in 1953.

Secondly, the Anglican view of adhering to the denominational teaching of Religious Instruction or Scripture as against the White government's and other non-Catholic missionary institutions' view of the introduction of non-denominational teaching of Religious Instruction or Scripture.

Thirdly, in the aftermath of the Bantu Education Act, the students were on the whole on the side of the Church against the government's take-over of the College whereas the government insisted on the take-over.

Fourthly, the prominence of English as medium of instruction and of general communication was to be shared with Afrikaans after the passing of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. The sharing was, however, imposed and not favoured by the students, staff and the Black community. This was a National Party political decision imposed on a people without political rights.

The resolution of these tensions was always in the government's favour, and this had left a bitter taste in the mouths of the students at that time and generations of students and the Black community at large thereafter. The "expectorations" of this bitter taste were cast even some twenty years later (1976) in one of the most traumatic experiences in Black Education since the turn of the century. *Are the Black Schools merely expected to do the bidding of whatever powers and forces are most dominant in the larger society at any given time? In as far as Black communities are concerned, the answer is not in the affirmative.*

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CHAPTER FIVE

TEACHING METHODS AT GRACE DIEU

5.1 Introduction

In as much as the *why* (philosophy), and the *purpose* (aims) of education have been discussed in Chapter 3, and the *what* (content) discussed in Chapter 4, the *how* (methods) of education is the subject of this chapter. Teaching methods are structurally influenced by the philosophy, the aim, the content and the other aspects such as the cultural norms, which again are greatly influenced by the economic, political and religious milieu of that particular time (1:119). Indeed, it is very difficult to separate content from methods and to say where one ends and the other begins.

On the whole, methods receive more attention than philosophy, aims and content in teacher-training and teacher in-service training. *But teaching methods should not be judged in isolation; their worth lies in the extent to which they facilitate the achievement of aims.* There is sometimes a tendency on the part of certain educationists and teachers to think that certain methods are "best" for certain kinds of students: Black students as against white students; more able students as against less able students; lower classes as against higher classes; and so on.

The writer's experience as a teacher of several years' experience is that some methods might be quite appropriate for some less able students under certain circumstances, but that such methods might be equally appropriate for some brighter or more able students.

Just as a set of aims might be achieved through different content or subjects, so might different methods serve the same aims. Again, this provides the opportunity for both teachers and students to achieve variety, flexibility and choice. Moreover, a variety of aims like we have seen in Chapter 3 would require a variety of methods for their achievement. Not only does this variety add interest for the students and the teachers, but, and this is of far greater importance, *it increases the possibilities of learning for the students, since all students do not learn best via the same methods.* From the foregoing, the meaning of the term *teaching method* will be easier to state.

5.2 The Meaning of "Teaching Method" and the Main Types

To guide a student's learning, simply means that the teacher should create and control suitable learning events. Bisschoff and Kruger (2:119) say the measures he takes, the guidance he gives, the control he exercises together form, broadly speaking, his teaching method. Method is, therefore, the means by which the teacher has access to the inquiring mind of the student.

Nicholls and Nicholls (3:56) express the same idea when they say that the teaching method involves the relationships between students, teacher and materials, the organisation of content, its manner of presentation to the students, and the activities the students and the teacher carry out.

According to these viewpoints, in practice one single method is seldom, if ever, used.

It is common to name each particular teaching method or group of methods with regard to one or another particular characteristic. The following teaching methods will be considered in this chapter.

5.2.1 The Lecture or Narrative Method

This is the traditional and conventional way of teaching in which a teacher, who is the expert, confronts the class and, from his position of being an authority and being in authority, directly instructs the class. *It is essentially a teacher-centred one-way transmission with the student's participation being confined to listening, perceiving, conjuring a personal image, and assimilating.* Notes-giving and textbooks feature very prominently.

5.2.2 The Dialogue Method

In this method there is a continuous interchange of ideas between teacher and student. The teacher leads the learning activity. He asks questions, gets answers from the students, and encourages questioning of him by the students. The students can in turn impart their own ideas concerning the matter under discussion and thereby extend the dialogue. During the dialogue, a communal world of meaning is structured which enables the teacher to determine whether students are attaching the correct meaning to the content. *The learning is therefore both teacher-and task-centred with some cooperation between students and teacher.* Notes-giving and textbooks still feature prominently.

5.2.3 The Observational Method

This method involves a lot of sense-perception such as is common in the teaching of the sciences. The student uses one or more of his senses to understand the essence of the matter after the teacher has directed the student's attention to the matter. The teacher, therefore, takes a modified role of expert, but allowing the students to cooperate with each other and to share ideas. This is a model for a science lesson where students work together on tasks under the general guidance of the teacher's expertise. Concrete examples, representations like models, pictures and maps, and demonstrations feature commonly. *Learning is therefore both task - and student-centred with some cooperation between students.* Notes-giving and textbooks still feature prominently but direct experience is also emphasized.

5.2.4 The Self-Discovery Method

The application of this method principally entails self-discovery by the student as a result of his own activity. If the student fails to master the learning content on his own, the teacher is expected to intervene and provide the necessary help. On the whole students work independently or in small groups. There is cooperation and a minimum of competition, with the teacher acting as facilitator of learning and a general consultant. Sometimes a project is selected and centred on one topic, where the teacher acts as a chairman (sometimes in an entirely neutral capacity).

In this method *learning is structured by the teacher in a careful way, but the lessons are essentially student - task - and group-task centred.* Other sources of information besides hand-outs and textbooks feature prominently.

5.2.5 Summing Up

In sum, it can be said that it must be kept in mind that these methods seldom occur in isolation. Every learning event is unique and *the teacher can only succeed if he uses a judicious combination of the different methods (4:119).* On the whole, these methods are conservative, representing to a great extent the preservative factor in teaching. What non-teachers should be made aware of is that, by and large, every learning event is unique. The personality of the teacher himself, the nature and possibility of the students, the nature of the content, the educational aims, the circumstances prevailing and the type of examination system involved influence every learning event (5:90-95).

Therefore neither an inspector of the education department nor the principal of the school may dictate to a teacher in matters of the "best" teaching method; they can only advise in terms of their vast and successful experience in teaching. The immediate measure for the success of a teaching method is of course in terms of examination results.

Students, parents, teachers, principals, inspectors, education donors, governing bodies, sponsors and well-wishers in general - all attach great importance to examination results as a measure of success for teaching methods and of institutions. Thus, whilst the teacher should take care of the classroom implementation of methods, "the outside bodies" like education departments, governing bodies, and missionary societies must take care of those basic facilities that promote successful implementation of professionalism in the classroom. Such basic facilities are *sufficient funding* - the panacea for quality and quantity, which in turn leads to *the where* (adequate buildings), *the by whom* (well-qualified and efficient staff), and *the orderly circumstances under which to teach* (discipline) in education.

5.3 Funding, Organisation, Staffing and Discipline as Determiners of Method

The successful implementation of teaching methods depends on the provision of certain basic facilities, the so-called determiners of learning and teaching. They are as briefly indicated below.

5.3.1 Funding as Determiner of Method

The Community of the Resurrection, and later the Dioceses of Pretoria and Johannesburg, depended almost entirely on the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge ("the parent societies") for the erection of buildings at Grace Dieu.

But for the teachers' salaries and capitation grants, they relied heavily upon state subsidies, especially after 1929 when the state paid hundred per cent of the teachers' salaries. For the maintenance and running of the hostels, however, the authorities rightly expected the students to pay fees.

Those students who could not afford fees but were hardworking were given bursaries from benefactors; others were "adopted" by some well-wishers in England through the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, whilst a few simply attended as "free students" who paid in kind - by working at the college during the holidays. Many others were educated and trained as teachers through the "loan system", which means that they attended without paying anything on the understanding that immediately they started teaching they would refund the "loans". The following table indicates the roles of the outside bodies and that of the State in funding Grace Dieu in 1929:

TABLE 2

SHOWING SALARIES AND GRANTS IN 1929

NAMES	DFB*	SPCK	SPG	COLLEGE	TED**	TOTAL
Rev S P Woodfield	220	-	-	60	100	380
Mr C M Jones	90	-	-	60	150	300
Mr I S Wansbrough	60	-	-	60	120	240
Sr. Pauline C.R.	25	-	75	-	100	200
Sr. Faith C.R.	-	-	-	-	100	100
Sr. Maud C.R.	-	-	-	-	50	50
Sr. Blanche C.R.	-	-	-	-	60	60
Mr A Nye	-	-	-	108	-	108
Mr W Lokwe	-	-	-	16	50	66
Bursaries	-	372	-	-	270	642
TOTALS	£395	£372	£75	£304	£1000	£2146

The sum total of the donations for the year 1929 was £842 as against £1000 from the state, implying that the state and the Donors were equally important. After 1929 the State contributed more than the Donors by way of the 100% payment of teachers' salaries. On the whole, Grace Dieu always had financial problems. This was mainly because of, perhaps, the obvious oversympathetic attitude of the Principals and the Governors. The College was first out of debt in 1934, nearly thirty years after its founding. It was again in debt from the late forties and was only on even keel two or three years before its closure. Adequate funding is important for the professional implementation of any educational institution.

*DFB : *Diocesan Finance Board*

**TED : *Transvaal Education Department*

There can be no efficient organisation and staffing, and no effective discipline, that is, no orderly circumstances under which to teach without adequate funding. *In spite of its constant financial problems, Grace Dieu had adequate levels of these basic facilities and was always appealing for more funds to improve the quality and the quantity of its products.*

5.3.2 Organisation as Determiner of Method

Bisschoff and Kruger (6:190) regard organisation as the initiation, planning and actualisation in practice of education. Therefore, organisation in the first place points to *the place where education occurs, for instance the buildings*. Organisation in the second place also points to *the control of, and the responsibility for, the educational institution*. Both these aspects of organisation are important factors in the implementation of teaching methods, for instance adequate space in adequate buildings with adequate equipment affect the teacher-pupil ratio, the time-table, choice of method and eventually examination results. *Yet another important aspect is the organisation within each educational institution, for example, the drawing of the time-table, the planning and preparation of lessons.*

Grace Dieu had initially very cheap but adequate buildings with initial equipment provided by the Education Department and supplemented by donations and own resourcefulness.

The examination results were therefore fairly good over the years as the following table testifies:

TABLE 3

LOWER COURSE RESULTS 1928 - 1937

YEAR	NUMBER OF CANDIDATES	PASSES	SUPPLEMENTARIES	FAILURES
1928	12	5	5	2
1929	24	8	15	1
1930	9	3	6	-
1931	17	5	7	5
1932	22	15	6	1
1933	7	5	2	-
1934	15	9	6	-
1936	8	6	2	-
1937	19	18	1	-

In as far as the control of, and responsibility for, Grace Dieu was concerned Grace Dieu was fortunate to have a very knowledgeable and "missionary-hearted" Governing Body from 1924. Amongst the members were medical practitioners, Native Commissioners, ex-army personnel, priests, senators, monks, laymen and old-students, teachers, and graduates. In contrast, the Bantu Education Policy substituted such educationally high calibre men with, sometimes, illiterate and semi-illiterate men in the School Boards and Committees.

Only four Blackmen (all past students) served on the Governing Body in the thirty-four year-old existence of this august body.

The Grace Dieu Governing Body understood and recognized the professional problems of the staff and the general educational problems on the whole, and those of Blacks in particular. This body was therefore a facilitator rather than a hindrance of learning and teaching at Grace Dieu.

5.3.3 Staffing as Determiner of Method

The syllabus may be received whole by the teacher, but it is not transmitted whole to the student. The teacher shapes and orders what syllabus he is given, because his task involves him in actively selecting, ordering, modifying and rejecting parts of the syllabus he is teaching. The ability to do this will, of course, depend on the subjects; but it will, to a large extent, also depend on the teacher's knowledgeability and efficiency. In other words, *well-qualified teachers (academically and professionally) are better suited to transmit the curriculum than poorly-qualified ones*. Such teachers tend to be less captive and freer in as far as departmental educational ideology and curriculum offerings are concerned.

The Grace Dieu teachers were on the whole, most suitably qualified for their job. The staff was predominantly White from the beginning (1906) to the end (1958), except in the Practising School. [See Appendix C].

The majority of the teachers appointed were "missionary-hearted", single, lived in rondavels, and were fed communally. This included the Sisters of the Community of the Resurrection (and later of the Order of the Holy Paraclete) at St Mary's - the girls' residences. This staff with their adequate qualifications, devoted all their time and energy to the students and the general betterment of the College.

An outstanding feature of the staff was that English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans lived together in harmony with the Blacks on the staff. Their devotedness and co-operation with the College administrators created *the tone of Grace Dieu*. Government inspectors marvelled at this "excellent tone" of the College. This *'tone of Grace Dieu'* went a long way towards determining the successful implementation of teaching methods at Grace Dieu.

5.3.4 Discipline as Determiner of Method

The concept 'discipline' can be defined as "development of the mind to ensure obedience and strict order by controlling incorrect inclination" (7:228). The successful course of learning and teaching necessitates order. Order is indeed that fine balance between authority and freedom. Without freedom there can be no talk of education, because opportunities to act, to discover and to do, are necessary for a person to reach adulthood.

At Grace Dieu fruitful education took place because the most elevated ideas of both authority and freedom were recognised, and the idea of harmony between them was conducive to the realisation of educational aims. For the daily management and control of the students, the principal depended on the Prefects and their captains. The Prefect System was introduced in 1913 when the principal could no longer cope alone. The Prefects and their captains were appointed by the principal and were very powerful. They were second to the principal in authority. The Principal acted as "court of appeal", with the full understanding that appeals which were not upheld would entail double sentence of the original sentence. The fourth principal of Grace Dieu, Father Woodfield, perfected this system into an effective means of controlling the students.

There was only one strike (in 1949) in the more than fifty years' existence of Grace Dieu. The strike was over food and the powerful prefect system (8:1). The basic cause of the strike was, however, found to be the high cost of food as against the low fees paid by the students. After the 1949 strike, captains were nominated by the principal but elected by the students. The captains then elected one of themselves a prefect (that is, head-captain). By and large, the highly centralised system of control in the hands of the principal - without the inconvenience or hindrances of boarding-masters, teachers and superintendents in between - produced the desired character-product. *The Grace Dieu student was therefore "pulled" in a positive manner towards the achievement of desired learning and teaching.*

5.3.5 Summing Up

The factors mentioned in Section 5.3 as determiners of method will obviously play an important role in the discussion of the *how of education*, explicitly or implicitly. Furthermore, elements such as the planning and preparation of lessons and the nature and possibilities of the Black student will be understood to be and discussed as integral parts of the teaching method.

5.4 Teaching Methods and Subjects (or Subject Didactics)

The aim and the content of education imply certain procedures to be followed and certain materials to be used. Conversely, such procedures and materials depend on the nature of subjects and the aim visualized. Attention is now focused on this.

5.4.1 The Teaching of the Languages

In English and Afrikaans the aim was to achieve *literacy* and *oracy* for African boys and girls whose home languages were neither English nor Afrikaans. To achieve these aims the learning activities had of necessity to involve a lot of *imitation, repetition and example* (the observational method) of ideally the native speaker of the language and a lot of *practice* through *conversation, discussion* (dialogue method) *and drama* (the self-discovery method).

The native speaker teacher of the language concerned was therefore a central figure in the teaching of these languages.

In both the language and the literature parts the teacher had to do a lot of *class teaching* - making an exposition of the content, directing, leading and controlling most if not all of what went on in the classroom (9:58). With regard to English the foregoing procedures were most successful; partly because of the status of English in Black education as seen by Blacks; and partly because of the fact that English was the language of the White members of staff at Grace Dieu. As early as 1919, the inspectors observed:

*..... Reading is fluent, most of the pupils read with little trace of "native accent", though a few errors of pronunciation are noticeable.
..... The most noticeable fault was the use of the continuous form of the present tense in place of the simple form. (10:1).*

and further,

Most of the pupils are more fluent in English, their understanding of the books read is better, and generally there is evidence of greater thoroughness and capacity to express their thoughts (11:1).

In the normal department, the inspectors were satisfied with the general understanding of spoken English and the students' proficiency in it. In fact the standard of English, in particular, was so good in Anglican Missionary Institutions like Grace Dieu, St Peter's - Johannesburg, Khaiso - Pietersburg, St Matthews - Cape, and St Chad's - Natal that Mphahlele observes with justification:

In fact it can be safely assumed that the Anglican schools in general produced the best English writers and speakers among the Blacks in this country. The general atmosphere of the College was Christian in the first place and English in the second place. That should explain why English was taken and taught as if it were 'Mother Tongue', by prescribing books like 'A Tale of Two Cities' for the First Year Students (Standard 7). (12:304).

Peter Abrahams, Ezekiel Mphahlele, Nat Nakasa, Dan Twala, Casey Motsisi, Harry Mashabela, Desmond Tutu and many others are but examples of the internationally known English writers from the English Missionary Institutions or products of teachers from these institutions. The spectre of Bantu Education emerged over the horizon in the late 1940's and early 1950's to neutralize this Black English South Africa, which was on the whole anathema to the Afrikaner-Calvinist, a late-comer in Black education.

With regard to Afrikaans the circumstances were different. First, it was hard to get an Anglican-Missionary-hearted Afrikaans-speaking teacher until 1933; the teaching by *imitation and example* of ideally the native speaker of the language was therefore out of question. Second, the status of the language at the College was so low that one gets the impression that it was taught mainly to fulfil the conditions for the very important government subsidy; after all Afrikaans was the one subject on the curriculum which was voluntary and need not have been taken by any student (13:1).

Be that as it may, the standard of *class teaching* was very unsatisfactory, and the inspectors said so in no uncertain phraseology:

..... this is weak. Students cannot have been grounded properly. Vowels are mispronounced, the intonation is misplaced and show a lack of vocabulary which proves a great handicap to them. Since pronunciation and intonation are very often semantically differentiating the results are invariably queer. (14:106).

With the appointment of Mnr Werner Jensen in 1933, Mr Vance C H Brown in 1940, Mnr J Maree in 1944, Mnr Frederick J le Roux in 1949, and Mnr Nicholas Venter in 1952, the standard of teaching Afrikaans with the native speaker of the language as *identifying model* soared high and the inspectors were impressed thus in 1952:

But what was particularly noteworthy here was the success in Afrikaans. Seventy-five per cent passed in Afrikaans, several students gaining high marks - an achievement we have never attained before. Great credit goes to the work of Mnr Venter. (15:2).

Indeed the first successful production of an Afrikaans drama was in 1941 when the then Chief Inspector, Dr Eiselen observed that "mondelinge Afrikaans het mooi vooruitgegaan. Baie geslaagde opvoering van Die Heks" (16:2).

With regard to the Home Languages, Grace Dieu was the direct opposite of the (German) Lutheran Missionary Institutions.

At the latter all out efforts were made to learn and develop the native languages; at the former, only English really mattered. It was therefore not very surprising that after a quarter of a century of the existence of the College, the position regarding the teaching of Northern Sotho was found to be as follows:

This subject is being taught by one of the teachers in the Practising School. At present the work is very mechanical, consisting mostly of the study of formal grammar and reading. Actually language study is not attempted. (17:2).

The truth of the matter was that the problem was not that the Black teachers were lazy or lacked initiative, in fact the teachers were working to the full capacity of their capabilities; the irony of it was that their capabilities were limited by their lack of linguistic background (18:1) In 1935, for the first time, the institution was fortunate in having 'a sound Bantu linguist on the staff'. The inspectors were of the opinion that it would be wise to ask him to supervise the planning and the teaching of the Home Languages.

This, they felt, would inevitably lead to a closer correlation of studies, 'firstly between Afrikaans and the Bantu languages, and finally in the teaching of all the languages' (19:1). Thus for the first time at Grace Dieu a teacher who could serve as *an identifying model for imitation and example* was available.

Thereafter more *experimentation* was done with situational language manipulation and structural patterns such as suggested by previous inspection reports. Up to the closure of the College the teaching of Northern Sotho especially was on an even keel as inferred from inspection reports and examination results.

5.4.2 The Teaching of Content Subjects (History, Geography, Agriculture (Theory) and Arithmetic)

The level and the quality (or lack of it) of teaching these subjects is indicated very clearly by Sister Francis Clare (Community of the Resurrection) when she wrote that "there is a fallacy that the native can be educated for a small fraction of what it costs for a White pupil" (20:6). She went on to say:

So native education, like native clothing, is largely outfitted with secondhand cast-offs: all the old elementary school methods - long dead in England, at any rate - are in their hey-day in the native schools. There still persist: one room for all the standards; well-worn backless benches; slates and the minimum of reading books; a blackboard but no maps; lack of wash-basins and sanitation; much old fashioned repetition, often meaningless; and arithmetic compounded of rule-of-thumb and strange, circuitous workings. Yet out of it all, the native has learnt through sheer sledge-hammer determination, with or without understanding; the answer has been produced, the examination passed. (21:61).

She went on with exasperation:

But alas for him! The examiner has moved on a step and has learnt to frame his questions (in the higher examinations for teachers, at any rate) so that mere grind is invalidated and comprehension alone can succeed. Thus it is incumbent upon the missionary colleges to be turning out a different type of teacher who can read, understand, reduce the average age in the standards by better methods, and break down the old parrot traditions. But to do this they need - (1) modern equipment and (2) up-to-date staffing. (22:61).

Yes, *equipment* was necessary in languages, content and practical subjects: in *teacher-centred styles of teaching*; in both *teacher- and task-centred styles with cooperation between pupils and teacher*; in both *task- and student-centred styles with cooperation between students*; and in *essentially student -, task - and group-centred styles*.

These styles were discussed under 5.2 above. But provision of equipment also depends on economic and political influences of the time. Sister Francis Clare writes further:

For if the native is still behind, why should he be denied all those aids to learning through eye, ear and action, which are now considered necessary for our privileged White children? Surely he needs them all the more to make up the gaps in home environment, and to help him in his struggle with a foreign tongue. One wonders sometimes what a speeding up of native education there might be if native children had the same school advantages as White; if, for instance, they could begin on Montessori methods, and then be drafted on to a modified Dalton system (for natives are born "perseverators" and the continual change from one lesson to the next is always pain and grief to them). (23:61).

But in spite of the lack of sufficient adequate equipment at Grace Dieu, the teachers and students were resourceful enough and improvised. Thus occasionally, and together with *class teaching*, independent and group-learning opportunities were planned for students. Students were thus enabled to seek out knowledge on their own and cooperate with one another. In such cases of student -, task - and group-task centred learning the teacher was no longer the interpreter, director or total controller. Instead, he acted variously as an adviser, a consultant, a questioner, a sounding board for plans and ideas or a guide. This *basically involved the self-discovery methods* practical examples of which were in the production of plays, in woodcarving, carpentry, domestic science and agriculture.

5.4.3 The Teaching of Practical Subjects

In the foregoing subsection, reference has been made to independent individual and group work in woodcarving, carpentry, domestic science and agriculture as a way of teaching these subjects. This is the so-called *project method* which is an essential ingredient of these subjects. To these subjects can be added Drill, Blackboard Work and Singing as practical subjects which entail *doing and practising*.

The theoretical sections of the subjects were however, still taught through the methods as described in section 5.2 of this chapter. Inspection reports describe the teaching of these subjects, invariably, as *very satisfactory or excellent*.

In 1941, for instance, not less than six Inspectors declared Blackboard Work at Grace Dieu to be "the best in the Transvaal" (24:2). Impressive articles of handwork, art and crafts, carpentry and wood-carving won the College trophies at Shows and fame internationally.

5.4.4 Teaching Methods and Examinations

The Education Department's method of examining was borne in mind when teaching methods were planned at Grace Dieu. *Because it was ultimately in the interest of the students and the College to pass examinations, examinations influenced methods of teaching and learning.* Van Zyl puts it succinctly when he says:

If the examination restricts teaching and learning methods, teaching will become one-sided, with drilling and coaching methods predominating. If on the other hand it is a stimulating influence it serves a positive purpose promoting the function of teaching. (25:96).

At Grace Dieu this was evidenced by the way the Secretary of the Transvaal Education Department reacted to the very first examination results of the College:

I am much surprised at the small numbers that have been passed, and should be obliged if you could give me any reason for this. It is quite clear that we cannot continue to pay towards the support of a school master who passes such a small percentage of his pupils, unless there is some reason for this failure that we are ignorant of. (26:1).

The expected teacher reaction to such a virtual serious professional reprimand was *teaching to make students pass the examinations*, even if this was against the teachers' professional convictions. For instance in 1930, the inspectors discovered:

Members of the staff complained bitterly against the examination system in vogue at the present time basing their complaints chiefly on the fact that this examination did not permit of supplying Education in the full sense of the word, and compelling the staff to indulge in the practice of "spotting" questions and of "cramming" for the examination (27:1).

The inspectors on the other hand argued that the students' intelligence was being overrated, and that this led to wrong teaching methods being employed:

To put it plainly, the teachers in the institution are aiming too high. One of the peculiarities of the Native mind is that the Native finds it difficult to think abstractly and must be led step by step, very laboriously sometimes, from the concrete to the abstract. In many instances kindergarten methods must be employed even in the case of students. (28:1).

The principal, Father Woodfield, reacted most acrimoniously to these inspectors' criticisms, and with justification in the opinion of the writer. Anyone experienced in the *art of teaching* should know that taking all factors into consideration, *teaching methods can never be prescribed but recommended. Teaching can never be a science; it is, and will always remain, an art.*

So Father Woodfield was within his rights as a teacher to maintain that an assertion by the inspectors that "*the practices in vogue at present are undoubtedly undesirable and cannot but act to the detriment of the students in particular, and of Education in general*" (29:2), was in essence:

an insult not only to the members of Staff but to the Institutions at which they themselves received their training. What stronger condemnation could have been made had it been found that the members of the Staff were a gang of rogues who were not fit to be entrusted with the task of educating children? (30:2).

Father Woodfield ended his reaction to the inspection report thus:

.... it is hoped very strongly that the Department will not insist upon a stereotyped form of instruction for each of the Training Institutions, as seems hinted at in the Report. At present each Institution has its own particular characteristics which it imparts to its students - and it would be a tremendous loss were these characteristics to be lost in a dry-as-dust and mechanical form of instruction which would turn out students as from a single mould. (31:4).

It was not the end that justified the means but rather the means that justified the end.

5.4.5 Teaching Methods and the Nature and Possibilities of the Black Student

Not only is every student *unique*, he is also a *developing human being with his own primary environment.*

This is a factor to be considered in the choice of teaching methods (32:93). A method effective in Standard 1 would be ridiculous in Standard 10. Nevertheless, *methods should not be restricted to standards, streams, subjects or race.*

The fact is that methods influence the learning process, and that all students do not benefit to the same extent from the same methods. Students also differ in their *rate of work*, and some students can continue the same work for a long time whereas others become fatigued within a short time.

At Grace Dieu the inspectors (the State) were critical of the teachers' overrating of the intellectual development of the students and consequently criticised the College for taking it for granted that the students, even first years, knew all the fundamental principles. The inspectors argued that this overrating of the students' intelligence affected the methods employed. However, no scientific, culture-free research, has been undertaken to prove that all Blacks find it difficult to think abstractly. This would simply mean that Blacks are unintelligent. Dr Brookes refutes this assertion and argues:

.... that their intelligence differs quantitatively or qualitatively from ours has never been proved ... the only reasonable conclusion which we can accept is that the Bantu ought to be given educational facilities equal in degree and not markedly dissimilar in kind from those which we should approve for White South Africa (33:63).

The College teachers would not subscribe to the inspectors' 'kindergarten methods' for all Black students for all levels of development. The fact of the matter was that Black students had a poor Western-cultural background which could only be upgraded by sufficient educational equipment, and committedness to Black education.

Two things are clear, however. First, the state's view on Black intelligence and the Anglican Spiritual Tradition (Chapter 3 Subsection 3.3.1) were in tension; second, the myth of an inferior special education for the inferior "Bantu" for inferior levels in the South African social, political and economic structure was clearly emerging.

5.4.6 Teaching Methods and Preparation, Planning and Organisation of Learning

The problem of preparation, planning and organisation of learning sometimes causes difficulty. The nature of these aspects of teaching methods vary considerably according to methods used as does the time when they have to be carried out. This point can be illustrated by reference to the two positions of *class teaching* (subsections 5.2.1, 5.2.2 and 5.2.3) on one hand; and that of *independent group learning* (subsection 5.2.4) on the other hand. In the first position, these aspects would most likely be carried out in advance of the learning opportunity and might consist of selection of extracts from textbooks, provision of a hand-out, selection of pictures, a film or a filmstrip, together with decisions about what the teacher and pupils would actually do, for example, talk, read, write, watch, answer or ask questions and so on.

In the second position, much of these aspects would also be undertaken beforehand and they would probably consist of the provision or checking on the availability of a wide range of resource materials, such as text and reference books, filmstrips, tapes, pictures and so on, and also materials from which the concepts to be learned might be discovered. Decisions about what the pupils are to do cannot be made except in the broadest of terms, because of students' greater control in this type of situation, but the teacher's responsibility is to organise and structure the learning opportunities in such a way that the desired learning can take place.

Some further preparation, planning and organisation are likely to take place during the activities as students' requirements for independent and group work become known, and then again afterwards in readiness for the next opportunity when further requirements have become apparent. Preparation, planning and organisation may vary also in that they might, on different occasions, concern the whole class, groups within the class or individual students. The teachers at Grace Dieu and the inspectors (the State) did not always agree on these aspects. In 1930, the inspectors found that no attempt was made to plan and organise the work in each subject either in general or in detail. To the inspectors, this was a great weakness because the lack of a definite plan and organisation must lead to a certain amount of dissipation of time and energy.

Because a plan (scheme) of work was a sine qua non of successful teaching, the inspectors suggested that the staff "submit outlines of schemes as soon as possible, so that helpful criticism of such schemes can be supplied" (34:1). They went further:

.... each member of the staff should be made responsible for drawing up a plan of teaching a subject or subjects for the whole course i.e. three years, and that when the scheme for every subject has been drafted the teachers meet and discuss schemes of subjects individually and collectively (35:1).

The lack of clearly and carefully worked out plans of organisation and action was deemed a serious weakness of professional work at the College. In 1935, the inspectors again complained about the records and schemes:

These lack many necessary details indicating methods of teaching employed and approaches to each lesson, the working out and recording of which would knit the different studies more closely together (36:2).

To acquaint the teachers with the cultural background of the students the inspectors recommended:

A general discussion with some reliable Native either before or during the preparations of the lesson would give the teacher a clear line for his approach to each lesson (37:2).

The views of the inspectors were confirmed by a prominent independent member of the Anglican Church, one Fred Livie-Noble, to whom some students complained. In his condemnation of, among other things, insufficient preparation of lessons, he claimed to have been informed by students, teachers and ex-teachers when he said that there were some things wrong with both the teaching and the organisation of classes because examination results were very poor (38:1-2). The principal, Father Woodfield, acknowledged some of the criticisms of the inspectors:

It is not suggested that the whole of the Report is either unfair or impracticable, but it is suggested that certain facts have been misrepresented owing no doubt to some of the information given by the staff having been misunderstood.

It is appreciated that the two main criticisms of the Report are based upon the Organisation of teachers and subjects, and upon the provision of a scheme of work. These will be gone into with a view to improvement.
(39:4).

The promised improvement came, and in 1937, the inspectors reported that the general atmosphere of Grace Dieu was of such a kind that guests found it very hard to leave this hospitable college (40:112). Before the end of the same year, 1937, another inspection Report, less favourable, was released. The latter report was carefully considered by the Governing Body of the college and the principal was asked to what extent the report represented the result of *consultation*.

The meeting expressed great surprise that the report had been written with practically no discussion on the specific points raised. The meeting felt:

.... it would have been more helpful to have had before it the fruits of such consultation as the result of which details of practical importance would have been adequately considered by the Acting Principal and the Inspectorate a report along these lines would more truly have placed on record the actual position and the practical possibility (41:2).

In the end, the Governing Body decided to suggest to the Chief Inspector that it would be more helpful to have reports, along the above lines in future.

In as far as *correlation of subjects* (the so-called horizontal relationship as against the vertical relationship) such as that of between Afrikaans and the African languages, and finally, in the teaching of all the languages (42:2); and that of geography and history in the hands of one teacher (43:2) the Principal (Father Woodfield) was not impressed. His stand was:

It might perhaps be mentioned that a system which involves the overlapping of the same subject by two or several teachers need not necessarily be wholly bad, since constant repetition plays a valuable part in the giving of instruction (44:1).

5.5 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to indicate *the many factors related to method* which need to be taken into account in the planning of learning opportunities which would lead to effective teaching and learning. Knowledge, skills and insight are required by teachers with a willingness to experiment and to evaluate the experiments. Belief in, or dependence upon, a particular method is inappropriate; decisions to adopt a particular method based on "policy" need to be replaced by decisions based on *a range of factors*, fully and seriously considered. *The aims are one factor, the content, another, the nature and possibilities of the students, the number and efficiency of the staff, availability of adequate equipment, adequate school buildings, and all the other elements in the total situation are others.* All these factors have a bearing on the suitability of proposed methods.

Van Zyl sums it up succinctly when he says:

The real problem is: "I must find the method that will, here and now in my honest opinion, do most to help this student or students to accept his or their duty". For this no formula can be prescribed. The many suggestions from friends, teachers, and text-books, and experience with students in similar situations, will nevertheless help the teacher in the specific situation where, in accordance with his deepest convictions, he must make a decision and act on it. His decisions and his deeds will be directed by the principles he respects and hopes to teach his students to respect because they are regarded as valid. The science of teaching is mere hollow-sounding words if the wisdom of education is lacking.
(45:97).

The teaching methods at Grace Dieu were typified by certain tensions or conflicting views. These can be expressed concisely and precisely.

In the first place, the tension between the inspectors' inclination towards subject correlation (horizontal relationship); and the College's inclination towards the traditional 'different systems' of subjects. *In the second place*, the tension between the inspectors' strong feeling on the importance of a native speaker of Afrikaans as Afrikaans teacher and a native speaker of Northern Sotho as Northern Sotho teacher, on one hand; and the College's view that the language that really mattered was English, on the other.

In the third place, the tension between the state's lack of provision of adequate equipment for education and the College's constant application for it. *In the fourth place*, the tension between the inspectors' view of the importance of examination results in teaching and the College's view of the role of examination results in teaching. *In the fifth place*, the tension between the inspectors' view that Blacks are unintelligent and the Anglican Spiritual Tradition that the endowment of intelligence is non-racial, but that Blacks have a leeway to make up in their Western-cultural background.

In the sixth place, and perhaps the most significant, the tension between the inspectors' belief and high regard for a very "closed system of teaching" in which the inspectors' knowledge, experience and understanding should be accepted on authority by the teachers; and the College teachers' belief and high regard for a more "open system of teaching" in which the teacher interprets his knowledge, experience and understanding according to his consciousness (i.e. in terms of his philosophy of life and value system).

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CHAPTER SIX

EVALUATION OF GRACE DIEU'S ROLE IN BLACK EDUCATION

6.1 Introduction

After the indication of the *need* for Grace Dieu in Chapter 2, the discussion of what the Grace Dieu authorities believed *man can become (the Anglican Philosophy of Life)* and *for what purpose man can be educated* (educational aims) in Chapter 3, *what man can be taught* in Chapter 4, and *how man can be taught* in Chapter 5, it is essential to come to the final stage of *the realisation or outcome of the afore-mentioned stages*. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. But before this is done, it is necessary to give attention to Grace Dieu in the aftermath of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, and the events that led to its closure.

6.2 Grace Dieu in the Aftermath of the Bantu Education Act

The impending gloom of Bantu Education finally emerged from the horizon with the Eiselen Commission of 1949-1951 acting to formalise the emergence. The Commission visited Grace Dieu but the writer could not find any record of any interview or response to the questionnaire that might have taken place. However, Father Woodfield reacted most condemningly to the introduction of Bantu Education in 1954 when he became principal of Grace Dieu for the second time to put the College on an even keel financially (1:109).

The written evidence to this effect, spanning the period 1954-57, appeared in certain documents directed to the Department of Native Affairs which was responsible for Bantu Education. For some strange reason these documents were not with the rest of the Grace Dieu Records collected and preserved by Father Woodfield and presented to the Church of the Province of Southern Africa Record Library in 1972 at the University of the Witwatersrand. Some of the missed out documents were burned by order of the then principal of the Setotolwane College of Education in 1969, a Mnr D A Scholtz, because the Black members of staff discovered them in the old Woodfield rooms and read them with great interest. Nevertheless the documents which are available indicate that the College was throttled through the conditions for continuance under the Bantu Education Act.

6.2.1 "A Venture in Faith" is Taken

At a joint meeting of the two Governing Bodies of Khaiso and Grace Dieu called for the special purpose of discussing the future of the two institutions under the Bantu Education Act, a long discussion took place as to the possibilities of retaining the two institutions, with the following results:

1. *The Teacher Training Department not to be offered to the Government. No new students to be admitted and the Course to close at the end of 1955. (Unanimous).*

2. *An attempt be made to carry on the Diocesan Secondary School on the 75% salary grant basis, and, if possible, the Course to extend to Matriculation. It was unanimously agreed that the Governing Body was prepared to enter into negotiations with the Government on the 75% basis, subject to the Provincial Board of Missions leaving it open for such negotiations to take place.*
3. *It was agreed to explore the possibilities of the transfer of the Boarding Department and such staff as would be necessary (subject to their being prepared to work on the 75% salary basis) from Khaiso School to the College as from January 1955.*
4. *It was agreed that any Secondary School and Boarding Department furniture not needed at Khaiso should be transferred to the College.*

The Primary School at the College to be retained on the 75% salary basis.

5. *The Bishop of Pretoria and the Principals of the two Institutions were authorised to negotiate with the Department of Native Affairs on the decisions made and noted above. (2:1).*

The "subject to the Provincial Board of Missions leaving it open for such negotiations to take place" in item 1 of the foregoing paragraphs turned out to be in the negative.

At a subsequent meeting of the Governing Body under the item Bantu Education Act, the Chairman (Bishop of Pretoria) explained what had taken place in an interview between himself and the Principals of the College and of Khaiso School with the Regional Director of the Northern Region of the Bantu Education Section of the Department for Native Affairs, and also at the Provincial Board of Missions held at Umtata. He said:

.... the decision of the Principal Synod that no dual-control of hostel and school and that no arrangement for the carrying on of educational work on a 75% salary basis should be carried out had necessitated a change of plan for the College. Since an immediate decision had to be taken he and the Principal had, after careful thought regretfully decided to accept no further students in the Normal Department, the Secondary School and the Boys' Industrial Department but that negotiations should be entered into with the Government on whether the present students could be allowed to complete their courses of study. (3:1).

It was hoped that the Primary School might be registered as a Farm School. A statement to this effect had been circulated to all parents, guardians and friends of the College. He asked that the Governing Body confirm the decision taken by himself and the Principal. After discussion, the Governors confirmed the action of the Chairman and Secretary (Principal).

The alternative to these possibilities was that the College should try, in some way, to continue to concretise its Christian influence by carrying on some sort of work like a self-paying Anglican Boarding School for Coloured children or a centre for Training and Refresher Courses for Catechists (4:2).

By July 1955, the Principal reported that as a result of negotiations with the Educational authorities:

.... the College had been allowed to continue until the end of 1955 on condition that no new students were admitted. This mainly applied to the Secondary School, the Industrial Department and the Primary School. He proceeded to say that application had been made for the Primary School to be registered as a Farm Mission School as from January 1956 and for the other Departments to be recognised as a Private School, with or without subsidies. (5:1).

The Regional Director of Bantu Education and the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs invited the Board to accept the salary subsidies as paid to other Church Schools. *This would be at the rate of 75% until March 1956, 50% from April till December 1956 and then 25% for 1957. But half of the staff of the Secondary School had to be Blacks. No boarders would be allowed in the Primary School.* These financial strictures led to the demise of Grace Dieu. The Governing Body, however, resolved:

.... an attempt should be made to organise and maintain a really good Private Secondary School with a fully-paid and well-experienced staff and that the curricula should aim at the Matriculation standard. For this a sum of £5 000 per annum should be aimed at from outside sources. It was possible that students from Khaiso and St Peter's Schools might be drafted. (6:2).

6.2.2 The Spectre of Specified and Unspecified Conditions Cripples "A Venture in Faith"

By November 1957, permission to carry on the Secondary and Industrial Schools after 1957 as private (non-aided) Missionary Schools *subject to certain conditions (some specified and some not specified)* was received:

A full and long discussion took place on the "conditions" and it was felt that as Churchmen the Governing Body could not conscientiously agree to some of them. The fact that all the conditions had not been specified meant that, if they accepted them now, they would be "signing a blank cheque". (7:1).

For among other things permission was subject "to such further conditions as the Minister may determine" (8:3), and liable transfer of White staff members at any time as they would be civil servants. This would be unacceptable to members of Holy Orders, for instance.

The following resolution was then passed:

That this Governing Body is unable to accept the conditions laid down by the Bantu Education Department for the registration of the Diocesan Secondary and the Grace Dieu Industrial Schools as Private (non-aided) Missionary Institutions (9:2).

After a further discussion on the implications of the passing of the resolution, the Governing Body regretfully decided that, in spite of the hardships that would be caused to students and staff, the only possible solution was to close the school at the end of 1957. The Principal was instructed to give notice to the Black members of the staff (all the White staff with the exception of the Sisters already having made arrangements to leave).

Thus Grace Dieu, Khaiso - Pietersburg, St Peters - Johannesburg, St Matthews - the Eastern Cape, and St Chad's - Natal, Anglican Mission Schools of great renown were put out of action by the crippling spectre of the Bantu Education Act. The writer's former principal at Khaiso (1952-1955), the Rev Robert Michael Jeffery, who was asked to come back from London and head the Diocesan Secondary and Grace Dieu Industrial Schools from 1958, had his forebodings from the very beginning, that is, the middle of 1957:

We are rather optimistically assuming that I can get two members of staff and that the Government will register the school. Personally I think the latter most improbable but the Bishop is very optimistic about it and no doubt he knows some of the inside workings.

I must say that I am somewhat apprehensive about the whole venture. In the first place I am concerned to find that only 160 pupils are in the school. I thought there would have been over 200. Also I gather that there are not a large number of applications for next year. Of course it is early yet. At the same time I wonder if parents are hesitant about sending their children because of the insecurity of the school and of the possibility that children from a church school may be persona non-grata afterwards and have difficulty in getting jobs especially in government service. The same no doubt applies to African teachers. It seems a terrible effort to make for 160. I do not mean for me, I mean the whole effort of keeping the school going.

Now I suppose we must wait for the decision of the Native Affairs Commission. I do hope the Bishop will insist on an unequivocal permission. I can see no sense in going on unless we have some security. (10:1).

A temporary permit of registration for 1958 was granted and Father Jeffery headed the school for that year. But nothing really changed, and the Government took over the place in 1959. A great era in Anglicanism-in-education amongst Blacks ended with a whimper.

6.2.3 Summing Up

So after over fifty years the work of training Black teachers at Grace Dieu (and other Missionary Training Colleges) was brought to an end at the end of 1955.

From the beginning of 1956, the status of the Diocesan Training College at Grace Dieu was that of a Private Mission School re-named the Diocesan Secondary School and the Grace Dieu Industrial School. Both were to receive grants on a diminishing scale towards salaries of approved staff. The scope of the Secondary School was extended to Standard 10. The Practising School, re-named the Woodfield Primary School, had become a registered Farm School as from the end of 1955. On Michaelmas (29 September 1956) a gloomy Jubilee of Grace Dieu was celebrated.

Thus the Grace Dieu Governing Body's "venture of faith" to continue with one boarding school for Blacks in South Africa where the faith could be taught and practised (11.3), were frustrated by specified and unspecified conditions on the part of the Bantu Education authorities. So an institution of over fifty years' standing came to an end. It is very interesting that exactly thirty years' later in October 1987 very similar conditions in spirit are being applied by the Nationalist Government on the South African universities. The English spiritual tradition seems again to be the target.

6.3 The Realisation of the Needs in Chapter Two

Grace Dieu was, in the first place, founded *to train teachers for the many Anglican mission schools in the Transvaal*; and in the second place, *to produce the Black Clergy and lay-preachers* - both within the spirit of the Constitution of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa.

Both categories of evangelising agents were both scarce and ill-equipped for the job at the turn of the century. At the same time the Northern Transvaal needed a mission centre to extend the work of the Church in these parts. After over half a century of its existence and towards the end of its life, Father Woodfield, a man who was regarded as Grace Dieu personified, proclaimed:

During the last 48 years the College has trained African men and women teachers for the Anglican schools of the Transvaal. Some 40 of its members are serving as priests in the Church and many of its former students are now graduates of the University of South Africa. (12:37).

Two chiefdoms in the West of Pietersburg were won to the Church. The Moletji royal family was baptised in 1923, and the Mashashane in 1929. The Matlala royal family was never won, but it allowed St Paul's Anglican Mission to be established. To a large extent the Parish of Moletji and Matlala, and that of Mahwelereng (some 2 500 square miles) owe their existence and development to Grace Dieu. Indeed, the existence and spread of the Anglican Church amongst Blacks in the Northern Transvaal are to a large extent the work and influence of Grace Dieu. Its catchment area was wider than the two dioceses of Pretoria and Johannesburg:

A great variety of tribes are amongst these including Bapedi, Mandebele, Xhosa, Basotho, Shangaan, Barolong, Bakwena, Zulu, Mashona. The students come from all over South Africa some from East London, Bechuanaland and Southern Rhodesia.

A great number come from the Reef while the three large locations which surround the Institution, namely, Mashashane, Matlala and Moletji also provide a good number of students. (13:3).

Thus the *needs* which led to the founding of Grace Dieu were more than just met. Bishop Fuller must have been a very happy man when he died on 23 May 1950, just outside Pietersburg - some forty-five years after his first arrival in Pietersburg. His soul should even be happier for the fact that his son John is, like his father, a priest and also working for the advancement of Black Education (in Zimbabwe).

6.4 The Realisation of the Anglican Spiritual Tradition

The Anglican Spiritual Tradition and the values it encompasses have always been a living force. This was the living force at all wellknown Anglican Missionary Institutions.

Zonnebloem, Cape Town, founded in 1858; Tigerkloof, Northern Cape, founded in 1904; St Matthew's, Keiskamma (the Ciskei), founded in the 1850's; St Augustine's, Zululand, founded in 1880; Modderpoort, Orange Free State, founded in 1929; St Chad's, Natal founded in the 1920's; St Peter's, Rossettenville, (Johannesburg) founded in 1902; *Grace Dieu, Pietersburg, founded in 1906*; Jane Furse, Sekhukhuniland, founded in 1916; and Khaiso Secondary School, Pietersburg founded in 1913.

It was the same living force behind the actions of the Reverends Read, Van der Kemp, and Doctor Philip - all of the early nineteenth century Eastern Cape history fame (14:8-17); of Bishop John Colenso of Natal (1853-1883), "Sobantu", (Father of the Black People); of Doctor Allan Paton (of the "Cry the Beloved Country" fame); of Father Trevor Huddleston (of the "Naught for Your Comfort" fame); of the world-renowned Bishops Reeves and Ffrench-Beytagh of Johannesburg; and of Archbishop Jooste de Blank; *of Bishop Fuller and Archdeacon Woodfield of Grace Dieu*; yes, of Archbishop Desmond Tutu (Nobel Peace Prize Winner) and *all the inheritors of the Anglican Spiritual Tradition.*

It is apparent from the history of the foregoing institutions and men that there would exist a division of opinion between the Anglicans and the Government on Black Education and its administration. There existed the traditional White South African view that the state should assume the entire control of Black Education and should shape it in accordance with its policy of segregating all "Native Affairs" on one hand; and the Anglican liberal view which believed that the removal of Black youth from "direct", that is, Missionary Religious Instruction and Education in general would be a deprivation of these, on the other.

From a pedagogic point of view, the Anglicans held that education was one and indivisible, whether it be that of White or of Black children (15:1).

Thus at Grace Dieu, teachers and students were held together by a common faith of *what man can become* ("man" in macrocosm), that is, the philosophy, and *what man can become* ("man" in microcosm as "men"), that is, the aim, the curriculum and the method of education. The strife for the realisation of this common faith was explicit in the College Motto: "Per Ardua Ad Astra". Thus Father Woodfield accordingly observed:

Some of the present students are of the third generation of families who have been educated at Grace Dieu, and there is, therefore, a strong "family" spirit amongst those who have been and are being educated here.

Although the doors of the College are closing, its work will go on through those who have left it to serve their people in many ways throughout the country. (16:37).

The Church and State variance on what Black Education should be was a product of the Anglican Spiritual Tradition; and the tensions mentioned above are but examples of this variance. The Anglican Spiritual Tradition would not submit to racial prejudice in education; it was the essence of the tradition to train the Black youth, without prejudice and without the condescending attitude of the State that Education or Western Civilization was one thing for the White race, and quite another for the Black race.

In the Northern Transvaal, Grace Dieu was the seat, disseminator and perpetuator of this tradition in the service of man created in the Image of God.

This is the greatest debt owed and acknowledged to Grace Dieu and appreciated by the majority of those who had educational links with it.

6.5 The Realisation of the Educational Aims

The educational aims, it has been indicated in Chapter 3, point to the final destination to be reached. From these educational aims it is explicit and implicit that Grace Dieu existed *for the dignity of education as a means of training the souls, minds and bodies of human beings for the furtherance of human happiness and The Greater Glory of God.* In this *raison d'être* for Grace Dieu the Church and the State did not always see eye to eye.

This variance in philosophy and aim over 'the educated Native' eventually led to the closure of Grace Dieu and other English Missionary Institutions, and to the creation of the Roman Catholic Private Schools. *What Dr Verwoerd condemned in the Senate in 1954 as the evils and misconceptions of Black Education was regarded by the Blacks and the Missionaries as the very praiseworthy gist of Black Education.* Education as a means of training the souls, minds and bodies of human beings for the furtherance of human happiness and The Greater Glory to God, entails the development of a variety of ways of thinking and mental skills, attitudes, values, a whole range of social, emotional and physical skills, as well as the acquisition of a body of knowledge.

Through the *content* (Chapter 4) and *methods* (Chapter 5) Grace Dieu attained at least some of these attributes in its students.

Some educationists believe that some of these aims cannot be easily measured, and that they are very *long-term* so that only when the students become adult can we know whether institutions have been successful or not. The writer subscribes to this view, and emphasis will therefore be placed on the *long-term effects* or educational contributions of Grace Dieu rather than on short-term ones like examination results.

6.5.1 The Industrial Courses

Of the Industrial Courses, the men's courses, Woodwork and Woodcarving became wellknown in Church (Anglican) circles in South Africa and abroad. *They were both "firsts" in the Transvaal.* The two trades could be practised together or separately. Practised separately, Woodwork produced *basic and serviceable* furniture such as benches, chairs, tables, easels, desks etc. for the many Anglican and non-Anglican churches and schools in the Northern Transvaal. Basic services such as roofing and repairs were also provided.

Woodwork practised together with Woodcarving, produced more *ornamental* furniture such as prayer desks, choir-stalls, bookstands, trays, altar-panels, Tudor-chairs, sideboards, divans, et cetera, specimens of which are found in more sophisticated places such as many South African Churches - White and Black: St Cyprian, Moletji; Christchurch, Pietersburg; St Michael, Turfloop; St Alban's Cathedral, Pretoria; and St Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg, to name but a few.

The ornamentation on these pieces of furniture depict expressive Biblical themes in the African medium, and African flora and fauna. *This is a contribution of no mean significance to Black ability, understanding and self-pride.*

Practised separately, Woodcarving made even a more bold impact on the South African and British and American art circles. Two lads in particular, both of whom exhibited regularly in the South African Academy held annually in Johannesburg, received the whole of their training in the craft from one of the Sisters of the Community of the Resurrection who was on the College Staff. Perhaps it is worthy of mention that one lad, (born 1910), Ernest Mancoba, came from Etwatwa near Benoni and has been living in Denmark since the 1940's; the other lad, Job Kekana had the use of only one eye and was partially paralysed. He was a local boy, and now lives in Zimbabwe.

Ernest Mancoba, a student at Grace Dieu 1921-1924, and later a graduate of Fort Hare, is wellknown for his works: The Black Madonna (1929), exhibited in 1936 in St Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg, has been said to have "a mood of spirituality about the face and pose of the figure"; The Africa To be, typified by two small boys in shorts; Pangs of Birth, showing the agony of Africa re-born; and a figure of St Augustine of Canterbury in teak, and others. He also decorated part of St Peter's Church in Grahamstown; other statues have been bought by friends and sent to England and other countries overseas.

He later studied in Paris and London. His favourite theme was "The sorrow of Africa", that is, showing Africa to the White man and what the White man is doing to Africa; that is why his carvings are sad.

Job Kekana, a student at Grace Dieu in the 1930's, is also a great artist and great Christian. "He is by now an internationally known Woodcarver whose work expresses the suffering he has experienced, and yet also the light of Christ that he has received" (17:9). He studied art in London in the early 1960's and is now resident at St Faith's Mission, Rusapi in Zimbabwe where he has been able to develop his output. Many of his magnificent and deeply moving figures of Christ and of the Virgin and Child have gone into churches in South Africa, Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom.

He also carved the Bishop of Mashonaland's pastoral staff, the mace of the now defunct Federal Parliament of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and coats of arms for banks, head of Bernard Mizeki (the Black Anglican martyr), the crozier for the Archbishop of Cape Town, and many other works of art. His most famous pieces of art are, however, The Man of Sorrows depicting the suffering Christ and The African Calvary. He too, like Ernest Mancoba, worked within "the African medium". Of the impression created by this medium "The Bantu World" commented:

So Christian art overseas is in its infancy. Few specimens of it are brought to England. The artists are timid of showing their work. In some cases, it is still tinged with Europeanism, as if the temptation to touch up the picture with an alien brush was too strong. Where it is untrammelled by Western convention, it has blossomed out with all the ardour of its people's soul, though often it seems to us strange, uncouth, even repelling. We, in our turn, are learning that it is not so easy to see through other men's eyes. (18:15).

Woodcarving was therefore a "first" and a proof that Black art had a place in the world and could be recognised as such. The work of the hands was not to be despised. Grace Dieu had proved this to the Blackman.

The Women's Domestic Science course produced many a Christian hygienic-mother, many a primary school needlework-laundry-cookery teacher, and many a much - sought-after domestic servant. And many a marriage was contracted between a St Mary's and a St Michael's student during or after training. So for more than forty years, (1917-1958), Grace Dieu made a meaningful contribution to the general upliftment of African womanhood in particular, and the African race in general.

In sum the Industrial Courses at Grace Dieu were commensurate with the Anglican Spiritual Tradition, and the African medium in art, and its execution contributed more than adequately to Black Education.

6.5.2 The Teacher Training Courses

By the early 1940's Grace Dieu was producing about thirty teachers annually and the Transvaal Education Department was demanding about fifty teachers a year. The Lower Course was dying a natural death and *in 1936, Grace Dieu was the "first" Teacher Training Institution in the Transvaal to introduce the Primary Higher Course (of the Cape for Blacks)*. Grace Dieu, popularly known as the *Diocesan Training College*, became wellknown for its socially-minded teachers the majority of whom also served as lay-preachers, churchwardens and self-supporting priests in the Church. Many of them never forgot the Anglican send-off in the College Chapel: the laying of hands and blessing by the Priest-Principal and the sending forth of the young teacher in the name of the Lord. This send-off remained to many a teacher a living-force in their professions which sustained and inspired them when problems were experienced. More will be said in this respect in subsequent sections of this Chapter.

Suffice it to say here that together with Carpentry and Woodcarving, the Pathfinder and Wayfarer Movements, the product of teacher-training at the Diocesan Training College has gone into making Grace Dieu a household name in the Black and White communities in and outside the country, and a Mecca to devout Anglicans in the Northern Transvaal. Neighbouring states like Lesotho, Botswana, and Zimbabwe also had small numbers of their teachers trained at Grace Dieu.

The first ever qualified Lower Course teachers in 1909 were: Josiah Maleka, Jacob Phalama and Sam Ramphomane.

6.5.3 The Pathfinder and Wayfarer Movements

One of the worldwide famous and educationally influential "firsts" of Grace Dieu was the Pathfinder and Wayfarer (African Boy Scout and Girl Guide) Movements in South Africa.

As more and more Pathfinder teachers graduated from Grace Dieu and member educational institutions, and as more and more schools joined the movements, the love of service to others, the semi-military discipline and uniform, the pervading religious atmosphere and committedness, and the African belief in Anglican and British fair-play, the movements spread rapidly and widely in South Africa. At first racial prejudice prevented representation at World Jamborees, but this was overcome by the late 1940's.

The cradle of these two movements, Grace Dieu, became a centre for consultations, courses for leaders, and other activities of Pathfinding in particular. The founder of the two movements, Canon Woodfield was honoured by holding the *Silver Lion* - the highest award for services rendered to the Pathfinder Movement, and the *Silver Wolf*, the parallel Scout award.

In 1950, Woodfield was appointed the Deputy Chief Scout African Commissioner for the then Union of South Africa; and in 1953, he succeeded Mr Rheinallt Jones as the Chief Scout Commissioner of the African Boy Scouts in South Africa and Lesotho. Some members of the First Pietersburg (College) Troop of 1922 were: Wilfrid Mdintsi, Shadrack Morakaladi, and Francis Marishane.

6.5.4 The Old Pietersburgian Association ("Opas" and "Omas")

In 1932, the Old Pietersburgian Association was formed at the Bantu Men's Social Centre, Eloff Street, Johannesburg. This was a result of the impact Grace Dieu had made on its students and their wish to associate, remain informed of, and promote, the work of the College. A College Bulletin edited by Father Woodfield was to be published every half-year on interesting notes about the College such as marriages, deaths, and other information likely to be of general interest.

The Reunion was to be an important feature of each year. The first Executive Committee included "Opas" such as Mr J R Rathebe, Mr Fred Oliphant, Mr H Madibane, Mr P E Ramasodi and Mr S Wauchope; "Omas" Misses M Mathabathe and N Phaleng (19:9).

The Association met again at the Bantu Men's Social Centre in December 1935; thereafter there was a long break because of World War Two. The Association was, however, resuscitated in 1953 at the same venue of its founding twenty years earlier.

There were a little over a hundred "Opas" and "Omas". At this meeting it was emphasized that *"one of the things which has made the College what it was, is the tone"* (20:1). *"The tone"* which was, in the same year, arbitrarily legislated against by the Nationalist Government because it was anathema to that Government. *This tone* set forth the mood of the Association when reference was made to the great desire to keep in contact with their Alma Mater and the great value of the Annual Reunions which used to be held, and the College Bulletin which had been published twice a year.

Since it seemed impossible for the College authorities to add responsibility for these to their already over-loaded duties, the ex-students felt that they should take control themselves and run them from Johannesburg. They already had the names and addresses of four hundred odd ex-students on the Reef and in Pretoria, and each person present was asked to send in further names. Mention was also made of a group in Zimbabwe. Many of those present spoke of:

the great benefits they had received when at College and of their great affection for it. They spoke of the spirit of Service which had been inculcated there and which marked those who had been trained there. We were told of old students serving on Diocesan Finance Boards, acting as church wardens, and in other ways working both for their Church and for the Community.

Old students included a Doctor of Divinity, two Doctors of medicine, many graduates in Arts and Science, many in Holy Orders and many Social Welfare Workers as well as those who were prominent business men. (21:1).

After another long period of inactivity the Association was resuscitated again by Father Richard Norburn, Vice-Principal of Grace Dieu from 1949 to 1958. This was on 26 September 1987 in Gaborone, Botswana. It is no doubt, "the tone" of Grace Dieu that lives in these past students:

..... proud of what Grace Dieu has been and what it has stood for during the fifty years of its existence. Under those who have been called by God to serve Him at Grace Dieu, many hundreds have learnt to love what they still familiarly think of as "The College". This love springs from the knowledge that, they have been equipped for their life's work in a manner for which they are grateful.

..... The past students of all generations have a great love for the place just because they realise that they are less "ordinary" than they would otherwise have been had they never had the opportunity of being at Grace Dieu. (22:1).

For some of the prominent Past Students or Old Pietersburgians see Appendix C. Finally, Peter Abrahams in his poem "To Grace Dieu", which the writer believes represents the sentiments of a cross-section of the people who knew Grace Dieu, says:

*No stately buildings roaring high
To meet the morning sun.
No work of architecture fine,
No honour to thee done!*

*A poor and simple place thou art,
With one aim in thy mind:
A seat of learning and of God.
To me thou wert so kind.*

*Thou taught me how to watch and pray -
To do my best in all.
Thou taught me how to love and toil,
To give; to work for all.*

*Once more the sun will shine on thee -
As it then shone (on) me -
Once more I'll find myself with thee,
In unison with God.*

6.6 Re-assessment of The Tone of Grace Dieu

In 1954, and in a hopeful mood, Archdeacon Woodfield proclaimed:

*With St Paul we may say 'we are
troubled on every side, yet not
distressed: we are perplexed, but not
in despair; persecuted, but not
foresaken; cast down, but not
destroyed; always bearing about in the
body the dying of the Lord Jesus,
that the LIFE also of Jesus might be
made manifest in our body'. (23:1).*

The old priest, "the Ramankejane", could not have been more prophetic.

6.6.1 The New St Michael's Church

In 1959, the Government bought and took over Grace Dieu. Part of the proceeds of the sale paid for the design and building of a new St Michael's Church at Turfloop.

In this way "*the tone of Grace Dieu*" is continued and represented, serving a Parish (of Tlhatlaganya) founded by Bishop Fuller, the founder of "*the tone of Grace Dieu*". The Church serves, like its predecessor, an institution of Higher Learning (the University of the North) amongst Black people.

During the dedication service of the new St Michael's on the feast of the Annunciation, 25 March 1969, by the Bishop of Pretoria, the service was impressive and the singing was Cathedral beautiful. It was the same old Grace Dieu Holy Eucharist music, the "Missa L 'Hora Passa", a fine polyphonic production of the time of Palestrina by Ludovico Viadana which first impressed Father E Talbot in 1921. Part of the Grace Dieu Chapel property is in the new St Michael's Church, and here another Archdeacon, a Black one, a descendent of the Fuller converts of 1904, ministers to Black students again.

6.6.2 "The Venture of Faith" of 1957 becomes a Reality

In 1981, the Lebowa Government Service, some thirty years later, revoked the Bantu Education Act non-payment of Private School teachers' salaries. The only Private Schools in existence since the take-over of Black Education by the Government in 1954 were Roman-Catholic. "The Venture of Faith", denied the Governing Body of Grace Dieu in 1957 by impossible conditions, was thus given an opportunity of experimentation.

An Anglican Private Secondary School, St Mark's Comprehensive College, has been established on *another* farm - part of the (Anglican) Jane Furse Memorial Hospital property in Sekhukhuniland founded in 1916. (Jane was the daughter of Bishop Michael Furse of the Diocese of Pretoria who was "Visitor", that is, responsible for Grace Dieu from 1912 to 1918). St Mark's College is a multi-racial school in "*the tone of Grace Dieu*". It is:

the centre of a happy and useful Christian community where White and Black alike work and play together in preparation for the difficult yet vital task of racial co-operation, which must succeed in South Africa, if the Union is to survive in the years that lie ahead (24:18).

And here again, *another* Canon, a Black one, ministers to Black and White pupils in "*the tone of Grace Dieu*".

6.6.3 The Setotlwane College of Education

In 1959, the Government took over Grace Dieu as already mentioned. The Government came in with all its financial might to buy the Soul of the Blackman towards a 'goedgesindheid teen die landsbeleid':

Sedert 1959, toe die skool deur die Departement van Bantoe-onderwys oorgeneem is, is 'n intensiewe uitbreidingsprogram aangepak. Die vakleerlinge van die skool het self herstelwerk aan die ou geboue gedoen en twee nuwe skool en koshuise aangepak.

Die sekondêre skool bied 'n wye vakkeuse aan en leerlinge kan, wanneer hulle die skool verlaat, enige universiteitskursus volg. 'n Handels- en Klerklike Junior-sertifikaatkursus word ook van die begin van 1963 af aangebied.

Vanaf 1961 is die vakopleidingskool te Vlakfontein geleidelik hierheen oorgeplaas en van vanjaar af word die volgende vakke aangebied: Beton- Messel- en Pleisterwerk; Meubelmakery en Skrynwerk; Snyerskursus; Leer- en Stoffeerwerk, en Algemene Werktuigkunde.

Daar word ook ruim voorsiening gemaak vir sport en ander aktiwiteite. Die volgende sportsoorte word beoefen, nl. voetbal, korfbal, sagtebal, tennis, boks en atletiek. Behalwe sport word aan leerlinge ook die geleentheid gebied om deel te neem aan debatsbyeenkomste, konserte en koorsang. Die skool beskik oor 'n goed toegeruste biblioteek wat 'n verskeidenheid van naslaanboeke bevat. Baie tyd word aan die leerlinge gegee om die biblioteek te besoek. (25:324).

The teaching activities and departments were expanded. The financial might of the State transformed the whole place. But today only the teacher-training department remains - the Setotlwane College of Education under the Lebowa Government.

Of the physical tone of Grace Dieu there remains: the jacarandas, the silver-oaks, and bluegums of St Mary's (the Sisters' and girls' residences) and of St Michael's (the main campus); "Malay Camp" (the Boys' hostels) which are used as classrooms for the children of the farm tenants; the exquisite little classrooms, "the train", still used as such; "the Bastille" (Aitken Hall) used as a spare hall; the old (1905) Fuller dam (now neglected) but still functional; the Father Norburn house (now a store-room); the principal's and vice-principal's houses; part of the old St Michael's Chapel (now part of St Cyprian's - Chebeng congregation), still used mainly by the farm tenants; and the old churchyard with Fuller's grave and the weather-beaten 1919 Calvary in it.

But the most incongruous, and probably also ironical, is the preservation of the pre- 1922, Woodfield thatched and sundried-brick rondavels, and the 1925 Cecil Mary Talbot Memorial Belfry Tower with the fourteenth century Renaissance Madonna in relief by the Florentine, Luca Della Robbia, 1400-1482. Incongruous because of the burning of the stray Grace Dieu (Woodfield's) Papers in 1969; and most ironical because in place of the original Anglican cross on the roof of the Belfry Tower, there now stands the four-cardinal-points indicator closely associated with the Dutch Reformed Church buildings.

6.7 Conclusion

In conclusion the following significant observations can be made:

- 6.7.1 *The Anglican Spiritual Tradition as the Anglican Philosophy of Life manifested in Anglican Missionary Institutions in South Africa in general, and at Grace Dieu in particular* embraced the belief that *what man (in the macrocosm) can become* is an environmental matter. So whilst Grace Dieu believed in the same Education for all as the right environment for its students, it also believed in the particular problems of Black Education *but* not as part of "Native Affairs and Administration". In this view it was at variance with the Nationalist Government.
- 6.7.2 *The Educational Aims* of Grace Dieu were not different from that of any other institution of its kind - White, Coloured, or Indian. *Grace Dieu aimed at developing the mind, soul and body of its students to the Greater Glory of God; and judging from its record of more than fifty years, to a large extent, it achieved its aim.* The question '*to what purpose did Grace Dieu educate?*' is therefore answered by '*it gave them an extra-plus in life*', which made them less ordinary.
- 6.7.3 *The Content of Education* was not different from that of any other institution of its kind - White, Coloured, or Indian. Knowledge is knowledge everywhere. The Grace Dieu students, passed or failed public examinations like students at any other institution of its kind. Grace Dieu was on the whole a fair or above-average performer in this respect.

But to the question *'What content of education was offered at Grace Dieu?* the answer is *'a wide variety of content embracing the development of the mind, the soul, and the body'* which gave Grace Dieu a number of "firsts" such as found in woodwork and woodcarving, the Native Higher Primary Teachers' Course, and Pathfinding and Wayfaring. However the value and importance attached to this content differed on the part of the State (Inspectors) on one hand, and of the Church (teachers) on the other. The State tended to safeguard White interests whilst the Church tended to safeguard Black interests. This was, therefore, a racial issue in education.

- 6.7.4 *The Methods of Education* entail the question *'How is man taught to be educated?'* This is a very crucial aspect of the approach adopted. *The form or medium of education has more impact on the students than statements of philosophy, aims and content of education.* The impact of the Grace Dieu teachers, the way they did their work, the attitude they inspired, the way they lived and preached went into producing *'the tone of Grace Dieu'* which left an indelible mark on the Grace Dieu students. This is the character-formation stage of the educational model of the teaching act.
- 6.7.5 *The Evaluation of the work of Grace Dieu indicates that the Grace Dieu Experience has become even more meaningful than might have been contemplated at the time of the closure of the College. Indeed, one's candle's little fitful gleam cannot be compared with the light of the sun.*

The new St Michael's Church at Turfloop, the remaining old St Michael's Church at Setotolwane, and the St Mark's Comprehensive College at Jane Furse; and indeed, the Old Pietersburgian Association and its intermittent reunions during the past half-century indicate the persistence and continuance of *the tone of Grace Dieu* even in terms of *the future*.

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SUMMARY

The Anglican Church regards itself as an essential expression of the unity of the secular and spiritual realms. It, therefore, was always of the conviction that it was responsible for the conversion of the Black people of South Africa. To achieve this, it felt that it was necessary to open up missionary-educational institutions. This dissertation deals with a particular experience of such a missionary-educational institution, namely, Grace Dieu, which existed from 1906 to 1958.

The Anglican Spiritual Tradition as the Anglican philosophy of life became the basis and inspiration for, and interpretation of, educational aims. The gist of these aims was to prepare the Grace Dieu students to make, rather than to take, their place in the wider society; to lead rather than be led; to serve rather than be served; and to have "an extra-plus in life"; and to be less ordinary.

The Transvaal Education Department courses of study and certain extra-mural activities entailing body, mind and soul, were used to achieve the foregoing aims. Certain "firsts" were experienced in some of these courses of study, namely: the first registered carpentry department in the Transvaal; the first woodcarving department in Black Education; the first Native Primary Higher Certificate in the Transvaal, and the first Pathfinders and Wayfarers in South Africa.

Grace Dieu received students from all parts of South Africa, from the erstwhile Protectorates and Southern Rhodesia. This inter-territorial and inter-ethnic character of the student body, together with the multiracial staff (including Afrikaners), and the harmonious educational life that prevailed, constitutes one of the proudest instances of the success of the Grace Dieu Experience in particular, and of Anglicanism-in-Education in general.

Eventually the Anglican Church withdrew from Grace Dieu because it felt that it was unable to accept the conditions laid down by the Bantu Education Act of 1953 for the registration of Grace Dieu as a private industrial and secondary school.

The present and future significance of the Grace Dieu Experience, however, lies in the third component of the triadic structure, namely, form or method, to actualize the first (aims) and second (content) components. This implies that the spirit of service to God and Man, emanating from the Anglican Spiritual Tradition and the way this was infused into the inter-territorial and inter-ethnic student body by the committed multiracial staff, constituted the on-going "tone of Grace Dieu".

OPSOMMING

Die Anglikaanse Kerk beskou homself as essensieel verteenwoordigend van die eenheid op sekulêre en geestelike gebied. Daarom het die Anglikaanse Kerk nog altyd geglo dat hulle verantwoordelik was vir die bekering van die Swartmense van Suid-Afrika. Om dit te bereik het hulle gevoel dat dit nodig was om opvoedkundige sendinginrigtings daar te stel. Hierdie verhandeling het ten doel om die besondere bydrae van een sodanige opvoedkundige sendinginrigting, naamlik Grace Dieu wat van 1906 tot 1958 bestaan het, te ondersoek.

Die Anglikaanse Geestelike Tradisie en die Anglikaanse lewensfilosofie het die grondslag en inspirasie gevorm vir die interpretasie van opvoedkundige doelstellings. Die kern van hierdie doelstellings was om die studente van Grace Dieu só voor te berei dat hulle hulle plekke in die groter samelewing verdien eerder as om dit te verkry; dat hulle sal lei eerder as om gelei te word; dat hulle sal dien eerder as om gedien te word en om hulle op te hef sodat hulle middelmagtigheid kan oorkom.

Die Transvaalse Onderwysdepartement se studiekursusse en bepaalde buitemuurse aktiwiteite wat liggaamlike, geestelike en verstandelike groei stimuleer, is gebruik om bogenoemde doelstellings te verwesenlik. Bepaalde deurbrake is in sommige van hierdie kursusse gemaak, naamlik: die eerste geregistreerde skrynwerkersdepartement in Transvaal; die eerste houtsneddepartement in Swart opvoeding; die eerste Naturelle Hoër Primêre Sertifikaat in Transvaal en die eerste padvinders en "wayfarers" (padvinders vir dogters) in Suid-Afrika.

Grace Dieu het studente uit alle dele van Suid-afrika, die vroeëre Protektorate en Suid-Rhodesië getrek. Hierdie inter-gebiedelike en inter-etniese karakter van die studentegemeenskap tesame met die veelrassige personeel (insluitend Afrikaners) en die harmonieuse opvoedkundige atmosfeer wat geheers het, vorm een van die trotste bydraes tot die opvoedkunde van Grace Dieu in die besonder en van Anglikanisme in die algemeen.

Uiteindelik het die Anglikaanse Kerk hom aan Grace Dieu onttrek omdat hulle gevoel het dat hulle nie die voorwaardes wat deur die Bantoeonderwyswet van 1953 vir die registrasie van Grace Dieu as 'n privaat industriële en sekondêre skool neergelê is, kon aanvaar nie.

Die huidige en toekomstige betekenis van Grace Dieu lê egter opgesluit in die derde komponent van die drieledige struktuur, naamlik vorm of metode wat ingespan kan word om die eerste (doelstellings) en die tweede (inhoudelike) komponente te aktueer. Dit impliseer dat die gees van diens aan God en die mens, wat voortgevloei het uit die Anglikaanse Geestelike Tradisie en die manier waarop die inter-gebiedelike en inter-etniese studentegemeenskap besiel is deur die begeesterde veelrassige personeel, die belangrikste blywende bydrae van Grace Dieu uitmaak.

APPENDIX A

THE STORY OF FIFTY YEARS' ACHIEVEMENT (1906-1958): TIME SCALE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

BISHOP WILLIAM CARTER D.D.

- 1904 Father J L Fuller the first Missionary to visit Northern Transvaal.
- 1905 Purchase of the Farm Jakhalsfontein.
Beginning of the Practising School.
- 1906 August. Arrival of Mr Charles O'Dell as first Principal and six students.
- 1909 The Rev. William Joseph Helmore Banks becomes Principal.

BISHOP MICHAEL FURSE M.A.

- 1912 The Rev. William Adolph Palmer becomes Principal and finds 12 students in the Normal Department and 16 Day Scholars. The Chancel of the Chapel is built.
- 1913 Purchase of the first College wagon.
Sinking of the first bore-hole.
The first Girl students arrive.
Institution of the Prefect System.
- 1914 Building of the Buxton, Fuller and Furse Halls begun.
- 1915 October. Opening of the three Halls by the Governor-General Lord Buxton.
- 1916 Extension of the Chapel begun.
- 1917 Dedication of new Chapel on Palm Sunday.
Arrival of three Sisters of the Community of the Resurrection (Sister Elsie, Community of the Resurrection, in charge).
- 1918 Dedication of St Mary's Chapel on March 25th.

BISHOP NEVILLE TALBOT D.D.

- 1919 All Saints' Day Dedication of Calvary in Churchyard - a Memorial to those who lost their lives in the Mendi.

- 1921 Beginning of the Carpentry Department.
- 1922 Enrolment of the first Pathfinder Troop in South Africa on St Michael's Day.
October 5th-7th. Hickson Healing Mission.
- 1923 Diocesan Missionary Conference.
Beginning of the College Library.
- 1924 Ascension Day. Institution of the College Governing Body.
Appointment of the Rev. S P Woodfield as Principal.
Sister Faith, Community of the Resurrection, becomes Head of St Mary's.
- 1925 Appointment of the first College Secretary.
Beginning of the Woodcarving Department.
Inspection of College Pathfinders by H R H the Prince of Wales in Pietersburg.
November 17th. Dedication of the Bell Tower and visit of H R H Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone.
- 1926 September 21st. First Ordination in the College Chapel.
(Messrs M Maleka, H M Maimane and S Nkopane).
Enrolment of First Wayfarer Detachment in the Transvaal at St Mary's.
- 1927 April. Registration of Girls' Domestic Science Department.
Installation of Telephone.
July. Annual Conference of the Transvaal African Teachers' Association.
July. First Pathfinder Training Course held at the College.
Visit of members of the British Association.
- 1928 January. Fire at St Mary's. Community-room and kitchen destroyed.
February. Students perform "The Merchant of Venice".
Ascension. Chapel re-roofed with iron.
- 1930 January. Opening of Book Store.
December. Students perform "Julius Caesar".
- 1931 Sister Theresa, Community of Resurrection, takes charge of St Mary's.
Introduction of the "House" System for Sports and Games.
First African members (Messrs M Maleka and E Langa) of the Governing Body.
- 1932 August 25th. Visit of the Governor-General, Lord and Lady Clarendon.

1932 Formation of the Old Pietersburgian Association.

BISHOP WILFRID PARKER M.A.

- 1933 Sister Faith, Community of the Resurrection, again takes charge of St Mary's.
Publication of the first "College Bulletin".
Appointment of the first Afrikaans Instructor (Mr W Jensen).
- 1934 Purchase of the Farm Naauwte.
For the first time the College out of debt.
Building of the Girls' Oratory.
Introduction of the College Badge and Blazer.
- 1935 Purchase of half the Farm Vantondershoek.
Introduction of the Cape Native Higher Primary Course.
- 1937 Gift of first motor-transport by the Governor-General, Lord Clarendon.
Gift of the first Wireless Set - in time for the Coronation.
Registration of the Carpentry Department.
- 1938 Purchase of portion of the Farm Sweet Home.
July. Appointment of the Rev. C M Jones as Principal.
- 1941 The second bore-hole opened up.
- 1944 Appointment of the first Agricultural Instructor (Mr Moolman).
- 1945 Opening of the Secondary School up to Form III.
Closing of the Native Teacher's Lower Certificate Course.
- 1949 Mr R E W Norburn appointed as Acting Principal.
- 1950 The Rev. H W Hosken appointed as Principal.

BISHOP ROBERT TAYLOR M.A.

- 1951 Handing over of St Mary's by the Community of the Resurrection to the Order of the Holy Paraclete (Sister Ruth in charge).
- 1953 Closing of the Girls' Domestic Science Department.
Appointment of Archdeacon S P Woodfield as Principal.

- 1954 Opening of third Borehole (at St Mary's).
Collapse of the Buxton Hall. Michaelmas Pageant
produced.
Visit of the Archbishop of Cape Town (Dr G H Clayton).
- 1955 December. Closing of the Teacher-Training Department.
Sister Kathleen, Order of the Holy Paraclete, takes
charge of St Mary's.
- 1956 Secondary School extended to Transvaal Matriculation
(Form V).
Practising School becomes a Farm School.
Woodwork continues.
- 1957 Archdeacon S P Woodfield leaves; Father R M Jeffery
appointed Principal with Father R E W Norburn as
Vice Principal.
Temporary registration as Private School extended
for 1958.
- 1958 December. Closing of "The College".

APPENDIX B

PRINCIPALS, VICE-PRINCIPALS AND STAFF, 1906-1958 (THE 1956 JUBILEE BULLETIN REPRODUCED AND UPDATED TO DECEMBER 1958)

FOUNDER

THE REVEREND JOHN LATIMER FULLER M.A.

Arrival in South Africa, 1902, Archdeacon of Northern Transvaal 1909-1912, Bishop of Lebombo 1913-1920, Vicar of Pietersburg 1921-1930. Superintendent of Khaiso Secondary School 1930-1946.

Died on Linnlea Farm, Pietersburg 23 May 1950, REST IN PEACE 25 MAY 1950, Grace Dieu.

PRINCIPALS

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 1906-1909 | Charles O'Dell. |
| 1909-1912 | The Rev. William Joseph Helmore Banks.
Rest In Peace 4 May 1925. |
| 1912-1924 | The Very Rev. William Adolph Palmer L. Th.
Canon of Pretoria 1922. Dean of Johannesburg
1924. Rest In Peace 2 October 1953. |
| 1924-1938 | The Ven. Samuel Percy Woodfield M.A.
Canon of Pretoria 1932. Archdeacon of
Pretoria, 1946. |
| 1938-1949 | The Rev. Charles Michael Jones L. Th.
Canon of Pretoria. |
| 1949-1953 | The Rev. Harold W Hosken B. Sc. later D. Ed.
and Rector of the Johannesburg College of
Education. |
| 1953-1957 | The Ven. Samuel Percy Woodfield M.A.
Rest In Peace 1979. |
| 1957-1958 | The Rev. Robert Michael Jeffery M.A. |

VICE-PRINCIPALS

- 1912-1921 From March, James Charles Palmer,
Rest In Peace 12 April 1946.
- 1922-1924 Until June, The Ven. Samuel Percy Woodfield
M.A.
- 1924-1928 From July to June, James Charles Palmer.
- 1928-1938 October to June, The Rev. Charles Michael
Jones L. Th.
- 1938-1947 From July, The Rev. Reginald Frederick Adams
L. Th.
- 1948-1949 Until June, Marinus Moolman B.A.
- 1949-1958 From July, The Rev. Richard E W Norburn B.A.

STAFF

[See Picture S]

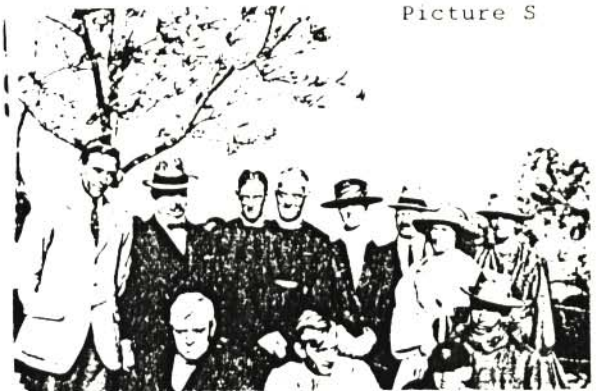
- 1910-1910 The Rev. Frank Arthur Thorne, Mission Priest,
Rest In Peace 9 March 1910.
- 1910-1914 The Rev. Robert Leics Evans, Mission Priest.
Rest In Peace August 1914.
- 1912-1912 March to June, Mrs Isabella Palmer, Honorary
Worker, Rest In Peace 26 June 1912.
- 1913-1925 From September, The Rev. Evelyn D'lepu.
- 1913-1914 Mrs Sarah Jane Nicholson, Rest In Peace
14 February 1926.
- 1913-1917 Mrs Vera Rishworth, Rest In Peace
2 June 1956.
- 1915- ? Gilbert Ellis.
- 1915-1944 Until June, Frederick James Oliphant*,
Principal of Practising School, Rest In Peace
28 March 1945.
- 1917- ? The Rev. Edwin George Bradbrook (S.S.M.)
Rest In Peace 1 September 1954.



Picture S



Picture S



- ? -1917 Sister Elsie Beatrice (Community of the Resurrection), Rest In Peace 1 March 1950.
- 1917-1925 Until February, Sister Mary Bernard (Community of the Resurrection).
- 1917- ? Sister Kathleen (Community of the Resurrection).
- 1917-1922) Sister Theresa (Community of the Resurrectio).
- 1930-1933)
- 1918-1918 The Rev. Alfred Hipkin.
- 1921-1925 From October, Miss Isabella Ruth Robinson, Honorary Worker, Rest In Peace 21 January 1946.
- 1921-1923 Cyril E Lewis, Carpentry Instructor.
- 1921-1924) The Rev. Hazael Mashite Maimane*,
1926-1927) Rest In Peace 10 December 1960.
- 1922-1923 The Rev. Wilfred Edward Wilkinson, Secretary of College, Canon of Johannesburg 1953.
- 1922-1924 The Rev. Manus Kwena Maleka*, Canon of Pretoria 1933.
- 1922-1938 From June, Sister Pauline (Community of the Resurrection), Rest In Peace 4 July 1954.
- 1922-1951 Until June, Sister Faith (Community of the Resurrection), Rest In Peace 16 October 1951.
- 1923-1944 William Lokwe, Carpentry Instructor.
- 1923-1923 From April, Thomas Milward.
- ? -1945 Until June, Sister Josephine (Community of the Resurrection).
- 1924-1929 Ernest Methuen Mancoba*, B.A.
- 1924-1926 April to March, Henry James Hockley, Carpentry Instructor.
- 1924-1927 From August, The Rev. Cecil Jack Skett, L. Th.
- 1925-1926 The Rev. Edward George Paterson, Honorary Worker, Canon of Salisbury 1947.

- 1925-1926 From August, Samuel H Lawrence, Secretary of College, Rest In Peace December 1956.
- 1925-1926 From August, Isabel Lawrence, Honorary Worker.
- 1926-1929 March to June, Ivan Saunders Mansborough, Rest In Peace 21 September 1951.
- 1926-1927 A Edwards St John Jordan, Secretary of College.
- 1926-1928 Until June, Sister Ursula (Community of the Resurrection), Rest In Peace 19 August 1951.
- 1927-1931 From September, The Rev. Edward Albert Nye, Secretary of the College, Rest In Peace 25 March 1939.
- 1927-1927 Irving Rouse, Honorary Worker.
- 1928-1930) August to June, Sister Maud Marion (Community of the Resurrection), Rest In Peace 30 July 1953.
- 1936-1942) From April.
- ? -1929 Sister Blanche (Community of the Resurrection).
- 1928-1928 From July, Sister Frances Clare, B.A. (Community of the Resurrection).
- 1929- ? Sister Ellen (Community of the Resurrection).
- 1929-1931 From October, Henry Wilson Shearsmith, M. Sc.
- 1931-1934 September to June, The Rev. Frank Gordon Clarke, M.A.
- 1931-1935 October to June, Philip E Ramasodi*, Secretary of the College.
- 1932-1939 Douglas Busakwe*.
- 1932-1935 John Mosiah*.
- 1933-1934 July to June, Sister Katherine Maud, B.A. (Community of the Resurrection), Rest In Peace 31 October 1947.
- ? -1934 Sister Patricia (Community of the Resurrection).
- 1934-1938 Until June, Werner Jensen, B.A.

1934-1936 July to June, Sister Beatrice (Community of the Resurrection).

1934-1936 July to March, Sister Irnes (Community of the Resurrection).

1934- ?) Sister Ailsa (Community of the Resurrection).
1936-1943) Until June.

1935-1937 The Rev. Reginald Frederick Adams, L. Th., Canon of Matabeleland 1954.

+1935- ? Alfred Phalane*

+1936- ? Paul Matlou*

1936-1939 Until June, Willie Scott*, Secretary of the College.

1937-1951 Until February, Sister Alice Mary (Community of the Resurrection).

1937-1939 Francis A Selwyn Law B.A., B. Ed.

1938-1957 Ernest Matlou, Carpentry Instructor.

1938-1940 From August, Sister Phyllis (Community of the Resurrection).

1938-1940 From September, A J Pienaar.

1938-1939 From October, Vance C H Brown B.A.

1938-1938 From October, J B Wegerhoff.

1939-1941 From August, Lennox Njokeni*, Secretary of the College.

1940-1940 Sister Joanna (Community of the Resurrection).

1940-1944 Hugh A Fynnes-Clinton M.A.

1941-1941 Sister Heloise (Community of the Resurrection).

1941-1947 Until June, Miss Ethel Preston.

1941-1949 Until June, Marinus Moolman B.A.

1942-1947 Sister Ethel Mary (Community of the Resurrection).

1942-1942 Stephen Makgobotwane*, Secretary of the College.

1942-1948 Miss Martha Morakaladi*, Domestic Science Department.

1943-1947 From April, Seville Nomgoa*

1943-1943 From April, Sister Evelyn (Community of the Resurrection).

1943-1947 From April, Sister Ruby (Community of the Resurrection).

1943- ? From July, Dambhuza, Secretary of the College.

1943-1944 From August, Jacob Ngoasheng* B.A., Rest In Peace January 1988.

1943-1957 From October, David Masogo*, Headmaster of Practising School from 1946.

1944-1944 April to June, Mnr Maree.

1944-1949 August to September, Frederick J. Le Roux M.A.

1944-1945 July to March, D.A. Masenya.

1945-1958 The Rev. Richard E.W. Norburn B.A.

1945-1946) Basil Methi, Carpentry Instructor.
1948-1955)

1945-1945 From April, Daniel Moloto*.

1945-1947) August, Mrs Ethel Mary Fuller.
1951-1956)

1946-1947 Sister Rosemary (Community of the Resurrection).

1946-1947 March to April, Daniel B Jacobs*.

1946-1946 Hickson Phashe, Secretary of the College.

1946-1949 From October, Sister Cornelia (Community of the Resurrection).

1947-1949 From June, Jacob Namo*, Secretary of the College.

1947-1947 From September, G H Wilsenach B.A.

1947-1948 Until June, Sister Mary Bridget (Community of the Resurrection).

1947-1949 Until May, Sister Esme (Community of the Resurrection).

1948-1951 March to April, Sister Dorianne (Community of the Resurrection).

1948-1948 Sister Dorothy (Community of the Resurrection).

1948-1949 Miss Margaret Ward B.A.

1948-1953) David Gwebu*.
1956-1958)

1948-1948 David Ernest Jenkins B.A., L. Th.

1948-1955) Benjamin Moila*.
1956-1957) Until March.

1948-1950 From March, Harold Buckley.

1948-1948 From July, Paul C Haskins.

1948- ? Sister Mary (Community of the Resurrection).

1948-1948 From July, Miss Dorothy Cross (Community of the Resurrection).

1949-1953 Miss Mary Peu, Domestic Science Department.

1950-1951 Until April, Miss Evelyn Fairbank.

1950-1950 Michael Le Mesurier.

1950-1958 Miss Barbara Robertson (Mrs R E W Norburn from 1953).

1950-1952 Until July, Lawrence Mogaila*, Secretary of the College.

1950-1955 March to June, Nicholas Venter.

1950-1950 April to July, Eben Leibrandt.

1950-1950 Miss Ursula Bright (Community of the Resurrection).

1951-1951 Until March, Gotlieb C Pretorius.

1951-1955 From March, Sister Ruth (Order of the Holy Paraclete).

1951-1958 From March, Sister Kathleen (Order of the Holy Paraclete).

1951-1958 From March, Sister Joan (Order of the Holy Paraclete).

1951-1954 From June, Sister Mary Catherine (Order of the Holy Paraclete).

1951-1951 From August, L Molepo*, Secretary of the College.

1952-1953 Miss Lydia Mokgoadi*, Domestic Science Department.

1952-1954 April to June, William S Follett.

1953-1958 Sister Hannah (Order of the Holy Paraclete).

1953-1955 From August, Solomon Edom*, Secretary of the College.

1956-1957 Sister Hild (Order of the Holy Paraclete).

1956-1957 Until March, Miss Lilian Robinson.

1956-1956 Until June, Samuel Mamabolo.

1956-1956 Rodgers Maribadzi*, Secretary of the College.

1956-1956 Milton Mathatho*.

1956-1958 Sister Rosa B. Sc. (Order of the Holy Paraclete).

? -1957 Mr E Stone.

? -1957 Miss Elizabeth Moloto.

1958-1958 The Rev. Robert Michael Jeffery M.A.

- N.B.:
1. * Denotes an old student of the College.
 2. While every effort has been made to ensure the accuracy of this list, it is realised that, in addition to some omissions, there may be some errors in the dates given.

3. It is regretted that it has been impossible to give a list of those who have been on the staff of the Practising School. There is no detailed record of the many men and women (most of whom have been old students of Grace Dieu) who have worked in this Department of Grace Dieu.

A P P E N D I X C

SOME OLD PIETERBURGIANS OR SOME PAST STUDENTS, 1906-+1945

1. Frederick James Oliphant, student 1912, teacher and Headmaster of Practising School 1915-1944, *District Pathfinder-Master* for Pietersburg.
2. Job Kekana, student from + 1936, *internationally renowned Woodcarver*.
3. Ernest Methuen Mancoba, student 1921-1924, teacher 1924-1929, B.A. Fort Hare 1937, *internationally renowned Woodcarver*.
4. Sam Ramphomane,
Jacob Phalama,
Josiah Maleka,

The first three students to qualify as teachers in 1909.
5. The Reverend Father, later Canon Manus Maleka,
The Reverend Father Hazael Maimane,
The Reverend Father Solomon Nkopane,

The first past-students to be ordained in the College Chapel in 1927. Canon Maleka also became the first past-student to be made Canon and the First Black member of the Governing Body, both in 1931.
6. Ephraim Masibe Langa, *the first Black member of the Governing Body* in 1931, together with Canon Maleka.
7. Herman Madibane, student 1922, *later famous headmaster* of Western High School in Johannesburg, one of the first Black B.A. graduates of the University of the Witwatersrand, and Doctor of Education, University of the North (*Honoris causa*, 1985).
8. Michael Ntja, *one of the first B. Sc. graduates of Fort Hare in the 1930's*, and famous headmaster of Hofmeyr High School in Pretoria.
9. Francis Kgobane Marishane, student 1922-1929, *Refugee from Sekhukhuniland because he wanted to be a Christian*, later did good work in Louis Trichardt as Anglican schoolmaster.
10. Laban Motlhabi, student 1911, *First past student to reach the rank of Supervisor of Schools* in 1938.

11. Peter Abrahams, student 1935, *Internationally renowned author in English*. In his novel *Tell Freedom*, he acknowledges his indebtedness to Canon Woodfield, and in his poem *To Grace Dieu* (loc cit) his indebtedness to "The College".
12. J Richard Rathebe, student 1913, *For many years Chairman of the Old Pietersburgian Association and member of the old Native Representative Council of 1936*.
13. Cuthbert A R Motsepe, *Deputy-Secretary of the Department of Education, Botswana*.
14. Chief Kgabo Moloto, student ± 1922, *"The boy-king of Moletš'i"*.
15. Chief Leabua Jonathan, *former Prime Minister of Lesotho*.
16. Chief Doctor Lucas Mangope, *First President of Bophuthatswana*.
17. "The Southern Rhodesia Contingent" of the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's.
18. Gerard Sekoto, *Internationally renowned artist, now living in Paris*.

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