

**A HISTORY OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOL
HUNTLY STREET
GRAHAMSTOWN**

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requirements for the degree of

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of
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by

NICOLE HOLSHAUSEN

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a qualitative, historical study of *The Good Shepherd School* in Huntly Street, Grahamstown, South Africa. It is one of the oldest school buildings in South Africa that remains in use as a school. There are two main threads to understanding *The Good Shepherd School* in context. The first of these threads, the colonial root of the school, is explained in a discussion of the Grammar School, attached to the *Cathedral of St. Michael and St. George*, that utilised the Huntly Street facilities from 1851 to 1902. The second thread is the strong tradition of caring for the underprivileged. This is traced through following the development of the educational works of *The Community of the Resurrection* which involves the discussion of various schools at different locations in Grahamstown. The current school on the Huntly Street premises, *The Good Shepherd School*, forms, however, the focus of this study, which draws on all the histories of its forerunners and their historical locations.

Historical social science methods and procedures were used in the research. This was done through documentary analysis of evidence as well as through semi-structured interviews, creating an interpretative account of how the school has affected people's lives.

The conclusion reached is that *The Good Shepherd School* has contributed greatly to the education of underprivileged people in the Grahamstown area. It appears to be an outstanding example of a school offering a well-rounded, caring education when this was historically denied to many people in South Africa.

PREFACE

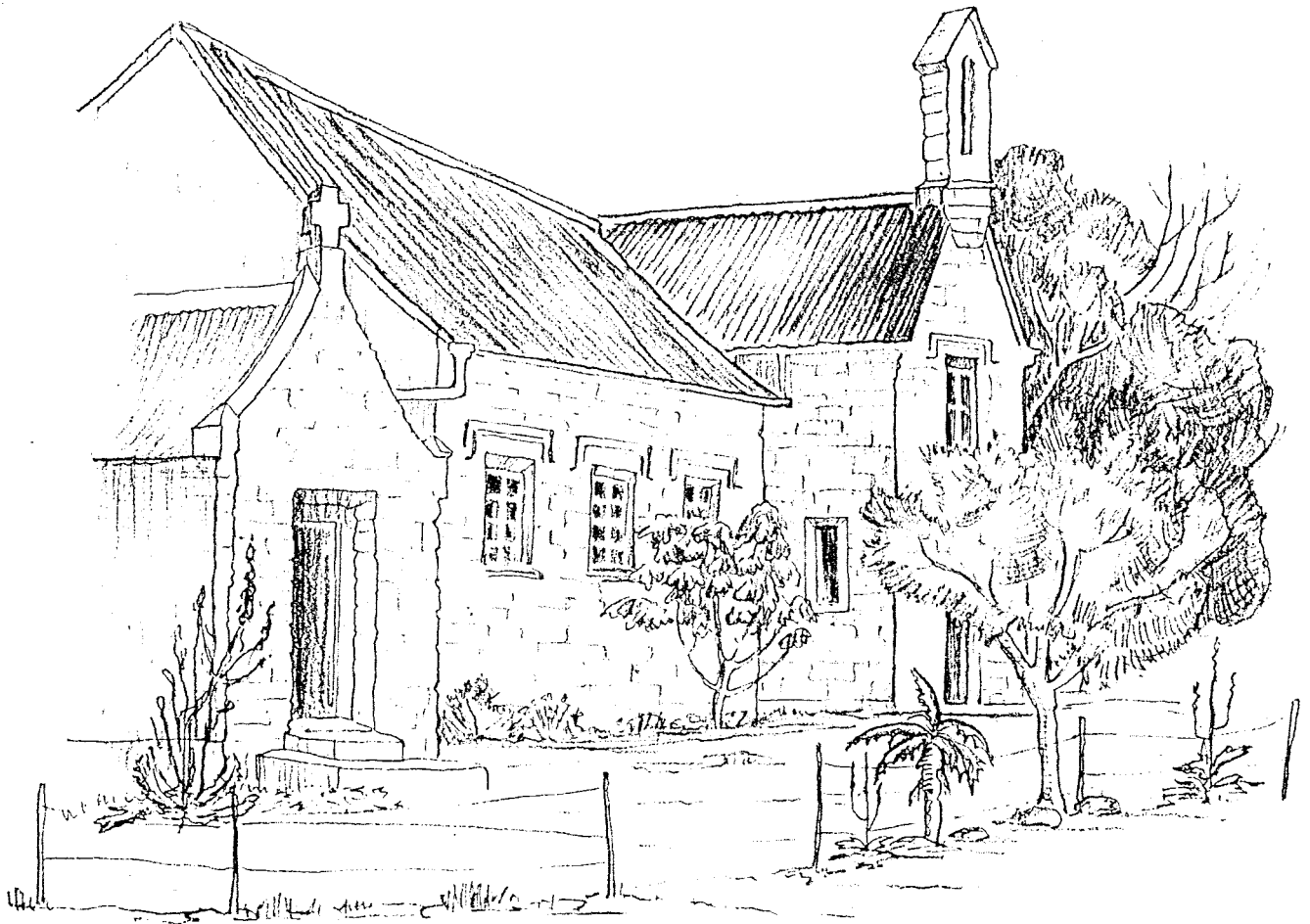
This research was inspired and encouraged by Prof. P. Irwin, Dean of the Faculty of Education, Rhodes University, who saw the possibility of expanding a B.Ed assignment into a Master's thesis. I thank Prof. Irwin for his help, encouragement and quest for excellence. I also wish to thank Dr. C. Smith, Faculty of Education, Rhodes University, for his positive attitude toward the research and the researcher.

The enthusiastic co-operation of Mrs. P. van der Linde needs to be acknowledged, as without her openness and her help in finding contacts for interviews, this research would not have been possible. I also extend my deepest gratitude to all whom I interviewed for the open and personal reflection on their experiences.

I wish to acknowledge the constant support of my friends and family who assisted with proof-reading, printing and many of the technical difficulties associated with collating a thesis.

The financial assistance of the Centre for Science Development (HSRC, South Africa) towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the Centre for Science Development.

SKETCH OF THE SCHOOL BUILDING IN HUNTLY STREET



(Randall, 1980:12).

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study is an account of the history of the Good Shepherd School in Huntly Street, Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape of the Republic of South Africa (see Fig.1.1.). It spans a period of 185 years, from 1812 to 1997. It is the story of one of the oldest school buildings in South Africa, and of the school that currently uses the premises (see frontpiece). The school has its roots in colonialism, missionary zeal, community outreach and liberal education. The history is filled with remarkable people. They are remarkable for various reasons, from notoriety to showing incredible caring and courage.

1.1. AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

The aim of this study is to record the historical development of the Good Shepherd School, through documentary analysis and interpretation and by recording and preserving an oral history of people's recollections, experiences and perceptions of the school. The need to record the experiences and memories of the ageing Sisters of the Community of the Resurrection has also been recognised.

Dynamics of change in the school are explored, by linking occurrences in the school's history to the broader context of social and political changes. These often explain why specific events occurred.

1.2. CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

In order to acquire a full understanding of the history of the school, the histories of a number of other educational institutions need to be outlined. There are two main threads to understanding *The Good Shepherd School* in context. The first of these is the history of the building in Huntly Street and the schools using the premises, and the second is the establishment of a Church of England Sisterhood, *The Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord*, and their educational works. These threads are linked by a

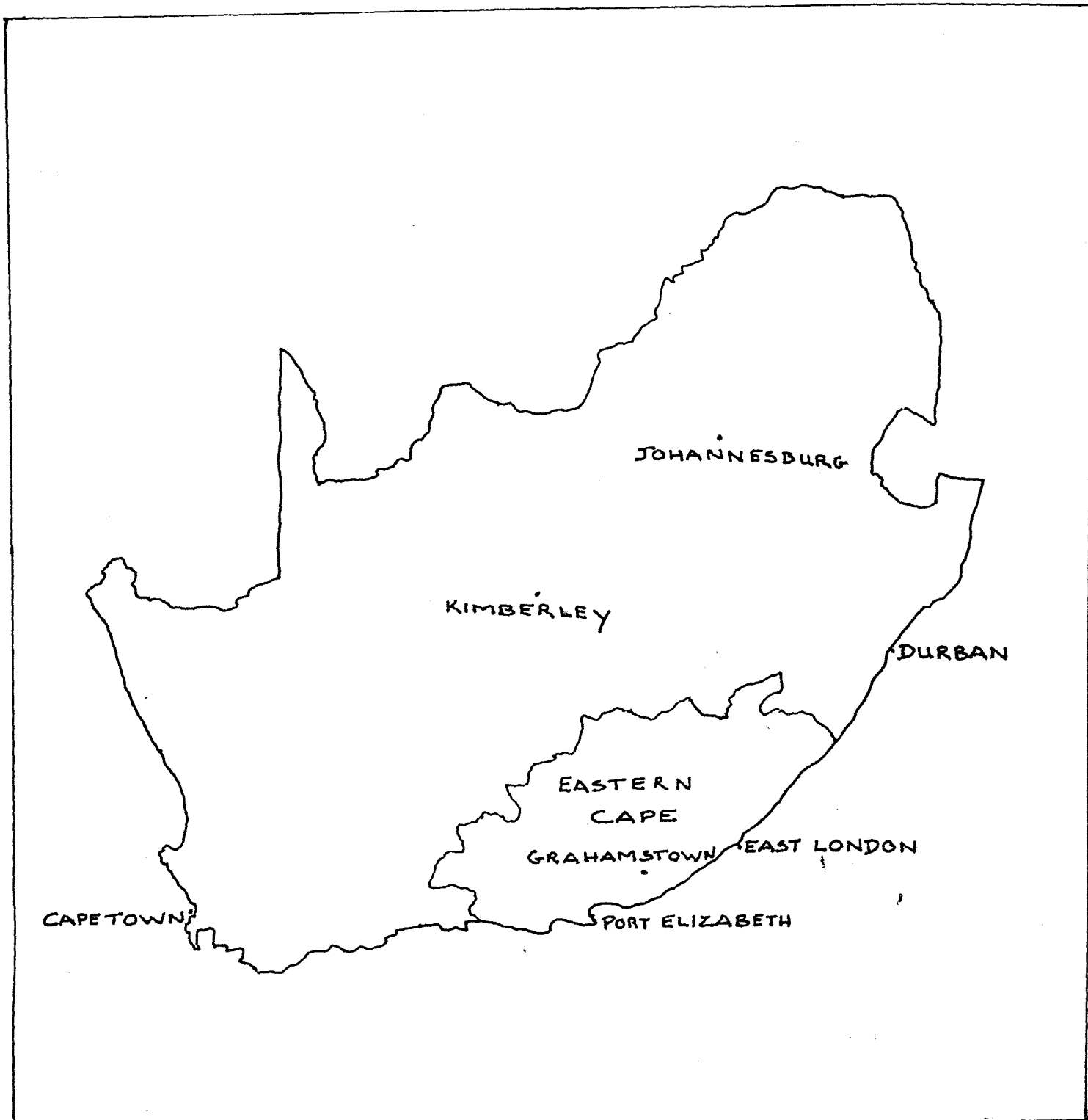


FIGURE 1.1.

OUTLINE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COASTLINE, SHOWING THE EASTERN CAPE PROVINCE AND THE LOCATION OF GRAHAMSTOWN.

common history of The Church of England in Grahamstown, and by the history of the establishment of Grahamstown itself.

A history of the building in Huntly Street and the schools that have used the premises is important to foreground and contextualise the study (see Figure 1.2.). The Huntly Street School was built between 1844 and 1849. It was opened as the *St. George's Grammar School*, later known as the *Cathedral Grammar School*, and served as the parish school, attached to the Cathedral of St. Michael and St. George, until 1902. The premises were then rented by the government and used as an analytical laboratory.

In 1916 the property was purchased by the Sisters of *The Community of the Resurrection* and became known as *The Good Shepherd School*. During this period the school served, primarily the Asiatic communities of Grahamstown. This service was often performed under difficult circumstances, including lack of facilities, funding and staff shortages. During the Apartheid era, Huntly Street fell into a white residential area, and the mix of white teachers and Asiatic pupils contravened the Group Areas Act. As such, it was often under threat of closure.

The Good Shepherd School has been responsible for the education of many underprivileged children in Grahamstown, including many orphans from *The Bethlehem Home*, also under the care of *The Community of the Resurrection*. In order to understand this theme fully, it is necessary to explore the earlier educational and community works of *The Community of the Resurrection*. *The Good Shepherd School* which opened in 1916 in Huntly Street was not the first work called by this name began by the Sisters. The 'first' *Good Shepherd School* was established in 1889, and later became known as *The Douglas School*. The history of this initial educational work needs to be examined as *The Good Shepherd School* under study, inherited many traditions and much of its ethos from its predecessor (see Fig 1.2.).

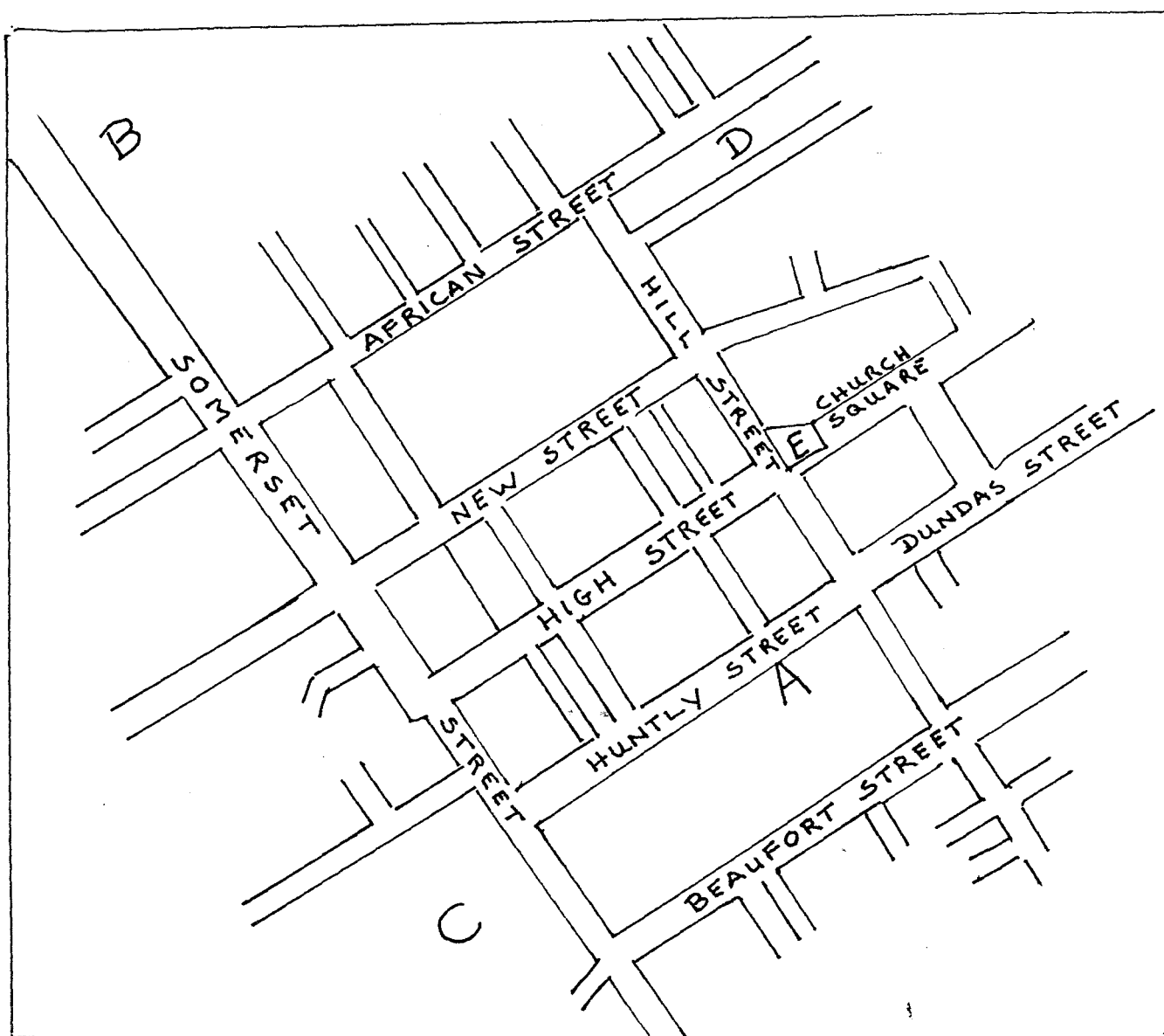
1.3. THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Historical social science methods and procedures were used. Following Stake

FIGURE 1.2.

TIMELINE AND MAP SHOWING LOCATIONS OF THE CATHEDRAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL, ST. ANDREW'S COLLEGE AND BOTH GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOLS

- 1849-1855** St. George's Grammar School in Huntly Street (A).
- 1855-1857** St. George's Grammar School and St. Andrew's College share premises in Huntly Street and Somerset Street (A and B).
- 1857** St. George's Grammar School renamed Cathedral Grammar School (A). St. Andrew's College moves away from Huntly Street and becomes a completely separate school (B).
- 1884** First Good Shepherd School started on Eden Grove, St. Peter's (C).
- 1897** Good Shepherd School moves to African Street and is renamed the Douglas School (D).
- 1902** Cathedral Grammar School closes (A). Huntly Street property used as an analytical laboratory.
- 1916** Community of the Resurrection purchase the Huntly Street premises. Second Good Shepherd School opens in Huntly Street (A), where it remains to present, 1999.



MODIFIED STREET MAP OF GRAHAMSTOWN

KEY TO MAP

- A Huntly Street premises. Presently *The Good Shepherd School* but previously *St. George's Grammar School* and *The Cathedral Grammar School*.
- B *St. Andrew's College*.
- C *St. Peter's Campus, Rhodes University*. Previously *St. Peter's Home and School* and *Grahamstown Teachers Training College*.
- D *Oatlands Preparatory School* previously *The Douglas School*.
- E *The Cathedral of St. Michael and St. George*.

(1994:237), the school was researched as an "intrinsic case study", which was;

... not undertaken primarily because the case represents other cases or because it illustrates a particular trait or problem, but because of its particularity and ordinariness, this case itself is of interest.

Tuchman's (1994:313) social history or the "story of the lived experience" has been used, in that a large part of my research consists of people's accounts of how they experienced *The Good Shepherd School*. Past pupils and teachers in the Grahamstown Indian and coloured communities were interviewed to gain their perceptions of the school and to allow them to relate their stories. Snowball sampling was used (Cohen and Manion 1994, Yow 1994). Seven people were interviewed about their various experiences at *The Good Shepherd School*. These include the current principal, Mrs Prudence van der Linde, and two past principals, Sr. Heloise and Mrs. Ivy Clark. Three past pupils were interviewed: Neelah Dullabh, who attended the school from 1974-1978; 'Chris', who also attended the school in the seventies, and chose not to give his surname during the interview; and Mrs. Katie Appolis, who is also currently on the staff of the school. Sr Truda, Retired Head of the Grahamstown Training College, was interviewed, but at the age of 96, she was a little confused by the interview. Mrs van der Linde gave me most of the contacts for the interviews, except for Chris, who responded to an advert placed in *Grocott's Mail* in October 1996. In this respect the research is interpretative and I have attempted to create a "montage" (Tuchman 1994:316) of what the school has meant to people in Grahamstown.

This montage was developed through semi-structured interviews (Burroughs 1975). The interviews were conducted according to the guidelines given by authors such as Seidman (1991), Witz (1988) and Yow (1994). Tape recordings and transcriptions of these interviews will be placed in the Cory Library for Historical Research at Rhodes University, at the conclusion of the research.

There are many more people connected with the school, whose stories could enrich and enhance this history. Unfortunately, time limitations and difficulties in tracing people has not allowed me to interview them, and so many stories have been left untold. Those that have been told are not representative of the experiences of all the past pupils or

teachers, but only of individual meanings and realities.

By using interviews, the borders between historical and ethnographic research tools, as outlined by Stenhouse (1982), merge, in that there is a departure from purely documentary analysis. Oral history allows for the discovery of information that is often not recorded in public documentation. Seidman (1991:3) stated, "At the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience", and I feel that this sentiment captures the symbolic orientation and intent of the research.

For the earlier time periods I was reliant on written sources and historical records. Fortunately, these exist in abundance. *The Community of the Resurrection* kept records and wrote *Annual Reports* for the funders and sponsors in England on all of their activities. These are to be found in the Cory Library, Rhodes University, Grahamstown. They are to be found in eleven bound volumes, that were, at the time of writing, unprocessed, but accessible under the title *CR Annals*. They were written to ensure that funders and sponsors would continue to assist the works financially, so are possibly biased on the positive side, painting rosy pictures. These 'pictures' are written in a charming, relaxed style offering an insight into the daily life of the institutions run by the Sisters and reflect the views and values of the members of the Community.

Occasional Letters or *Occasional Papers*, regular newsletters issued by the Cathedral staff and reporting to the congregation on Church matters, were also used. Earlier editions of these letters or papers (1884-1916) may be found in bound copies, in the Cathedral Archives, Cory Library. Later editions (1903-1973) are also included in the *CR Annals*. These, again, contain many personal memories and perceptions in the accounts of school activities.

These personal memories and meanings enrich the history, filling in the warmer, more personal detail that official documentation often lacks. I have included many quotations from the *Occasional Letters* and the *Annual Reports* for this reason, allowing the people involved to speak for themselves, bias and emotion included.

Documentary analysis of formal, official documents also played an important role in the research. Primary evidence pertaining to the school has been stored in the archives of the Cory Library. This evidence takes the form of letters, minutes of meetings, staff records and financial statements. Relevant newspaper articles about the school, kept in PR documents were also used. Secondary sources, such as general texts on South African and Grahamstown history, were used for background information giving the broader context of the school.

Both primary and secondary sources were analysed and assessed in terms of internal and external validity (Cohen and Manion 1994, Duffy 1993). The criteria outlined by Scott (1990) for authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning were used in determining the validity of both personal and public documents. Documentary evidence was also used to verify the verbal accounts and all evidence was examined and analysed in the critical, questioning attitude advocated by Kvale (1989). There are periods in the history of the school where after finding a wealth of documentation, there is suddenly nothing relating to the school in the *Annual Reports* or *Occasional Letters*. It is not clear why this is so: possibly these were unremarkable years in the activities of the school, or perhaps there were more pressing issues to write about, or accounts may have been lost over the years. I have tried to draw attention to these 'thin' areas in the research.

The data was analysed by organising it chronologically and into broad themes and categories, as outlined by Wolcott (1990:33). This lead me to write a rather peculiarly structured thesis, with the first three chapters being a chronological, narrative history and chapters four to seven being thematic, dealing with pertinent issues. The last chapter reverts to a chronological account of the school today.

The first three chapters contextualise and explain the current *Good Shepherd School*, established in 1916 (Section 1.2.). The 'stories' of *The St. George's Grammar School*, *The Cathedral Grammar School* and the early works of *The Community of the Resurrection*, have been told in a narrative style. These 'stories' overlap chronologically and talk of many different personalities, institutions and incidents. To analyse this data

thematically would, I feel, have led to cumbersome, confusing writing. The narrative is used to lay the foundation to the interpretation of *The Good Shepherd School's* history, and provides an interesting comparative basis for analysing many of the philosophies and educational practises.

Chapters Four to Eight concentrate on the current *Good Shepherd School*, established in 1916. The amount of data collected about the school during this period was enormous, and obviously all of the interviewees had experiences from this period. To deal with this data chronologically would have lead to a tedious, haphazard account and so it has been analysed and written up in terms of four main themes: language issues, social issues, the religious focus of the school and political factors affecting the school. This is not to say that these factors were not present in *Cathedral Grammar School* or the first *Good Shepherd School*. It would have been too cumbersome and unwieldy within the confines of this thesis to deal with all of these issues at all of the three schools simultaneously.

As already stated in the introduction to this chapter, the thesis spans a period of 185 years, which is a vast time span, including many major events that affected the Eastern Cape, Grahamstown and the school. Several Frontier Wars, the South African War, two World Wars, famine, drought and epidemics occurred during this time. It was impossible to include details of all of these within the scope of the thesis, but by focusing on the effect these events had on the school I have been able to narrow the focus and make the wealth of data more manageable. I do not claim to have dealt fully with all the implications of these events, and they are often referred to in a very limited and cursory capacity.

This description of the school's development is written as a "realistic tale" (Van Maanen, 1988), in that, "Only what members of the studied culture [the school, in this case] say and do and, presumably think are visible in the text" (Van Maanen, 1988:46). I write of other peoples' experience rather than my own and try to allow them to speak for themselves. Critical comment has been passed, and this is obviously my voice. I have tried to prevent my voice from intruding upon the experience of the 'other', whilst

nevertheless performing the historian's duty of pointing out contradictions in the data and sometimes judging actions taken with the hindsight that living in 1997 has given me.

This concern with interpretations of the individual experiences of the school, means that I have taken a liberal stance, as outlined by Cross (1986), in my writing. This ideological position adopted by both myself and the Sisters of *The Community of the Resurrection* (see Section 4.7) has been criticised by writers such as Kallaway (1983) and Nkomo (1990), who write from the perspective of what Cross (1986:193) terms the "Radical/Neo-Marxist school". These writers believe that the liberal school of thought is flawed as it:

...seldom, if ever raises fundamental questions about what schools are for, whose interest they serve, what kind of knowledge or skills they reproduce or what their relationship is with the labour market (Kallaway, 1983:4).

I have not considered such questions and am aware that a researcher, researching the *Good Shepherd School* from within a Neo-Marxist framework might reach conclusions different to the ones I have reached (see Section 9.7.).

Another problem I have experienced in writing this study is one of terminology. As Du Pre (1994:9) has observed:

Because of the preoccupation with racial separation [in South Africa], the past has been characterised by the paranoid emphasis on 'groups' and 'nations'. A vexing problem of contemporary political and historical writing in South Africa is to find suitable non-pejorative terms which at the same time permit the necessary identification of groups in the society.

Historical documents that have been analysed use the terminology of the time, which is no longer acceptable today. However, in using quotations one is not free to change these terms and so they have been used with reluctance.

The term "coloured" is a particularly problematic one. Du Pre (1994:4) outlined this clearly:

In South Africa, the Nationalist Party government took South African coloured people, who were South Africans first and foremost, and made them into a nation of their own. Thus a coloured person (a mixed-race

South African) instantly became a 'Coloured' (a member of the 'Coloured nation') purely on the basis of mixedness.

Du Pre (1994:4) explained clearly that the term 'Coloured' is always offensive to a "mixed-race" South African, and this has been noted. I do however, need to identify this group of people clearly and unambiguously in this study, as the existence of the school was focused upon 'their' needs. I have therefore opted to use the term 'coloured' (lower case), as Du Pre, himself, does, and use the more offensive 'Coloured' only in direct quotations.

Another minor problem experienced is that the spelling of 'Huntly Street' has changed somewhere over the course of time. In all the older documents it is referred to as 'Huntly Street' and in later documents, particularly those dealing with the Group Areas Act, it is spelled 'Huntley Street'. The current spelling is 'Huntley Street'. However, for simplicity I have chosen to use the historic 'Huntly Street', and have only used the current spelling in direct quotations.

On further reflection of this thesis, I feel that it might have been strengthened by a comparative study of other institutions in Grahamstown with similar aims and objectives. A tracer study involving those having done practice teaching at the *Good Shepherd School* would have enhanced the study further, but was not possible due to constraints of time, cost and thesis limitations.

1.4. CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter Two places the school in its historical context. This is interwoven with a description of early Grahamstown, and some insight into the people living there between 1812 and 1849.

Chapter Three relates the story of *The Cathedral Grammar School*, its relationship with *St. Andrew's College*, and some of the contentious characters involved in the school. The time span of this chapter ranges from 1849 to 1902. **Chapter Four** outlines the establishment of *The Community of the Resurrection* and their early educational work.

Included in this is the story of the first *Good Shepherd School*, never on the Huntly Street premises, but forerunner of the current *Good Shepherd School*. This school later became *The Douglas School*. This chapter overlaps partially with Chapter Three in that it covers a similar time span, from 1888 to 1902.

Chapter Five deals with the social issues in which the school has been involved. There is a description of *The Bethlehem Home* orphanage in this chapter. Much of the interview material gained during research was used in the compilation of this chapter.

Chapter Six discusses the religious influence on the school, and the Christian beliefs at the core of the school. **Chapter Seven** discusses language issues and policies at *The Good Shepherd School*, from 1916 to present day.

Chapter Eight details the struggle against the implementation of the Group Areas Act. This is contextualised in the broader struggle of the Grahamstown Community as a whole between 1950 and 1970. **Chapter Nine** describes *The Good Shepherd School* as it is today, drawing together the threads of the issues discussed in the four preceding chapters and concluding the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

BEGINNINGS.

It is necessary to understand why and how Grahamstown was established, as this contextualises the school's existence. The lifestyles of the settlers in Grahamstown and the turbulence of the Eastern Frontier also need to be examined, as this leads to a greater understanding of who the personalities involved were, and of the forces that shaped their lives.

2.1. CONFLICT ON THE EASTERN FRONTIER

Cape Town was established in 1652 by the Dutch. During the next 200 years, the colony grew and the settlers moved further and further east. The British defeated the Dutch in 1806 and took control of the Cape. The Cape Colony expanded and Dutch cattle farmers, moving away from the British-controlled Cape Town, clashed with Xhosa farmers, already in the Eastern Cape, over grazing lands. Grazing cattle in the Eastern Cape involved delicately balanced transhumance, alternating between the sweet veld in winter and the sour veld (Zuurveld) in summer (Omer-Cooper, 1987:53). This caused complex patterns of conflict, co-operation and co-existence between colonised and colonisers. There were frequent incidents of cattle stealing on both sides.

In 1811 the British sent troops to the Eastern Frontier, and declared war on the Xhosa, in order to gain control of the area and "...make the Fish River an effective frontier between the races" (Omer-Cooper, 1987:44). According to Pieres (1981:65), "The war that followed [Fourth Frontier War 1811-1812] was brief but of unprecedented ferocity...", expelling the Xhosa beyond the Fish River.

The Fourth Frontier War did not, however, end the constant thieving and skirmishing so characteristic of the Eastern Frontier. Sir John Cradock, Governor of the Cape at this time, decided that a permanent military presence on the Eastern Frontier would alleviate the situation. Collier (1961) illustrated the necessity for the establishment of

a military headquarters on the frontier, citing the fact that in 1812, 39 robberies had been reported, 1209 head of cattle had been stolen, 8 people had been murdered and many farms had been looted.

Colonel Graham was sent to establish a protective border post on the Frontier. Colonel Graham decided to situate this new military garrison at a farm called "De Rietfontein", which had been abandoned by Lucas Meyer in 1810, and so on 14 August 1812, Grahamstown (first known as Graham's Town) came into being (Collier, 1961).

There was peace in the region until 1819, when the Xhosa prophet and chief, Makana, attacked Grahamstown in broad daylight. Though he was defeated, it was decided by the British Government that the only way to keep control of the Frontier was to populate it with settler-farmers who would serve as a barrier against Xhosa resistance to British advancement into the territory. Hence, the arrival of the 1820 Settlers.

Collier (1961) reported that the Settler-farmers were beset by difficulties, which included lack of food, wild terrain, wild animals, drought, floods, rust and crop failure. Grahamstown was seen as "an oasis of civilisation in the wilds, by ones and twos and tens the Settlers flocked to it from their inadequate [sic] farms so that it mushroomed in size" (Collier, 1961:26). Many of the Settlers, thus, chose to abandon agriculture and pursue commercial interests.

2.2. THE SETTLERS IN GRAHAMSTOWN

Grahamstown grew and began to prosper. It soon became one of the largest settlements in the Cape, second only to Cape Town (Thomson 1961). Most of the Settlers were of British origin, so they set about making their new home as familiar as possible. By the 1830's the Grahamstown population had formed a number of societies, emulating the social life they had had in England. These included a horticultural society, a benevolent society, a temperance society, a reading society, an agricultural society, a turf club, a bible society, an amateur theatrics society, a circulating library, a

commercial hall, an observatory and the first South African English newspaper, *The Grahamstown Journal* (Collier, 1961).

Collier (1961:31) quoted a traveller to these parts who described the main street as presenting, "A scene of almost incessant commercial activity, while almost every article, whether of utility or ornament, may be as readily obtained as in most of the towns of the mother country." This made Grahamstown more than a small farming community.

Turpin (1967:41) stated that as early as 1832, in the first publication of *The Grahamstown Journal*, there were no less than seven advertisements for various educational institutions. These included: The Graham's Town Grammar School, that offered vacancies for eight young gentlemen boarders; a singing school in the Union Chapel; an infant school; The School of Industry for Girls; and the Cuylerville School, built on a hill, near a stream so as to offer protection to inhabitants in the event of an attack. To this list Collier (1961) added the Wesleyan Mission School and the Shaw Hall School.

2.3. EDUCATIONAL POLICY AT THE CAPE

This list of schools in Grahamstown is indicative of the mix of schools at the Cape at this time. There was little uniformity in education: state schools, church schools and completely private schools existed side by side. There appears to have been little control over curriculum, and education, particularly in the rural areas, appeared to be in a chaotic state (Malherbe, 1925:61). Traditionally, education had long been under the control of the Church. This was an inheritance both from the Dutch and British Settlers. Behr (1988:11) stated that this idea that education should be administered by the Church was a medieval one, that began to change in England at the beginning of the 19th Century, when state aided schools began to take root. The idea spread slowly in England and in South Africa.

The appointment of the first Superintendent-General of Education, James Rose-Innes

in 1839, and the passing of educational regulations in 1827 and 1834, signalled a move to transfer control of education from church to state. The state, attempted to regulate schooling in terms of standardised curriculum, fee structures and teachers' salaries. These measures served to anglicise schooling at the Cape, and to minimise the Dutch influence, as English became the compulsory medium of instruction in state schools. In this way language issues and cultural control began to be problematic, and would become central issues in education up to the present day.

2.4. THE CHURCH IN GRAHAMSTOWN

It is necessary to consider the Church's role in education at this time carefully, as both *The Cathedral Grammar School* and *The Good Shepherd School* were connected to the Church of England. As already noted in section 2.3., the Church and education were traditionally linked. Behr (1988:10) stated that failure to join the Church often meant social ostracism as membership indicated a certain level of literacy and education. Confirmation implied the ability to read the Bible, recite the Catechism and to write one's name. Thus if the Church was to convert people to Christianity, education was critical.

The Anglican Church, later called the Church of the Province of South Africa, was comparatively slow in establishing itself in Grahamstown, and caring for the spiritual and educational needs of its members. The Wesleyans were the first church group to arrive in Grahamstown. They built a church building and took responsibility for church education and missionary work amongst the 'non-White' inhabitants of the area. William Shaw was the minister in charge of the Wesleyan church and education, and when the Church of England sent their first Colonial Chaplain, William Geary, to Grahamstown in 1823, Rev. Shaw graciously allowed the Anglican services to take place in the Wesleyan chapel (Gould, 1924).

Governor, Lord Somerset, had secured a grant of £500 from the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* (S.P.G.) for the building of an Anglican Church in

Grahamstown, and ensured that Geary had a substantial stipend from the government. As all his expenses were carried by the British Government, the Colonial Chaplain's post was that of a civil servant. Geary had a clerk, a schoolmaster, a sexton and a bellringer under his employ (Gould, 1924). Geary laid the foundation of the Cathedral of St. George and began Anglican education in Grahamstown.

Geary was dismissed in 1825, after a dispute with Lord Somerset (Gould, 1924) and was followed by several other Colonial Chaplains, none of whom stayed in Grahamstown for very long. They did, however, complete the building of The Church of St. George in 1830, but from the start it needed constant repair and alteration. Hewitt (1887) in Matthews (Vol 1:9) explained:

Not only was the design hideously ugly, but the material and the workmanship were of the worst possible description, and should never have been passed by any competent person.

In the 1830's, then, The Anglican Church found itself in a precarious position with a rickety building for a church and with many of the Church's people having received very little spiritual care from the chaplains. Much hard work was needed if the Church was to serve the needs of the loyal followers.

This task was left to John Heavyside, the Colonial Chaplain who arrived in 1833. Heavyside was a retired missionary who had served in India under the S.P.G. Hewitt quoted in Matthews (Vol 1:9) said of him, "In the fact [sic] of much opposition and many difficulties Mr. Heavyside may be said to have been the real founder of the Church's work in Grahamstown." Rev. Heavyside was responsible for keeping the Church alive in Grahamstown, on his own, without much support, for fifteen years.

2.5. THE SIXTH FRONTIER WAR

The peace and prosperity that had existed in Grahamstown since the 1820's was shattered in 1834, with the outbreak of the Sixth Frontier War. The Eastern Cape was suffering from drought, and the Mfecane (migration of tribes defeated by Shaka during

Zulu expansion), had caused an increase in population on the Eastern Frontier (Omer-Cooper 1984). Thus, tensions over grazing-land were once again raised and the Xhosas invaded the Albany region and with "firebrand and assegai destroyed in ten days the fruits of fifteen years struggle and toil" (Cory quoted in Collier 1961:33).

The devastation of the frontier was extensive (Collier, 1961; Matthews, Vol 1; Omer-Cooper, 1987). Refugees from the rural farms poured into Grahamstown. The Church of St George was strongly fortified and served as a magazine for arms and ammunition and a refuge for women and children (Matthews, Vol 1:11). Reverend Henry Dugmore quoted in Collier (1961:36) described the effect of this war on Grahamstown as follows:

The aspect of Grahamstown was such as it has never, in the same degree, presented since. Every tenement of every class was thronged with families of white, brown or black, who had pressed in on every side for protection. The portions of the flocks and herds that had been saved from the Kaffirs [sic], crowded the vacant spaces in yards and gardens at nights, and covered the slopes of the hills round the town by day, exhausting very speedily the pasturage of the neighbourhood. Sad confusion and paralysing depression prevailed at first, and strange scenes, combining the pathetic and the ludicrous in about equal proportions were presented.

Sir Harry Smith took charge of the troops in Grahamstown and sent out punitive expeditions against the Xhosa. A tentative peace agreement was signed in 1835, and the area between The Fish River and The Kei River was annexed by the British Government as The Queen Adelaide Province (Omer-Cooper, 1987:69). It was shortly after this, however, that this decision was reversed by Lord Glenelg, British Secretary of State for the Colonies, who enforced the Glenelg Native Policy, whereby The Queen Adelaide Province was returned to the Xhosa people.

This illustrates the uncertainty and turmoil with which the Settlers lived and it could not have been easy for any growth to occur in these troubled times. Grahamstown, however, continued as a commercial and military centre and the Church of St George, under the leadership of Rev. Heavyside, grew.

2.6. DECISION TO BUILD A SCHOOL

In April of 1844 Reverend Heavyside and the Vestry [decision-making body of eight elected male members of the church] decided to open a Sunday School for the children of the parishioners of St. George's Church. The site was chosen in Huntly Street, and a building committee was set up. On Tuesday 18 June 1844, amid pomp and ceremony, the foundation of the school was laid (Matthews Vol 2:175). Mrs Hare, wife of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Cape, was responsible for the laying of the foundation stone, after a procession to the site led by the band of the 91st Regiment (Matthews, Vol 2:175). Turpin (1967:44) stated:

"When the stone was laid, an inscription written on vellum, some coins of the realm and copies of the local newspaper, were deposited in the cavity of the stone."

The inscription, loosely translated from Latin, read as follows:

In the name of the Holy Trinity, in the seventh year of the reign of Victoria, Queen of Britain, the foundations of the building for the good and religious instruction of youth in the truth of Christ and the discipline of the Anglican Church. In the days of our Lord, in permanent praise of the lady, Clarissa Hare, wife of the Honourable Governor of the Province (original Latin in Matthews Vol 2:175, translation courtesy Ms U. Weber, Rhodes University).

The mission statement of the school is clearly articulated in this inscription: "... for the good and religious instruction of youth in the truth of Christ and the discipline of the Anglican Church" (Matthews Vol 2:175). This echoed the rationale for the Sunday Schools movement in England which were established for the poor in the 1780's. Lawson and Silver (1973:239) outline this rationale and give an example of the curriculum followed in these Sunday Schools:

"In 1791 the children of Lincoln were taught to read, say the Church Catechism, and short Morning and Evening Prayers ... They are instructed in such plain religious truths as they can understand; such as will direct and fix their faith, improve their hearts, and regulate their manners."(Lawson and Silver, 1973:239).

It is possible that a similar sort of curriculum was envisaged for the St. George's Sunday School.

Thus the school was conceptualised and the foundations laid. It would, however, be another five years before the school opened. The reasons for this delay were the same problems that, as has been outlined, had plagued Grahamstown and the Church from the beginning, namely war and financial difficulties.

2.7. DELAYS IN THE BUILDING OF THE SCHOOL

2.7.1. War

The Eastern Frontier had still not quite settled after the events of 1834, and a seemingly small incident was sufficient to re-ignite the volatile situation. In March 1846, some soldiers taking a thief accused of stealing an axe to his trial, were murdered and the prisoner escaped. Sandile, Xhosa Chief, refused to surrender the culprits, and ambushed a punitive expedition led against him. In this way *The War of the Axe* began. Most of the military were removed from Grahamstown in order to fight on the Frontier, and so the local male inhabitants were responsible for the defense of the town.

The diary extract written by Mrs Harriet Ward, wife of Captain Ward, who arrived in Grahamstown in 1842, and lived at the barracks at the Drosty, illustrates the panic and fear that characterised Grahamstown at this time. Her husband was part of the military and thus away fighting. She wrote of :

...waiting for hours in uncertainty... tearing open the (despatches) with trembling fingers... while shots echoed along the hills and through the kloofs above the town and the sky above and around us was lit with the fire from the devastated homestead of the settlers. On the night of the 22nd [of April]... the frightened servants rushed into the sitting room exclaiming that the Kaffirs [sic] were sweeping down the hills in all directions and that the roof... was likely to be fired by the brands of the savages. [We] prepared for our pilgrimage across the open undefended square of the Drosty ground... to seek the shelter of the new barracks, built of stone and roofed with zinc... Oh, the confusion of tongues... Exclamations in Dutch, Irish, Fingo, broad Scotch and

provincial English assailed us on all sides; children cried and laughed alternately, women screamed, Hottentots [sic] danced, and sung and swore, the oxen attached to the wagons uttered frightened roars, and muskets were going off in all quarters of the town (quoted in Collier, 1961:47).

The Xhosa did not attack Grahamstown that night or any other, but by 8 August 1846, 174 of the 350 men capable of bearing arms were constantly on patrol, keeping Grahamstown safe. Thus, whilst the war never reached Grahamstown directly, it created enough of a disturbance within the city to halt the building of the Huntly Street school.

A major consequence of *The War of the Axe* was that the Glenelg policy was again reversed, and the boundaries of the Eastern Cape were again extended to reach the Kei River. The chiefs were given fixed locations in the area, and were proclaimed British citizens, living under British rule (Omer-Cooper 1987:88). This had a far reaching effect on Grahamstown, changing its status from a Frontier town to simply a town in the province. This meant that there was no longer a need for a military headquarters to be situated in Grahamstown, as the strategic importance of the town had been lost. It was at this stage, in 1848, that the character of Grahamstown changed from a military town to a seat of education and learning. Collier (1961:49) encapsulated this change in the following manner:

Grahamstown was to continue to fight - not against men but against ignorance. She was to be the centre, not of military might but of learning, and with the growth of the many Christian churches which earned the title of 'City of the Saints', she was to help police, not the borders of 'kafferland' [sic], but the nomansland that divides good from evil.

2.7.2. Financial Problems

The second major factor that delayed the opening of the school was the difficulty of finding finances for the building of the school. With the church building being in an almost permanent state of disrepair, there was always something more urgent to

spend money on. £300 had already been spent on the school and a further amount of the same sum was required in order to complete the building. Matthews (Vol 2:176) reported that this sum was allocated to providing St George's with a new ceiling rather than going towards the school.

On 16 October 1848 Reverend Heavyside appointed a building committee to ensure that the funds were collected and the school built (MS 16780). The committee consisted of Rev Heavyside, Mr G. Stringfellow, Mr F. Cole, Mr I. Everly, Mr L.G. Atherstone, Mr W.M. Juffray and Dr A.G. Campbell, as secretary. Each member was responsible for finding subscribers to the building fund and collecting contributions from them (MS 16780).

The appointment of the building committee coincided with the first visit to Grahamstown by Robert Gray, newly appointed Bishop of Cape Town. Bishop Gray was responsible not only for the entire Cape Colony, but for the Orange River Sovereignty, British Kaffraria, Natal and the island of St. Helena (Hewitt, in Matthews Vol 1:18). His objective "... was to provide clergy, churches and schools for the scattered and neglected members of the church..." (Matthews, Vol 1:19). With the funding and support of the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. (*Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*) the Bishop was more than glad to raise the money needed for the school, and did so on his visit in October 1848. This saved Rev. Heavyside from having to mortgage the school for £150. He had already written a letter to the government requesting permission to do just this and the permission had been granted (MS 16780).

2.8. BUILDING THE SCHOOL

Mr Alexander Hyde's offer to perform the mason work on the school was accepted, and quotes for the carpentry and plumbing were received from Henry Turner and James Gleefs, and Surman & Surman respectively (MS 16780).-

Meanwhile, the Vestry of St George, together with their legal advisors and the Bishop,

had decided that the school should serve not only as a Sunday School, but as a Grammar School during the week. This decision was recorded in Vestry minutes in the following manner:

Resolved that the building situated in Dundas Street (eastward extension of Huntly Street), shall be used on Sundays as a Sunday school in connexion with the Church of England, and during the week as a Grammar School to be conducted likewise upon Church of England principles, and not for any other purposes than those above mentioned, without the sanction of the Minister and churchwardens of St. George's Church Grahamstown for the time being (Matthews, Vol 2:176).

This decision was not considered unusual, as Grammar Schools in England had been linked to Church education since early medieval times (Lawson and Silver 1973). Traditionally these were Upper or Middle Class schools that were privately run, and not under state control. They were, thus, traditionally for 'sons of gentlemen', who paid fees, but occasionally poorer children were admitted, being funded by the Church.

These schools followed traditional lines in English curriculum teaching Latin, French, English grammar, scripture, reading, writing and arithmetic, mainly through rote learning and recitation (Lawson and Silver, 1973:336).

In an undated letter from the Building Committee to the governor, Sir Harry Smith, the Committee outlined their reasons for building the school. They requested the Governor to contribute £200 a year to an Educational Fund and to appoint the services of a headmaster from England. They justified the opening of the school in the following manner:

That there has been long felt in this part of the Colony the want of a Superior School for the education of children of the middle and higher classes. ... that Graham's Town being the centre of a large extent of country and the Capital of the Eastern Province appears the most suitable place for an institution of this kind: and that your Memorialists are about to complete a commodious new school house which can be used for this purpose as well as for the Sunday School. -That many of your Memorialists have children growing up to whom they are most anxious to give a sound religious education while they are unable to bear the great expense of sending them to England for the purpose (MS 16780).

In January 1849, Nathaniel James Merriman arrived in Grahamstown to become Archdeacon of the Eastern Province, a position that had become available when Bishop Gray divided his extremely large Diocese into smaller, more manageable Archdeaconries. The arrival of the Archdeacon seems to have been a great relief to an overburdened Rev. Heavyside. Archdeacon Merriman wrote this of Rev. Heavyside in his Journal:

He has been for fifteen years the only clergyman of our Church in this the capital of the Eastern District, and the hopelessness of representing the Church effectually and of combating the numerous difficulties of such a very extensive sphere as is here open to him, seems almost to have overpowered him. As he hailed the arrival of the Bishop to the Diocese, so has he hailed the arrival of Mr Thompson and myself to this town as a matter of great joy. May God prosper the work of our Hands upon us and grant that our coming here may prove a blessing to the place and to ourselves (Matthews Vol 1:35).

Merriman, a little later in the same entry, recorded that Rev. Heavyside showed him around the church and the school that was at that stage in the process of being built. It does appear that the Rev. Heavyside seemed to have taken a great personal interest in the building of the school. This is illustrated in a letter written by Canon W.A. Staebler, son-in-law of Rev. Heavyside, in which he recalled his father-in-law's pride and interest in the school:

One thing I may mention, I saw in one of the Church magazines, some notice of the Cathedral Grammar School, in which it is stated that Bishop Armstrong was the founder of it. Now without in any way distracting from the good work of the dear Bishop, I must claim Mr. Heavyside as the real founder of that part of the educational work; for I well remember my first entry into Grahamstown in 1848. I had not been in the drawing room of the old Parsonage for more than a quarter of an hour, before I was taken down the garden to inspect the building, it was then up to the roof; it was then his hobby, and he afterwards opened it as a school (in Matthews Vol 1:218)

Eventually the school was completed and was officially opened on the 4 October 1849. Archdeacon Merriman recorded the occasion as follows in his Journal:

On this day the new Grammar and Sunday School was formally opened. It has been 5 years in building, being disrupted by the depression caused by the Kaffir war and other circumstances. After struggling through so many difficulties it was of course a great joy to Mr Heavyside and all concerned to see the work brought to completion. Mr. Montagu [Colonial Secretary at the Cape of Good Hope, 1843-53] and Mr Douglas [Bishop Gray's chaplain] having arrived in Grahamstown the evening previously, breakfasted with us, after which we went to church, where were assembled the whole body of Sunday Scholars with their teachers. After prayers and an address from Mr. Heavyside we went in procession- the band of the Cape Mounted Rifles preceding us- and laid the foundation stone of the New Almshouses [for three poor church widows]- from there to the school where a dinner had been prepared for the children. Here in company with Mr Heavyside I addressed a few words to the company congratulating all on the accomplishment of their wishes hoping that increased reverence for the house of God would be the first result and trusting that ministers would be raised up to the Church from the Grammar School. I alluded to my own training in the Grammar School of my native town as the first means of enabling me to fill the position I held amongst those assembled (Matthews, Vol 2:177).

In this way *The St. George's Grammar School* came into being.

CHAPTER THREE

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL: 1849-1902

In the previous chapter the circumstances surrounding the building of the educational premises in Huntly Street were described. This chapter deals with the establishment of the *St. George's Grammar School*, later called *The Cathedral Grammar School* and the strange relationship the Grammar School had with *St. Andrew's College*, established in Grahamstown in 1855.

3.1. ST. GEORGE'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL 1849-1853

In 1849 Mr Bendelack was appointed as acting headmaster of the *St. George's Grammar School* (referred to as "The Grammar School" from now on). Matthews (Vol 2:185) related that Bendelack was preparing for holy orders under the supervision of Archdeacon Merriman. Thus, in keeping with the founding statement of the school (Section 2.6.), he was to fulfil dual roles of teacher and minister.

Currey (1955:33) reported that most Church Schools in England operated under a system whereby once a Headmaster was appointed by the Bishop, he became totally responsible for managing the finances of the school. This meant that he could keep any profits that were made, but he also shouldered the losses incurred by the school. In the early days when new schools were still trying to pay off building debts and struggling to establish themselves it is likely that losses were more frequent than profits. This appears to have been applied to *St. George's Grammar School*.

As already described (Section 2.7.2.), the building of the Grammar School was a heavy financial burden on the Church, and Bishop Gray was looking for ways in which to repay the debts on the school. Matthews (Vol 2:78) reported that these still amounted to the sum of £162 in September 1850. In light of this debt Bishop Gray requested that Bendelack keep detailed records and accounts of all school expenditure, take for himself a salary of £100 per annum, and donate any other surplus money to the repayment of the debts. Matthews (Vol 2:78) stated that Bendelack refused to do this,

but agreed instead to donate £15 in 1851 and 1852. He did not however do this in cash payments, but instead wrote a promissory note in which he stated he would pay £30 in 1853, "...if the school remained in a prosperous state" (Matthews, Vol 2:188).

It was probably in response to this heavy financial debt that still hung over the school that Bishop Gray authorised the Building Committee to use the sum of £200, that had been donated to the Vestry of St. George's Cathedral, by a relative of the late Colonel Graham, for the purpose of education in Grahamstown (Vestry Minutes 1850, MS 14862). This sum of money was to become a bone of contention between St Andrew's College and The Grammar School in later years, and this incident is discussed in Section 3.7.

Bendelack was never appointed headmaster of the school, and left in 1853, evidently to move to Port Elizabeth. He was described in the Church Marriage Register as residing in Port Elizabeth, when he married, in the Grahamstown Cathedral in 1856 (Matthews, Vol 2:188).

3.2. ST. GEORGE'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL 1854-1857

The first headmaster to be appointed to the Grammar School was the Rev. Frederick Bankes who, according to Currey (1955:5), was a harsh disciplinarian, not averse to using corporal punishment. This, again, can be seen as a continuation of earlier educational practices in England, in the 1700's where, "... formal training by drill and repetition persisted and fear of the rod and the Master's displeasure remained the main incentive for learning" (Lawson and Silver, 1973:176). This is almost diametrically opposed to the educational philosophy of Sr. Cecile, founder of *The Community of the Resurrection*, who established *The Good Shepherd School*, currently using the Huntly Street premises (see Section 4.7.).

Currey (1955:12) stated that Rev. Bankes followed the traditional classical curriculum, including recitation and Greek, noted in Section 2.8. Mrs Armstrong, the wife of Bishop Armstrong, first Bishop Of-Grahamstown, who arrived in 1853, kept a journal

(transcribed in Matthews Vol 1) in which she also gives clues as to what the curriculum of the Grammar School was like at the time. In an entry dated 19 November 1854 she wrote that Rev. Bankes took the afternoon children's catechism and read Palmer's Church History to the children. She also related an incident on 16 September 1855, during a visit to an unnamed Xhosa chief in the area, when:

"In the afternoon the children amused themselves with keeping a play school, they made the 'Kaffir'[sic] children repeat the alphabet, spell English words, say sentences and sing ..." (in Matthews Vol 1:82).

It is likely that these were the sort of activities that the children themselves were engaged in daily at the Grammar School.

This curriculum reflects a particular idea of education that seems outdated and conservative, even for the 1850's. Lawson and Silver (1973) observed that the philosophy of education in England had been changing since the 1700's, influenced by the ideas of John Locke. He advocated a more practical curriculum, incorporating subjects which would be useful to pupils. (The educational works of *The Community of the Resurrection* discussed in Section 4.7. reflect Locke's ideas.) Whilst reading, writing and arithmetic are clearly useful, it is unlikely that young men in South Africa had much call for Greek, Latin and the ability to recite large sections of the Iliad. A glaring omission in the curriculum at the time was Science. This had gained much respect and popularity in the English Schools, with the Industrial Revolution, yet was still often omitted from Grammar school curricula, in favour of 'the Classics' (Lawson and Silver 1973).

Locke also had ideas of how children should be taught, that had become influential in England. He believed that:

Children should be allowed to do without punishment whatever is natural for them to do at their age; their learning should be made easy and pleasurable and based on activity and curiosity rather than rule and rote, on discovery and experience rather than dictation and authority; and it should be inspired at all times by affection, not fear (Lawson and Silver, 1973:176).

Rev. Bankes does not appear to have been a believer in Locke's philosophy. (Section 4.7. demonstrates the contrasts between Bankes and Sr. Cecile).

Currey (1955:12) reported that at the time of Rev. Bankes' principalship at the Grammar School, "... there were apparently some sixty pupils, some of them very small boys indeed. Amongst them was the young nine-year-old Tom Merriman, son of the Archdeacon." *St. George's Grammar School*, thus, seems to have been run along the lines of a traditional English Grammar School, catering for the sons of middle class, educated Europeans in Grahamstown, and adhering strictly to 'Grammar School' curriculum and disciplinary methods.

3.3. ST. ANDREW'S COLLEGE IS BUILT- 1855

In 1853, the See of Grahamstown was created. Bishop Armstrong was appointed the first Bishop of Grahamstown. He decided only five weeks after his arrival in the city to establish a College in the city. He made an appeal for funds to establish what was to become *St. Andrew's College* which was to serve three main purposes:

- 'to provide a sound Christian education for the youth of the (Eastern) Province, according to the principles of the Church of England:'
- 'to furnish the means of training men for Holy Orders;'
- 'to form a centre from which Missionary operations may be more effectively carried on.' (Currey, 1955:12).

The first principle echoes that stated in establishing the Grammar school, the second implies a training for religious service that was not mentioned in the founding of the Grammar School. It is perhaps for this reason that Bishop Armstrong decided to establish a second school, in addition to the Grammar School, an issue that was to become problematic (see Section 3.5.).

The last aim reflected the concerted effort being made at the time by the Anglican Church to make an impact in Missionary work amongst the 'non-White' population groups. This was rather a late beginning as other denominations had started this type of work as early as 1728 (Omer-Cooper, 1987:38).

3.4. CO-OPERATION BETWEEN ST. ANDREW'S COLLEGE AND THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The Church Vestry already had the infrastructure of the *St. George's Grammar School* at its disposal, and thus the school played a leading role in the establishment of *St. Andrew's College*. Bishop Armstrong decided to use the existing structures of the Grammar School whilst the St. Andrew's premises were being completed. Rev. Bankes was to be headmaster of both institutes, and certain facilities were to be shared, but there was to be no complete merger of the two schools. In an undated, anonymous letter, probably written by Rev Bankes, the plan for the co-existence of the two schools is outlined:

The Cathedral Grammar School should be attached to the College and called the Lower School and designed to receive such boys as would be found in an English National School. The Grammar School would thereby be somewhat diminished in number but would be more distinctly marked as a higher class school. None below a certain standard of attainment would then be received in the Grammar School.... The Master of the lower school should be appointed by the Bishop, the Principal of the College and the Incumbent of St. George's conjointly, with a stipend of £150 per annum (MS 16676).

When St. Andrew's opened in 1855, there were thus strong ties with the Grammar School, and it was arranged initially:

"... that whilst all the boys were now to sleep and feed and worship in the new College buildings on West Hill, they were to continue to attend classes in the Grammar School building in Huntly Street" (Currey, 1955:13).

The Grammar School thus retained an identity of its own.

Rev. Bankes was not the only member of staff that was shared between the two schools. The matron of the Grammar School, Mrs Rudd, was to become matron of St. Andrew's as well. She appears to have been a fairly formidable character, whose presence was strongly felt at the school:

" We get more than a hint of the stuff of which she was made from Tom

Merriman's vivid recollections of her powers as a dispenser of corporal punishment - a gentle art in which her prowess appears to have been inferior only to that of the Headmaster himself (Currey 1955:16).

Evidence suggests that during 1855 the Grammar School grew, or perhaps Banks needed assistance in his duties as headmaster of two schools, as Mrs Armstrong recorded in her journal on the 21st of May 1855 that a Mr Allen had undertaken to assist Mr Banks in the school, and so the number of staff increased (Matthews Vol 1). Early in 1857 Bishop Gray was able to say in an address to members and friends of the *Society for the Promotion of Church Missions in South Africa*:

A Grammar School has been founded there [in Grahamstown] and I am thankful to think that our educational work there stands - without reflecting unfairly on any other body - at the head of the work in the Eastern Province. It is entirely self-supporting, no less than three teachers being maintained simply by the fees of the pupils, with no external aid whatsoever. (Matthews Vol 1:115).

1857 was to be a pivotal year in the history of both the Grammar School and St. Andrew's College. Their prosperity proved to be tenuous, as the entire Eastern Cape region was struck by disaster as the result of the cattle killing amongst the Xhosa people. Nonqause, a young Xhosa prophetess, proclaimed that if the people burned all their crops and killed all their cattle on an appointed day, there would rise two suns in the sky and all the White settlers would be swept into the sea. Many complied with these instructions and the following devastation and subsequent drought crippled the area. Thousands starved. Governor George Grey's attempts to alleviate the situation could not prevent famine (Currey 1955:21). Collier (1961:55) wrote:

Grahamstown was too near the scene of the tragedy not to suffer. Her resources were strained to succour the starving, and her prosperity visibly affected. St Andrew's, the infant College was nearly forced to close down.

Rev. Banks resigned from the Grammar School to take up the full principalship at St. Andrew's, so as to give the struggling school his full attention. St. Andrew's classes were no longer held on the Grammar School premises, and the period of co-operation and sharing of facilities between the schools ended.

3.5. THE CATHEDRAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL 1857-1869

Co-operation was replaced by competition. The Grammar School was not absorbed into St. Andrew's, but in 1857 was reopened as the *Cathedral Grammar School*. The change of name from *St. George's Grammar School* to *The Cathedral Grammar School* also reflected a change in the status of the school. It was no longer merely a "parish school" but a fully fledged grammar school (Matthews Vol 2:178). Mr Samuel Brook was appointed headmaster of the renamed Grammar School. Thus in a period of economic depression where schools were struggling to attract pupils, the Church had two new schools competing for survival. Currey (1955:21) questioned the wisdom of this decision when he wrote:

"... one can only wonder at the astonishing lack of co-ordinated policy which allowed a new rival school to start, three-quarters of a mile away, at the very moment when it looked as if (the) College of St. Andrew was about to perish when still in the cradle."

It was decided in 1857, perhaps because of this competition for pupils, that *The Cathedral Grammar School* should accept a number of children of poor parishioners, who were to be educated at the expense of the Cathedral's Sick and Needy Fund (Matthews, Vol 2:178). This was a change from the original idea of the school being for sons of middle and upper class families, but by no means out of keeping with Grammar Schools in England, that often awarded scholarships to the poor, but 'deserving' (Lawson and Silver, 1973). This was the first time, but certainly not the last time, that the Huntly Street School was to open its doors to the underprivileged (Section 4.6).

In 1859 Brook left to become rector of St. Paul's in Port Elizabeth, and Mr. John Evens took over as Headmaster. The *Grahamstown Church News* of April 1886 (The Church Chronicle, Vol 7) had the following to say about Evens:

This gentleman at the time was engaged in instructing the Grahamstown youth: and the amalgamation of his own school with the Cathedral School brought the numbers up to about 80. While under Mr. Evens, who was renowned as a strict disciplinarian, the school prospered both financially and numerically. The success and usefulness of the institution may be gathered from the fact - which has often been expressed, that whenever a merchant required a smart youth for his office, St. George's Cathedral School in Huntly Street was the place whither he wended his steps ,

certain of obtaining all he required.

It is not clear which school Evens had amalgamated with the Grammar School, but it was likely a small private school, started by himself. These private schools were common in the Cape. In 1884, Donald Ross investigated the schools in the Cape Colony and wrote the following about these private schools:

There is probably no other country where private schools unaided by the State and altogether unendowed, have risen so rapidly and on the whole succeeded so well against the natural competition of the Government Schools, which are liberally supported out of public funds (in Behr, 1988:20).

The report in the Church News April 1886, also suggested that the curriculum had moved from being traditional to being more vocational, in that it intimates that graduates of the school were employed by merchants. This probably meant that subjects like science and economics were included in the curriculum, echoing changes being made to the curriculum in English schools, in response to the demands of the growing commercial middle class (Lawson and Silver 1973:302). This change was perhaps due to the fact that Evens, not being a man of the cloth, was more open to vocational training, or perhaps it was a response to the community's demand for a more relevant curriculum. Documentation could not be found to this effect.

Evens' time at *The Cathedral Grammar School* was not without its problems. Lack of finances again raised its head during this time. In 1859 the question of the £200 that Bishop Gray had appropriated in 1850 towards the building of the Grammar School, came to the fore. The trouble resulted from a claim made by Rev. Bankes, who after struggling bravely to build up St. Andrew's, had succumbed to ill health and a broken spirit and was returning to England. Before he left he claimed £250 from the Cathedral Vestry, assuming that the sum allotted was rightfully St. Andrew's money. This claim caused much debate and was still unresolved ten years later, when it was taken up as part of the battle between Dean Williams and Bishop Merriman (Currey, 1955; Matthews, Vol 2; MS 16773), which will be related in Section 3.7.

3.6. THE GUILD HALL AND ASSEMBLY ROOM

Evens had to deal with major alterations to the school, both in structure and in the nature of the school. In 1869 an additional room was built onto the school (see Figure 3.1.). This was known as the Guild Hall and Assembly Room, and the extra facilities enabled *The Cathedral Grammar School* to open its doors to the young women of Grahamstown, as a Morning School and Academy for Higher Class Female Education was held in this room (Matthews Vol 2:180). The views on education for women at that time are clearly reflected in the description of the school that appeared in the Diocese records and cited in Matthews (Vol 2:180-182):

During the last year a handsome and commodious Guild Hall and Assembly Room, with necessary fittings and belongings, has been built as an addition to the Cathedral School, at a cost of over £500. By this means a Union and Benefit Association, as well as a common hall for safe amusements, and indirect education, has been provided for our young men of all classes of society; a want that had been previously deeply and painfully felt in the Parish. And the building has at the same time happily enabled the opening of a Morning School and Academy for higher class Female Education, including the accomplishments usually taught at the best English Ladies' Schools.

These advantages are now offered at the lowest possible rate of monthly payment consistent with efficiency.

...The Vestry has ample evidence before it that such an effort [to educate, the daughters of parishioners cheaply and safely] on the part of the Cathedral, if carried out in its fullness, would be hailed with gratitude and support by numbers of families, not only in Grahamstown, but in all the Frontier Districts. What is wanted is not merely the most economic boarding, lodging and training, important as this consideration is: -but it is felt that young girls, when they are trusted away from home, need even more than a mother's care; and they need it every moment of their school life. So that female accomplishments, and female learning, should be accompanied by the constant influence which educates character, and imparts gentle manners and high principle. The only practical mode of securing this in a community such as ours, is to have the school under the guidance of a religious sisterhood presiding over a religious house, and offering gratuitous service in the name and for the sake of Religion. Such professional service, it is believed, might be obtained from the Mother Church at home, and would be an inestimable blessing conferred upon the province.

It would be fifteen years before such a sisterhood was established by Bishop Webb, but these words clearly indicate the thinking of the church at the time. Interestingly enough

the sisterhood established in 1884, called *The Community of the Resurrection* would play a pivotal role in the Huntly Street School from 1916 to the present (see Chapter 4-9).

These sentiments reflect traditional English practise, as girls' education had been under the control of religious sisterhoods since pre-industrial times. An example of a typical curriculum offered in these schools was outlined in an advertisement in an English newspaper, *York Courant*, 26 August 1783, quoted by Digby, (1982:1):

The YOUNG LADIES, beside the usual Sorts of Work, are taught Embroidery, Tambour, Maps, Coats of Arms, Patch-Work, and Filigree ... The strictest attention will be paid to their Morals...Proper Masters attend to English grammatically, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, Music, Drawing and Dancing.

Perhaps these are the kinds of things that were taught to the young ladies of the Morning School, as these subjects were still taught in the mid 1800's in England. The purpose of women's education at that time is clearly reflected in the words of Dorothy Beale, Headmistress of Cheltenham Ladies College, England, quoted by Digby (1982:3):

...schooling meant that 'a wise and right-minded woman will be less likely to make a foolish or inconsiderate marriage' and that 'if girls were made to weigh and consider, there would be less of extravagance and folly, homes better ordered, servants more honest and contented, children happier'.

There was thus no question of education providing alternatives to marriage, or allowing women to enter the commercial or economic world.

An interesting comment was made about this new Guild Hall and Assembly Room, by members of the synod, [meeting of Bishops, Clergy and Laity] which was held there in 1869. After much animated discussion the members of the synod decided to move the meeting to another venue as the Guild Hall was draughty with poor acoustics. These are not ideal circumstances for teaching and learning and one wonders how they affected the girls educated in the Guild Hall. It was not until 1888 that the synod moved back to the Huntly Street building.

3.7. CONFLICT BETWEEN ST. ANDREW'S COLLEGE AND THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL

In 1856 Bishop Armstrong died and was replaced by Bishop Cotterill. In 1865, Dean F.H. Williams was appointed Dean of the Cathedral. Dean Williams was one of the more controversial personalities in the history of the Cathedral and thus in the history of the school. Whibley (1982:67) described Williams as a "brilliant and highly individualistic Irishman" and also quoted Bishop Macrorie, who was at the time Bishop of Pietermaritzburg, who said of Dean Williams, "(he is a) fluent Irishman who will speak by the hour about anything or nothing very cleverly indeed" (1982:68).

At the Synod of 1869, the Headmaster of St Andrew's, Mr (later Rev) Langford Browne, again brought up the question of the money owed by the Grammar School to St. Andrew's that had been claimed by Rev Bankes in 1859 (Section 3.5.). It appears that this claim was based on the idea that Bankes had that the money appropriated for the building of the Huntly Street School by Bishop Gray in 1849, was for the building of a Grammar School connected to the church. Bankes seemed to be under the impression that St Andrew's had superseded the original *St. George's Grammar School* as the official school of the Cathedral and as such was entitled to the money. Yet, in reality this had not happened, both schools had continued to exist and grow and retained separate identities, and so St. George's Cathedral found itself in the rather peculiar situation of having two Grammar Schools (MS 16773; Currey, 1955;).

When Langford Browne again brought this issue to the attention of the Synod, it was decided to appoint a Committee to investigate this claim and to resolve this issue finally, as it had been under discussion for ten years. Vestry notes subsequent to the event (MS 16773) and the minutes of the Synod reflect that the Commission decided that some person (not named) on behalf of the Cathedral should pay the sum of £250 to St. Andrew's and "... failing this the entire premises should be taken possession of by the Bishop of Grahamstown for use to the advantage of St. Andrew's Diocesan College" (MS 16773).

This recommendation was rejected outright by Dean Williams, who said that he could not relinquish any property that he had found to be under his care when he was appointed Dean of the Parish, unless there was undisputed evidence that such a claim was totally and undeniably valid. He claimed that the Committee had no proof of such claim, as they had not produced any minutes, documents or records of the original transaction at the time of the building of the school, and that they had not requested to examine those in possession of the Vestry (MS 16773).

Under these circumstances, with the Dean's refusal, the Synod was unable to accept the findings of the Committee, and decided to refer the matter to arbitration. It was suggested that the Dean appoint one member to the arbitration panel, St Andrew's representatives another, and either the Bishop, or the Synod, or the first two arbitrators, appoint the third member. The Synod suggested that the findings of the arbitration panel be accepted unequivocally by the parties involved. Dean Williams again rejected this suggestion, as he felt that it was impossible for him personally to pay the claim and felt that no one else in the Parish could either. He also rejected the idea of private arbitration and suggested that if the claim were a legal, valid claim that legal arbitration was necessary (Vestry notes, MS 16773).

By this stage it is recorded that members of the Synod had become restless and impatient with the whole affair, many of them being lay members who were ignorant of the nature of the merits on which the claim rested. Hurriedly a resolution was passed that recommended arbitration of the matter (MS 16773).

Two months later, in October 1869, the Dean received a letter from Langford Browne nominating Mr. Thomas Holland Esq. as the official arbitrator for St. Andrew's. At this point the Vestry of St George's made a concerted effort to investigate the legitimacy of the claim. After studying all the original documents of the transaction, it was decided:

The Vestry must maintain that the existing Cathedral School is (according to the title it has always borne in the Minutes from the first) 'St. George's Grammar School'. As such it received its grant referred to of £200 and that it clearly owes nothing to and knows no relation whatever to any other Institution, since created, and bearing another title. There is no claim legal or equitable, founded upon any possible construction of the

records before it, indicating that the Parish of St. George should pay £200 or £250 to the Diocesan College of St. Andrew's (Report from the Select Vestry of St. George's Cathedral Grahamstown upon the claim of St. Andrew's Diocesan College and the proposal of arbitration, 12 October 1869. MS 16773).

This decision was reached after consideration of several factors. The first of these being the inaccuracy of the amount claimed. St. Andrew's had laid a claim for £250, and it was found that the original amount under dispute, a donation by an anonymous Mrs B., a relative of Col. Graham, was for £200. The additional £50 donated by Bishop Gray had been a private donation with no stipulations or conditions attached.

It was also found that the conditions attached to the donation of the £200 had been met by *The Cathedral Grammar School*, these being that the building be used as a Grammar School during week days teaching the principles of the Church of England. *The Cathedral Grammar School* had done this from its beginning (Section 2.6). The Vestry felt that the fact that the school had been used by St. Andrew's in 1855, and that a partial amalgamation had occurred did not mean that there was any legal relation or responsibility to St. Andrew's by the Grammar School.

The Vestry's report also stated that the school met the conditions set out in the Grammar School Clause of the Church Statutes in:

1. that the legal possession of the property was on the same footing as the Cathedral itself.
2. that a special trust be set up for repairs and maintenance of the school.
3. that it was used for 'Godly education' (MS 16773).

The report also pointed out that upon Rev. Bankes' resignation from the Grammar School to take up full responsibility at St. Andrew's, another Headmaster was appointed promptly and that in making the appointment the Vestry "... naturally were guided by the somewhat altered circumstances of the Diocese - which was not thenceforth dependant on one Grammar School" (MS 16773).

For these reasons the Vestry refused the recommendation of the Synod that arbitration be allowed. The Bishop replied to this report in a letter dated 22 October 1869,

disputing many technicalities of the report, to which the Vestry replied with a second report on the 25 October 1869, defending all these criticisms. The Bishop sent one more letter on the 27 October again suggesting that the matter be referred to an impartial third party who could determine the legal and equitable rights of both parties. On the 28 October the Vestry again met and unanimously resolved that for all the reasons already laid out they were "... unable to accede to the present proposal of the Bishop's letter" (MS 16773).

Thus the dispute reached a deadlock. Arbitration was refused, and I can find no evidence to suggest that the matter was ever raised again. It is clear that *The Cathedral Grammar School* continued to exist and grow under Evens, with pupil enrolment reaching a high of 120 under his leadership (*Occasional Paper*, November 1891). Evens continued to serve the school until 1881, when he was given notice by Dean Williams, and replaced by another controversial character in the school's history, Dr Maurice Davies.

3.8. CHURCH POLITICS AND THE CATHEDRAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The circumstances of the appointment of Davies need to be understood in the light of the broader context of the schism that developed in the Grahamstown parish of St. George, with the open and well documented conflict between Dean Williams and Bishop Merriman. This thesis barely scratches the surface of this highly complex conflict. For a detailed account refer to Goedhals (1982).

Bishop Cotterill was transferred to Edinburgh in 1871, and Archdeacon Merriman, who had refused to take up the position of Bishop twice previously, was elected to succeed him (Gould 1924, Whibley 1982). He was chosen for this position by the elective assembly, under the presidency of Dean Williams and was consecrated on St. Andrew's Day, 30 November 1871 (Gould 1924:30). Shortly after this event Dean Williams began his attack on Bishop Merriman, for reasons which can only be speculated upon.

Whibley (1982:74) related the onset of the conflict as follows:

... the Dean had obtained a controlling interest in a Grahamstown newspaper, *The Eastern Star*. From these pages he lashed

indiscriminately at the Bishop or any clergy who supported him. He had good journalistic ability and a racy, provocative style which soon ensured a large following of readers. It was an amusing scandal for those without church loyalties... Merriman was very patient. He left unanswered the unprovoked attacks and scurrilous articles, at first only suspected to be the work of the Dean. This highlighting of Church matters in the Press could not but have a deep effect on the congregation. The sober and moderate Grahamstown Journal took up the cudgels for the Bishop, and the damage was done. Inevitably the diocese of Grahamstown was split from end to end.

The Dean claimed that he was in charge of the Cathedral and Parish, holding the same powers as the Deans of the Church of England. In this capacity he had supreme authority over Cathedral matters and the Bishop could only preach or function in the Parish by invitation and with the Dean's permission. It should be noted that by 1853, Britain had relinquished direct control of the Cape Colony and the Church, and both had become self governing.

The same forces which made it necessary for the Cape Colony to have its own parliament led to a most important parallel development in the life of the Church. It would have been utterly impossible to have administered the Cape simply with the Acts of the British Parliament. Equally, it was impossible for the Church in South Africa to live under the organisation and law of the Church of England. Widely different conditions and fresh problems of a new country demanded the adoption of appropriate methods. These were found in the revival of the synodical government of the Church (Gould 1924:30).

Dean Williams, although he had initially been a strong advocate for the independence of the Church in South Africa, now completely rejected the synodical system and was able to influence his congregation to such an extent that he persuaded them not to send a representative to the Synod in Cape Town in 1875 (Whibley 1982:79). This is an example of how Dean Williams hindered the Church's work in Grahamstown, by making controversial decisions and ignoring the normal chain of authority in Church matters.

The conflict between the Dean and the Bishop was brought to a head in 1879, when the Dean refused to produce credentials requested by the Bishop on visitation. Bishop Merriman laid a claim of canonical insubordination against the Dean, who in turn responded by refusing to allow the Bishop to preach in the Cathedral, saying

that all the dates had already been booked (Gould, 1924; Hewitt in Matthews, Vol 1; Whibley, 1982). On the 27 April 1879, when the Bishop tried to preach in the Cathedral, the Dean locked him out of the Chapter House, and then changed the order of service, delivering the sermon himself.

The Dean was summoned to the diocesan court to be held in the buildings of *St. Andrew's College*. He did not appear at the proceedings, but was found guilty in absentia and suspended from his duties (Currey, 1955; Gould, 1924; Hewitt in Matthews, Vol 1; Whibley, 1982). The Dean paid no attention whatsoever to this suspension and continued to run the Cathedral. In response to this the Dean was excommunicated. This too he ignored and once again simply continued with his duties. Bishop Merriman had no option but to refer the matter to the Supreme Court. The Court ruled in favour of Williams on two important points: the first of these being the legitimacy of Merriman's right to legal succession of the previous Bishops, as he had been appointed by the Church of the Province of South Africa and not the Church of England, and the second being the property question, where it was found that the Cathedral had been built before the consecration of the first South African Bishop and as such was still the property of the Church of England (Gould, 1924; Hewitt in Matthews, Vol 1; Whibley, 1982).

Bishop Merriman became a Bishop without a church and thus founded the pro-Cathedral of St. Michael, in an old skating rink (where the present post office is situated). He furnished it as a church, and the Anglican Church in Grahamstown was split in two (MS 16786).

Both *St. Andrew's College* and *The Cathedral Grammar School* became part of this conflict. In 1875 Dr Charles Gould Ross was appointed headmaster of *St. Andrew's College* and, according to Currey (1955), he was as cantankerous as the Dean himself. In the fray between the Bishop and the Dean, Ross sided publicly with the Bishop, thus inevitably coming into conflict with the Dean. It was obvious from the earlier 1869 wrangle with *St. Andrew's* that Dean Williams had taken the Grammar School under his wing and was using it as an opposition school to *St. Andrew's*

(Section 3.7.). Grahamstown became the only parish in South Africa with two Grammar Schools and two Cathedrals.

It was possibly in order to put the Grammar School on a more competitive footing with St. Andrew's that Dean Williams asked Evens to resign and issued the following circular to the male members of St. George's in 1881:

DEAR SIR,-

The Select Vestry of St. George's Cathedral have resolved to re-open the Cathedral Grammar School, on the 25th of July next, after the Winter recess, in strict conformity with its original Trust, as a school fitting to bring popular and higher Educational facilities within the reaches of all classes of our townspeople, and their country neighbours who may choose to leave their children in Grahamstown for purposes of Education. The present Master, Mr. Evens, vacates the school on the 30th of June, and a Principal of first-rate Qualifications, the Rev. C. MAURICE DAVIES, D.D., late Fellow of Durham University, a Clergyman in the Orders of the Church of England, whose high and brilliant qualities and skilled experience are testified by authorities of repute, extracts from whose letters are enclosed, is expected to reach here about the end of next month. The Select Vestry invite your attendance at a meeting to be held in the Chapter House of the Cathedral, on THURSDAY EVENING Next, the 19th Inst., for the purpose of electing a School Board and Officials to aid the Select Vestry in the control, management, and arrangements of such a School.

The circular is signed by Dean F.H. Williams, Churchwardens, George Wood, Jun. and Lindsay A. Eddie, and other members of the Select Vestry, W.G. Atherstone M.D., MLLE; J.G. Wood, MLLE; D.H. Kennelly, T. Sheffield and W.Smith. It also includes testimonials from clergy, school masters, judges and military men (MS 16780). Davies was not only appointed as Headmaster of the School but as Curate of St. George's Cathedral. Bishop Merriman opposed this appointment and the following extract appeared in the Church Chronicle, Vol II, July 1881, No 7:

The Rev. C. Maurice Davies, D.D., having arrived in the Warwick Castle for the purpose of officiating as Curate of St. George's Cathedral, Grahamstown, without having first obtained the usual Episcopal license for ministering in the Diocese, has been inhibited by the Bishop, in terms of the following letter, which has been handed to us for publication:-

To the Rev. Dr. C. Maurice Davies, D.D.
Rev. Sir,- Having learned from the public prints that you are intending to exercise your Ministry in Grahamstown, without obtaining or seeking

a license from myself, it becomes my painful duty to inhibit you, as I hereby do, from this intrusion into a sphere that has been committed to me, in Christ's name, by the Metropolitan and Bishop of the Province, and I further warn you against committing or abetting the sin of schism, as you will be doing if you give countenance to those who have separated themselves from the English Church already planted and fixed in this land.

(Signed) N.J. Grahamstown.

June 8th, A.D. 1881

After all this publicity and praise, Davies only held down the Headmastership of the School for two years, for in 1883 he was tried and convicted in the Civil Courts on what Hewitt (in Matthews, Vol 2) calls, "... a shameful charge of gross immorality", and what Matthews (Vol 2:182) calls "... an offence verging on rape." He was dismissed on these grounds. Letters from The Select Vestry of St. George's dated 18th and 19th April, 1883 (MS 16780), inform Davies that the resolutions had been passed that he be removed from his positions of Headmaster and Curate and "... that his presence in connection with religious services in the Cathedral Grammar School for Sunday School or other services can no longer be allowed."

Davies did not disappear quietly, but instead claimed from the Vestry via letters of demand from Attorney W.B. Shaw, the restoration of certain property to himself, that he considered now to be in the unlawful possession of the Vestry. These items included school books, a table and stage furniture and scenery (MS 16780). No evidence could be found to establish whether he received these items or not.

3.9. PEACE IN THE DIOCESE

Bishop Merriman died in 1883 and Bishop Webb was called to the See of Grahamstown. Dean Williams was no more welcoming of Bishop Webb than he had been of Bishop Merriman and the conflict continued. Only with the death of Dean Williams in 1885 was the Church able to reunite. The Cathedral was renamed the Cathedral of St. Michael and St. George, reflecting the merger between the Cathedral and the pro-Cathedral.

In these years of peace, between 1883 and 1891, there were a number of Headmasters at the Cathedral Grammar School in quick succession (see appendix A). Most of these stayed only for short periods of time. The Grammar School appears to have suffered considerable setback during these years, and its focus changed (see Section 3.10.)

3.10. THE CHOIR SCHOOL

In the *Occasional Paper*, November 1891, there appeared a letter from the then Headmaster of the School, Rev. W.H. Parkhurst. In this he explained how the nature of the School had changed to become a dual purpose school, which "...combines the offices of an English Choir School, with those of a National School for Boys." There is no mention of whether the Girls section of the school continued or not. The reasons for the decline of the School since the time of Evens when there were 120 boys on the roll were outlined as follows:

Since that period, the establishment of other Schools in the city, and the frequent change of Masters at the Cathedral Grammar School, with other reasons of a local character, have considerably reduced the numbers on the roll - for the past 4 years it has fluctuated between 30 and 40. Last (Easter) quarter 33 boys were attending, this quarter (Michaelmas) 42, and several applications for admission next quarter have been received- none for withdrawal. I have every reason therefore to hope and believe that the time of depression is past, and that the School is once more well on its way to the enjoyment of a new career of success and usefulness, and this I attribute partly to the influence of my immediate predecessor, the Rev. Hubert Mosel, M.A., partly to the arrangements made last term to ensure the School's fulfilment of its true function, the training of boys for the Cathedral Choir (*Occasional Paper*, November 1891).

Thus began a tradition of music that remains an integral part of the school (Section 5.3.2.).

Parkhurst stated that the School's progress was hampered by a lack of funds. There was no provision made for a Master's salary or house, nor for scholarships and the School was not eligible for Government funding that was available to non-denominational or purely missionary schools. The sole source of funding came from

a capitation fee of £3 to £5 per annum, depending on the age of the boy. Parkhurst estimated that this came to approximately £160 per annum, which was just enough to pay the Master and to cover minor repairs and expenses.

The School was, in this period, under the control of a single Master responsible for 42 pupils. Parkhurst was also responsible for providing properly trained choristers for the Cathedral, where, since reuniting, the services had become more ornate. He received some assistance from Bishop Webb, in that the Bishop provided scholarships for several scholars, and by the Cathedral organist and precentor, who ensured that the boys had frequent practises and received daily lessons in theory and practise of music. Parkhurst continued:

It seems a great pity that a work which promises so well for the future, should be in yearly peril of suspension, owing to the absence of the requisite endowments. ... £80 per annum is needed to:-

1. give free education to the Cathedral choir boys
2. a definite salary, though small, to the Master
3. the support of an assistant as soon as the fees of paying scholars will bear the expense.

Other wants outlined by Parkhurst, in this report are for a house for the Master, £20 or £30 for repairs, furniture and a fence for the property, a harmonium for daily music lessons, books for the school library. He ends his report stating:

If these are met, the School will be placed upon a stable and secure basis necessary to its proper working as an integral, and by no means unimportant factor in the Church work of the Cathedral and the Diocese (*Occasional Paper*, November 1891).

It is suggested that an assistant master was found, because when in 1892 Rev. Parkhurst left *The Cathedral Grammar School* to take up the Headmastership of the Diocesan Grammar School in King Williams Town, he was replaced by the Rev. J. L. Hodgson "... whose work and interest in the School for the past year [were] a sufficient proof that he appreciates the objects and will carry on the traditions of the oldest Church School in the Diocese" (*Occasional Paper*, December 1892).

Hodgson was also appointed precentor of the Cathedral. The *Occasional Paper*, October 1893, reported that the *Cathedral Grammar School* was in a "prosperous condition," and *Occasional Paper*, July 1894, suggested that the establishment of a

scholarship for the sum of £100, would provide "...free teaching for poor lads who might be brought up for office and business work under the influence of Cathedral life." This evidence suggests, once again (Section 3.5.), that vocational training occurred at the School, and that the poor and needy of the community were considered.

However, the financial difficulties experienced by the school had not ended. *Occasional Letter*, October 1894, stated that if it had not been for the Bishop's fund to guarantee Rev. Hodgson a salary, the school, with a roll of 80 pupils, would not have been able to continue. Yet, by 1895 it was reported that the school was "progressing in leaps and bounds" and that Rev. Hodgson was being supported by two other members of staff, Miss Warren and Mr. C. Grant.

An *Occasional Letter*, October 1895 described how samples of cotton, linen and rope in various stages of manufacture were sent from England. This demonstrates a clear shift from purely book learning to a more hands-on approach, in line with the philosophy of Locke then influential in England (Section 3.2.). The School also received boxes from England containing pottery, thread, cork, granite, marble, steel and electric cables that were showcased for pupils to see, suggesting a more scientific oriented curriculum.

By 1896, although there were 100 boys on the roll, the school was still suffering from lack of funding. It is probable that it was this struggle for financial support that eventually moved the Vestry to close the School in 1902, and rent the property to the government for use as an analytical laboratory. There is no evidence that suggests any other reason for the closure of the school.

The building was leased to the Chief Inspector of Public Works on condition that the lessees repair the building inside and out, pay rent of £72 per annum, keep and maintain the buildings, pay the water rates and that any structural additions remained the property of the lessors, that is the Church Vestry. The contract was renewable on a two yearly basis and the lessees were to have first refusal to

purchase (MS 16780). It remained an analytical laboratory until 1916, and this is the only period in the history of the building for which it was not used for educational purposes.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE COMMUNITY OF THE RESURRECTION

In the previous chapter the story of *The Cathedral Grammar School* was told. This chapter tells the story of the establishment of the *Community of the Resurrection*, the second thread crucial to understanding *The Good Shepherd School* in 1997 (Section 1.1). The educational philosophy and style of the Sisters provides a contrast to the 'Grammar School' style and philosophy (Chapter 3), especially since they overlap chronologically. *The Community of the Resurrection* was established, in 1884, shortly after the death of Bishop Merriman and just before the *Cathedral Grammar School* became a Choir School (Section 3.10.).

4.1. BACKGROUND TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE RESURRECTION

Shortly after Bishop Webb's ordination in 1883, he visited London and preached at St. Peter's in Eaton Square. Sitting in the congregation was a young lady who was to become very influential in the life of the Church and in educational work in Grahamstown. This was Miss Cecile Isherwood, who was later to become Mother Cecile, founder of the *Community of the Resurrection*.

Cecile Isherwood was born in London on 14 November 1862. She suffered the loss of both parents at a young age, her mother dying when she was only 8 years old, and her father when she was 13. She lived with her brother and attended church at St. Peter's. After hearing a sermon preached by the Rev. G.H. Wilkinson, she felt that she had been called to a life of religious service. She was confirmed at the age of 16 and devoted herself to parish work. She was 19 years old when she heard Bishop Webb preach. Again, she felt called to give her life to missionary work, and after consultation with Rev. Wilkinson offered her services to Bishop Webb, as a foreign missionary in Grahamstown. Bishop Webb and the Church in general had long felt the need of having a sisterhood to extend the work of the Church in South Africa (Section 3.6.). At her

request Bishop Webb made Miss Isherwood a deaconess and she set sail for South Africa in the *R.M.S. Trojan*, arriving in Grahamstown in 1883 (Kate, 1922; SPCK, 1930).

4.2. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE RESURRECTION

After a short period in Grahamstown, Bishop Webb asked Miss Isherwood if she would be willing to start a Community, that would be responsible for the educational needs of the Church in Grahamstown. She consented and was clothed as a novice at the age of 21. Bishop Webb named the Community, the *Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord*. Kate (1922:iii) explained the reasons for this name in the following way:

There had been grave troubles and difficulties in the Church at Grahamstown [Section 3.8.], and the Bishop with his great ideals of the Royalty of Christ longed that reparation should be offered to Him by the Community he was founding, reparation for sufferings caused Him by His Church; but this reparation was to be shown in a life lived in all the freshness and power of the Risen Lord, 'a life that has passed through death'. Therefore the name of the Community was "The Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord".

Bishop Webb secured property at Eden Grove (see Figure 1.3.) for the Community. Sr Cecile was joined by Sr Charlotte, Sr Margaret, Sr Joan and Sr Adelaide, and the work of the Community began. As Kate (1922:8) noted:

Her [Sr Cecile's] main task at first was to make friends with all classes of people, as the Church in Grahamstown was just then going through a grievous period. Her tactfulness and devotion showed their result quickly in the breaking down of many prejudices. Other duties included cleaning the pro-Cathedral, working on altar linen, district visiting, nursing the sick and the educational work (*Occasional Paper*, September 1884).

4.3. THE COMMUNITY'S EDUCATIONAL WORKS

By 1884 the Sisters had started three educational works. The first of these was a middle class day school, that took the name, *St. Peter's School*, and was situated on the Eden

Grove property. The second of these was the school which forms the focus of this thesis, *The Good Shepherd School*, also begun at Eden Grove. It was a mission school for the poorer classes. It started with one pupil and Sister Cecile as the only teacher. The first lessons at *The Good Shepherd School* had a profound effect on both teacher and pupil and both have subsequently written about the experience:

The school room consisted of a small kitchen with no light, save the door, a mud floor and no ventilation. "For three weeks," wrote Sr Cecile, "our first and only pupil taught me missionary patience. If she had never learned it was equally certain I had never taught, and our first educational efforts were certainly sown in tears." The pupil writes, "The furniture consisted of a box on which Sr. Cecile sat, having me on her knee.... She did all she could to take away my fear at being separated from my mother, and I felt conscious of her love at once and soon stopped crying" (Kate, 1922:10).

This first pupil of *The Good Shepherd School* was to be professed a second order sister in 1903. She became Sr Maud, who spent the rest of her life in the Community working in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), until her death in 1952.

The third educational work undertaken by the Sisters was the *Orphanage and Industrial School*, also on the Eden Grove Property. Kate (1922:10) described the prevailing social conditions in this way:

At this time there were no Children's Homes or workhouses, and the only place for waifs and strays was the prison. They were housed with the adults under deplorable conditions. Sr. Cecile was one of the foremost to plead reform, and a Commission of Enquiry was appointed. The report was shocking, showing only too well the need for measures to protect children.

St. Peter's Home for orphans was thus established. *The Good Shepherd School* was responsible for the academic education of these orphans and once basic skills had been taught, the orphans would progress to the *Industrial school* where they would be prepared for life as a domestic servant.

These three schools were typical of the types of schools found in the United Kingdom at the time. *St. Peter's* was a middle class school, and *The Good Shepherd School* and

the *Industrial School* were for the working class and poor and destitute respectively. According to Lawson and Silver (1973:270), "Working-class and middle-class education in the nineteenth century had clear identities. They were separated by different curricula, length of school life, attendance rates and cultural and social objectives."

Schools in South Africa had been segregated into three distinct categories, after the Watermeyer Commission (September 1861 - February 1863). There were 'A' schools for the White Community, 'B' schools were missionary schools for "poor Whites and Coloureds", and 'C' schools for "Aborigines" (Behr, 1988:20). *St. Peter's* was classed as an 'A' school, while *The Good Shepherd School* and the *Industrial School* fell into the 'B' category. The curriculum of these missionary schools was probably very similar to those of the SPCK sponsored schools in England in pre-industrial times:

Schools sponsored by the SPCK were intended for the poorest children, and in some cases of the larger and better-supported town schools the children were given a uniform and boarded as well as taught, and often put out as apprentices when their schooling was finished. The curriculum was one considered appropriate for the poor: reading, writing and perhaps some accounts for the boys and sewing for the girls, but the essential object for all was moral and religious discipline and social subordination. In the hymns they sang, the prayers they recited and the sermons they had to listen to, the charity children were constantly reminded of their low estate and their duty to respect their betters. Supporting schools of this kind suddenly became fashionable among the more benevolent well-to-do. Educationally the poor were very much what the rich made them (Lawson and Silver, 1973:184).

Lawson and Silver's critical stance towards these schools is valid with hindsight, in the less class conscious late 20th century. One however needs to contextualise this information in its time of rigid class structures and the lack of social mobility in England. This highly stratified view of society was imported to South Africa together with the educational practices associated with each social class: private schools for the upper class and wealthy, Grammar schools and public schools for the commercial, middle class and missionary schools for the poor.

There appears to have been a need for a school like *The Good Shepherd School* in

Grahamstown at the time. It may have begun with only one pupil, but it soon grew beyond that. The following report about the school was written in the *Occasional Paper*, November 1885 and illustrates clearly the lack of educational alternatives for the poor at the time:

The school for Boys, Girls and Infants, which was opened on the 22nd of April 1884, at the Lodge, Eden Grove, Grahamstown, with one child; at the end of the second week there were seven children in attendance. The number slowly increased; and by the end of June more than 30 children attended regularly; the School was then moved to larger rooms in a more central situation in Smith's Avenue, on the North side of High Street. The average daily attendance has now risen to 140, and seems likely to increase. The children with very few exceptions belong to the poorest class of European families whose parents are unable to pay more than 3 pence a week for their schooling. Many of them had scarcely attended any school till they were received into this one, and it seems likely that they would have grown up without any education, unless some such effort as the present had been made on their behalf. The rent of the School premises is a heavy expense. Aid is earnestly asked for on this account from all who take an interest in improving the condition of the poorest classes and believe that education, secular and religious, is an indispensable instrument for such improvement. The religious teaching of the School is conducted upon the principles of the English Church in accordance with the Bible and Book of Common Prayer. The statement of accounts for the first six months showed that the expenses of the School during that time had been covered. The Government Inspector fully recognised the need of a School of this kind for the poorest class of the European population, and a Government grant of £45 a year has now been given.

The tone of *The Good Shepherd School* had been established. It was a school that served the European community of Grahamstown by educating the needy and underprivileged. It continues in this vein today (Chapter 9).

4.4. FINANCING OF THE COMMUNITY'S WORKS

Mother Cecile and the Community worked under difficult conditions. They lived frugal lives. Sister Cecile's income was poured straight back into the property, and the Sisters shared and borrowed clothes, including boots, and had no furniture. They had three

cows on the property which were milked daily (Kate, 1922). The Community was totally reliant on donations and contributions from friends of the Church in England for their work to continue. This society was called the *English Helper's Union* and the Church would regularly publish newsletters that would keep the contributors informed about the work of the Sisters and appeal for new contributions towards the work (Section 1.3.). Some of these Friends of the Church would 'adopt' an orphan, and thereby undertake to pay for his or her maintenance, clothe and take an interest in him or her. Sister Joan one of the first sisters, started a "Pinafore Society". In this society people were asked to contribute a shilling yearly, or a larger sum if they wished, for the purchase of boots and shoes and other articles that could not be homemade. In addition to this financial contribution they were asked to make a pinafore or any other garment of clothing every six months, so that there was a constant replenishing of winter and summer clothing for the children (SPCK 1930:30).

One of the contributions that was most prized by Sister Cecile was a contribution made by a Black priest to the Community. He called on the house and asked to speak to "the ladies with their heads tied up". At the end of his visit he pressed 5 shillings into Sister Cecile's hand. She asked him what it was for and he replied that it was for the work of the Community. Sister Cecile protested this by saying that the Community did nothing for his people, to which he replied, "No, but you will" (SPCK 1930:7).

Indeed, it was not long after this that the work of the Sisters did expand into missionary work amongst the Black and Coloured people. In 1886 *St. Mark's Mission School* for coloured children was opened in Port Elizabeth, and in 1894 a *Native School* was opened in Herschel. Two sisters were sent to Herschel to teach in the school, to look after the Church, and to care for some boarders. It was soon found that Herschel was a little remote and was moved to Keiskammahoek, which was more central, and was called *St. Matthew's*.

4.5. GROWTH OF THE COMMUNITY'S WORKS

Sisters could not keep up with the rate at which the work in Grahamstown was growing. This can be seen in what was written about the Sisters in 1888, when Sr Cecile was in London fund raising (SPCK 1930:11):

and their timetables were now literally crammed with work, which began with the rising bell at 5.30 and went on almost without intermission till 10pm. Two sisters and 4 workers were left to carry on the work, and they hardly got food or sleep enough to keep them alive.

The Good Shepherd School had outgrown its premises at Eden Grove and was moved to the pro-Cathedral, which was no longer in use. *Occasional Paper*, Jan 1887 reported that *The Good Shepherd School* now had an average attendance of 100, and that a certified teacher from London had spoken highly of the "capacity and conduct" of the children. The report also related that the school was now entirely self supporting with the aid of a government grant. A later report (*Occasional Paper*, April 1888) put this grant at £75 per annum, and stated that the charge of schooling for those parents who could afford it was 2 pence a week, although the orphan children who attended the school up until Std. 4 were reliant on the state subsidy for their education.

4.6. ORPHANS AT THE GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOL

Like the SPCK sponsored schools described in Section 4.3., many of the pupils at *The Good Shepherd School* were orphans who boarded at a home established for them by the Sisters on the St. Peter's property.

The stories of these orphans are often sad, but illustrate the nature of the work performed by the Sisters:

Not long ago one of the children we have in the Home was found in a bush near Addo. She was very thin and hardly had any clothes, and could not tell us anything about herself. The police found her and brought her

to us, and then after six months advertising the magistrate gave her a surname and we took her to the Church to be baptised (from *Occasional Paper* quoted in SPCK 1930:30).

Yet another brief illustration of the situation of the orphans taken in by the Sisters and educated at *The Good Shepherd School* can be seen in a brief chronicle of the arrival of two little girls who arrived at the Home. All that is recorded of their past is "Father mad, mother reckless" (SPCK 1930:30).

The girls in the Home could be taken in up until the age of ten, and were kept as long as necessary. The pupils were kept busy throughout the day, performing duties around the Home.

A child's account of the daily routine of the lives of the girls illustrated the discipline at the Home and responsibility that the girls shouldered. It is quoted by a Sister:

The bell rings at six o'clock in the morning, when we get up and wash and dress. We are not allowed to talk getting up. Then some of us go and do laundry or see to the garden. The little ones do the children's rooms; some do boots and some pick coir for mattresses. At 7.30 we go to prayers; after prayers we have breakfast, then at 8.40 we go to school. Some of the elder girls come home on Monday to wash the clothes, the others come home at two o'clock for their dinner. We wash till five o'clock, then we go on the playground and play games. We go to tea at six o'clock. After tea we mend our clothes, then Sister Florence gives out marks for doing our work. Then we do home lessons and have prayers, then we go to bed in silence. We all have to say our prayers together.... We are all happy all day long; except sometimes (SPCK, 1930:31).

By 1891 the Home had grown to such an extent that more spacious and adequate premises were built. Mother Cecile instituted a New Building Scheme, as the old facilities were overcrowded and totally inadequate. She reported that colds and rheumatism had been caused by the cold and damp in the buildings (*Occasional Paper* No 19, Nov 1891).

On the 30 July 1892 the new Home opened at St. Peter's and began to fill almost

immediately. Again these children who filled the Home were ones whose lives had been tragic or unhappy:

New comers were eight girls, sisters, who had lost their mother, and who arrived quite late at night in a wagon. Then came two little ones whose father had been drowned. Soon all the vacant places were filled by children who needed a home (SPCK, 1930:39).

4.7. EDUCATION OF THE ORPHANS

The Good Shepherd School and Industrial School were responsible for the education of the orphans, and the ethos of the schools and the orphanage are described by a Sister in the following way:

Many children came, of a very different class, whose people had been brought low by one misfortune after another, but all shared the same Home training. There was nothing artificial about it. Mother Cecile said that every nature ought to be allowed to unfold like a beautiful flower according to its own laws. "Characters should not be cramped or crippled by being forced into a mould." Certainly there was no rigid stamping of institution upon these children; they were free and outspoken, far too outspoken at times (SPCK, 1930:30 emphasis in original).

The above quote gives a good idea of the philosophy of education and the ideas about children on which the Community was founded. Mother Cecile seems to have ascribed to Locke's ideas of discipline (Section 3.2.). These ideas of freedom and 'unfolding' are described by Ashley (1989) as being characteristic of English liberalism. Liberal ideas began during the Renaissance, grew during the Reformation and reached fruition during the Enlightenment. Liberalism pays little attention to the role of groups and classes in society, but concentrates on individual freedom and rights.

Modern liberalism thus stands educationally for the development of the individual to his full potential, with due regard for his [sic] obligations to society. Further, no distinctions should be made between people on the grounds of their race, ethnicity, colour, sex or creed. As individuals they are entitled to equal treatment (Ashley, 1989:30).

This liberal attitude, although tainted by colonial ideas on race and social position of the time (100 years before Ashley's quote), characterised much of the personal interaction

between the Sisters and their pupils.

A letter from F.E. Durkinfield, a visitor to the Home shared impressions of a second visit, and this account confirmed that the curriculum at *The Good Shepherd School* was indeed similar to those of the SPCK-sponsored schools described by Silver and Lawson (1973:184, quoted in Section 4.3.). There is a blurring that occurs between the pupils of *The Good Shepherd School* and the *Industrial School* in this account, as both groups lived at the Home. The younger group, like Ruth, described in the following account, received a simple education from *The Good Shepherd School* and the older ones a technical education at the *Industrial School*. These girls (there is no mention of boys in the evidence) were thus groomed for working class life, as outlined by Lawson and Silver in Section 4.3. Thus, the Liberalism practised by the Sisters did not extend to improving the social standing of these orphans. Durkinfield's letter printed in *Occasional Paper*, Nov. 1884 reads as follows:

The number of children brought up in the Industrial Home has trebled since I was here, and one of the most satisfactory proofs of the soundness of the work is the change for the better which I can notice in the 'old girls' who were so troublesome on the occasion of my former visit. One girl is now being trained as a hospital nurse, another gives me a smiling welcome as she opens the door to me at the Bishop's house; while among those still in the Home I can trace the upspringing of the good seed so patiently and prayerfully sown in wayward young hearts. The dogged ill-temper has passed away from one who is now among the brightest girls in the house; the impudence has departed from another, and in this way the Sisters have, indeed, reason to thank God and take courage. I wish that some of our subscribers at home could attend the short morning service held daily at 7.50 when our little ones file in, take their part, and join with the sweet, well trained voices in the simple hymns; which even the tiny ones know by heart.

My god-daughter, Ruth, whose tragic history and rescue from gaol at a month old is well known to most of you, is a most satisfactory little person. I have studied her in school and out of school, at Church and at home, and I consider that an infant industrial who, under the age of four years, can say the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, repeat many hymns, sing a solo at the breaking up of the school, say the multiplication table to the end of six times and who has successfully got over measles, chicken pox, whooping cough and scarlet fever has made the most of her opportunities.

Another incident which illustrates the standard of the writing skills learned by the orphans, was when Father Osborne, a visiting priest, held a competition for the girls in the Home. He told them stories and then offered a book prize for those who could best rewrite these stories. He was so impressed by the high standard, "in spite of some punctuation", that he could not choose a winner and awarded two book prizes instead of one (SPCK, 1930:39).

The curriculum at the *Industrial School* became more efficient as time progressed. By 1894, Mother Cecile had instituted a more definite scheme of learning, which included laundry, cookery and needlework. In 1895 a new laundry school was built, run by Sisters that Mother Cecile trained herself. In 1897 a cookery school was opened under a trained teacher, and later a needlework branch was also started (Kate, 1922). The use of trained teachers at an Industrial School was not common practise in England, where pupil-assistants became the teachers. The elder pupils, in this system, poorly educated as they might be became responsible for the learning of the younger pupils. This did not lead to quality education, and it was probably for this reason that it was not adopted by the Sisters. It was however adopted in the Home, where the older girls cared for the younger ones. This was a tradition that carried on for many years (Section 5.4.).

Both the *Industrial School* and *The Good Shepherd School* had the support of the government, and inspections of the schools delivered favourable reports. In 1888 Mr Brady, inspector of schools at the time, wrote that their training seemed thoroughly practical and in 1889 he considered the *Industrial School* deserving of a special commendation. *The Good Shepherd School* also did well in annual inspections and the report on the school in *Occasional Paper*, November 1890 stated:

We are glad to say our children at the Good Shepherd School did well at the last inspection, Five having passed from III to IV and II to III Standard, and eleven from the I to II: of these, two children we thought last year were hopelessly stupid, almost wanting, but evidently it was only the result of ill-treatment and the low life they had led, living with coloured people, that had dwarfed their intellects, for they also passed.

The language in this report reflects the attitudes held at the time in relation to academic achievement. Lack of academic success was attributed to environmental factors, rather than simply to genetic predisposition. This again, reflects the liberal attitude of allowing the individual to grow to his/her full potential, within the limits of a highly socially and racially stratified society.

It was not only the material and educational needs that the Sisters saw to, but the recreational needs as well. Feast days and holidays were also made special for the children. Kate (1922:18) recorded these events as follows:

On St Peter's day, Christmas Day and Holy Innocents Day the children had, as now, special treats. Father Christmas being the most welcome visitor of the year. Sometimes he would draw up presents out of a mysterious well he had contrived in the garden and sometimes he would have them all set out on a brilliant tree; he always appeared in a scarlet robe and snowflakes as if he had forgotten it was summer here. The children's return to Father Christmas was the sunshine of their faces and the carols they sang so sweetly. Their singing has always been a great feature, even the infants joining in where they can. It is one of the ways in which they can make an offering - and there are no more generous children than these. How they love to give! When the new home was being built they gave, quite of their own accord, all their toys to be sold. Three of the oldest also handed Mother 8 shillings 4 pence saved out of their ironing earnings, and the middle sized children gave 4s out of their mark money for good conduct.

This spirit of generosity from children who had very little was to characterise children at the Home and its successor, the Bethlehem Home (Section 5.4.), for years to come. It is an indication of the success of the religious and moral education received from the Sisters that children should consider giving freely of their valued toys and money to a cause greater than themselves. The theme of music as a gift is also one that recurs throughout the history of both the *St. Peter's Home*, and the *Bethlehem Home*. Thus children from impoverished, troubled pasts were given the love and security needed to develop into giving, caring people.

4.8. THE GRAHAMSTOWN TRAINING COLLEGE

The training of teachers in the Cape Colony was a haphazard affair. Teachers were imported from England or drawn from the system of pupil-teachers, that was introduced by government in 1858 (Behr and MacMillan, 1966:241).

This system required the pupil-teacher to spend some part of his [sic] time observing the teaching of his [sic] mentor, to whom he [sic] was apprenticed. The pupil-teacher would also be required to give lessons under the supervision of his [sic] mentor. ... In the afternoons the pupil-teacher would receive instruction from his [sic] mentor on the subject matter that was yet to be taught. In the limited amount of teaching the pupil-teacher[s] undertook, they were encouraged to imitate their instructors slavishly. The pupil-teacher, who was to be not less than thirteen years old at the commencement of his [sic] training, was required to serve an apprenticeship under his [sic] instructor ranging from 3 to 5 years.

When Dr Thomas Muir was appointed Superintendent-General of Education in 1892, he expressed displeasure with this system calling it "... a cheap form of teaching drudge" and saying it was a "...poisoning of the teacher supply at its source" (Behr and MacMillan, 1966:243). He set about reforming the training of teachers in the Cape.

The Sisters of the *Community of the Resurrection* had already taken steps to improve the training of pupil-teachers, so as to staff their schools with fully trained teachers (Section 4.7.). They had decided to extend the existing *St. Peter's Day School*, into a Teacher's Training College with the main objective:

... to improve the state of elementary education, as conducted in farm and mission schools, by giving girls who intend to adopt the teaching profession a course of training, similar to that given in the best Training Colleges in England. The course of training is to occupy at least two years, so that it may be carried out in the most thorough and satisfactory way. Students will be required to study both the theory and practice of education, and to give regularly criticism and other lessons in *St. Peter's* or the Good Shepherd School (Sr. Margaret in *Occasional Paper*, November 1891).

The average age of the first student teachers was approximately fourteen years, and

they were required to have passed Standard IV or V to be admitted to the first year of study. They were required to teach a class for not more than five hours a week. They had to attend model and criticism lessons and received instruction for about five hours a day. Their examinations were largely practical, where they had to teach in front of the Inspector, draw and write on the blackboard and read and recite aloud (Kate 1922).

In the first three years forty pupils presented for exams, and all of them passed, thirty of them with a first class pass. "Somewhere about 1894 *St. Peter's* was able to supply trained and certificated Mission School teachers, one for *St. John's* - the Baptist Mission School (later known as *St. Mark's*), Port Elizabeth, two for *The Good Shepherd School*, and one for some other work" (SPCK, 1930:52).

Thus when Dr Muir came to Grahamstown in 1893, to address an audience at the Town Hall in order to call for the establishment of a Teachers Training College, Mother Cecile was able to answer the call. The existing courses were expanded upon, and the Training College was separated from *St. Peter's School* and became known as the *Grahamstown Training College* in 1894.

1894 to 1897 was a period of growth for the Training College. By 1894 there were 33 pupils on the roll. Bishop Cornish outlined the following principles on which the college was founded:

- hearty co-operation with the Education Department.
- determination of Sisters to deal with each student as a human being and not as examination fodder.
- a resolution to make it a Christian home, the centre and foundation of Christian life (MS 18812).

These resolutions once again clearly demonstrate the liberal ideas and Victorian Christian morality of the Sisters, valuing each individual, and enabling them to develop according to Christian principles.

4.9. CONTINUED GROWTH OF THE HOME AND THE SCHOOLS

During these years the Orphanage and the educational work of the Sisters continued to grow. Children of railway workers nearby Grahamstown were included in the Community's works. These children were not orphans, but made use of the boarding facilities at *St. Peter's Home* and were also educated at *The Good Shepherd School*. A visitor to South Africa, Miss Maclean, classics teacher at Cheltenham Ladies' College in London, recorded the following impressions of the Home in 1893:

How oh! how is one to describe the different sets of people who inhabit St Peter's Home, Grahamstown! I see first of all a number of small children in blue with bare feet who run about and do housework. It is amusing to meet an urchin, not as big as her broom, working with as much zeal and success as many a full fledged house-maid twice her size. Morning and evening they muster for prayers in Chapel, and sing the Office hymns unaccompanied: a hard test for many a congregation, but they acquit themselves very fairly. These blue-robed children are the industrials or Home children. Separate from these are the boarders, and these are again divided into boarders who are "railways" and boarders who are not "railways"(SPCK, 1930:53).

The Home appears to have been a hive of activity, which reflect the beliefs of Mother Cecile. A Sister wrote of her, "Mother Cecile had a dread of idleness for those children, and obviously their hands were not often enough idle to encourage the adversary" (SPCK, 1930:31).

The Good Shepherd School also continued to progress and grow, as can be seen in the report in *Occasional Paper*, July 1894:

The School of the Good Shepherd has gone on its way happily, and numbers 130 pupils, who were all present at the government inspection last Monday. The Inspector seemed thoroughly satisfied with the progress made during the past year. He thought the Railway children especially promising. They came to us unable to read, and now pass well in Standards I, II, III, IV; he also added that, considering the material we had to work upon, the Orphanage children had made very good progress indeed. It was certainly the best inspection the School has ever passed, in spite of all the new requirements which are now in force. The sol-fa and the Drill were "highly commended."

In 1896 the site of the old pro-Cathedral was needed for a new government post office, and *The Good Shepherd School* had to be moved to new premises. A new school room was built on *St. Peter's Home* grounds for this purpose. On the 5 December 1896, a procession of children from both *The Good Shepherd School* and *St. Peter's School*, led by a cross bearer, marched to the new building. They sang the processional hymn, "There's a friend for little children." There was a short service of dedication, the singing of the Lord's Prayer, and the reading of Psalm 144 (*Occasional Paper* No 37, January 1896 and SPCK 1930). Bishop Webb, who presided over the occasion, spoke very warmly of the school, and urged the congregation to remember that it was a work of the entire church community, not of the Sisters alone, and called for all to help in the work. He stated :

Years ago the Sisters began this work with one or two children in a cottage close by. Then some years ago, when we moved from the old pro-cathedral, our 'tabernacle in the wilderness', they came forward and took up part of the burden, and there established a school. Then, when dislodged from that by the providence of God, they thought that what seemed a hinderance would prove a blessing and help, and built this room for the children about whom we should think more than about any children in the whole city (SPCK, 1930:55).

After the service there was a tea for the children and the Bishop distributed prizes.

4.10. THE GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOL CHANGES ITS NAME

The Good Shepherd School stayed on the premises at *St. Peter's* for only a year, as the facilities were needed for a growing *St. Peter's School*. *The Good Shepherd School* was moved to a property in African Street, where the *Oatlands Preparatory School* is currently situated. This property had belonged to the late Mr Douglas, who stipulated in his will that it was to be used for the education of poor and destitute children. His trustee, Mr Edward Haw, thought that the Community's educational work fitted the bill, and drew up a contract with Mother Cecile, handing over the property to the Community. The building had been standing empty for a few years and needed cleaning and repairs. This was done and in 1898 *The Good Shepherd School* moved

in and changed its name to *The Douglas School*. A Sister (SPCK, 1930:56) quoted an *Occasional Paper* where one reads of the success of *The Douglas School* and of its change in status:

The Douglas School is no longer a Mission School as it distinguished itself so well at the last inspection that the blue envelope, which occasionally gives teachers a spasm and a cold shudder, brought the cheerful news that the school was raised to the rank of a third-class Church School. There was a grand prize-giving for the scholars in the November of this year. Dean Holmes (Sister Edith's father) gave an address, the Rev. W.H. White read the report, and Mrs. Holmes gave away the prizes.

The Principal at this time was Miss Leggatt, "under whose firm and kindly rule this school continue[d] to make solid progress" (*Occasional Paper*, May 1889). Sr. Dora succeeded Miss Leggatt as principal, but was soon called to work at the Training College. Sr Stephanie became principal until 1921. She stayed long enough to see "her little boys grow up to be men and go out to take part in the Great War" (SPCK, 1930:56). The school continued until 1929, when the needs of the European children, who had attended the school, were being met by the government schools in Grahamstown. The numbers dropped to such an extent that the school closed down (*Annual Report*, March 1929).

4.11. EXPANSION OF THE COMMUNITY'S WORKS

The closure of *The Douglas School* is not indicative of a general trend of the educational works of the Community closing down.

During the 1890's and early 1900's the educational work of the Sisters expanded. In 1894 the Sisters acquired a school for Europeans in King Williams Town. It began with 50 pupils, but within five months the numbers had increased to 240 and new buildings had to be secured. In 1897 *St. Bartholomew's*, another Anglican school in Grahamstown, was taken over by the Sisters and used as a practising school for students of the Teachers Training College. A school called the *Natives Girls Industrial School* was opened in Grahamstown in 1902. The course offered there included a

simple elementary education up until Standard Four level and thorough practical training in needlework, cooking and laundry. The work in this school was approved and aided financially by the Education Department. The Training College was allowed to extend to include the training of secondary teachers in 1902, thanks to the £5000 that Mother Cecile managed to raise in England (Kate, 1920; SPCK, 1930). By 1906 there were 62 Sisters in the Community, 189 students in the Training College, 117 orphans, 329 European pupils in day schools in Grahamstown and 82 non-European children under training (Annual Report, 1906). Canon Scott-Holland summed up his impressions of this growth at the stone laying ceremony for the new College building in Grey Street on 31 August 1903. At this point most of the country was recovering from the devastation of the Anglo-Boer War (1898-1902), and was experiencing economic depression:

Everything seems to be at its worst and everything seems to be just without that inspiration and force we had looked for. Then we suddenly come to the Community of the Resurrection, St. Peter's, Grahamstown, and there goes up a sort of bound from our hearts, and we say, Here we are, here's the very thing we're looking about for in this dim and dirty world in which we live, for a personality of some kind and we cannot find one.... But here we have Mother Cecile, here is a personality.... It is not only the personality behind it, but here is actually a thing succeeding. You go round the world - there is nothing succeeding - everything is paralysed for funds; but here is a thing that is always growing stronger; as we knew when we took part in that stone-laying. There was this great building growing step by step, there were rows of children, from a little dot of a thing up to the older ones, singing us a song. Everything is growing as hard as it can grow, and you felt at the heart of it all was the beautiful chapel, with its reserve and solemnity and dignity, keeping the heart of the thing pure and strong and free. There is the worship, there is the prayer, there is the beating pulse of the great faith ... (in Kate, 1922:35 and SPCK, 1930:89)

There is little evidence available about the educational works of the Community from 1902 to 1916 (Section 1.3.). It is not clear when or why the *Industrial School* closed. Very little has been written on the *Douglas School* during this period (Section 4.10.). - The *St. Peter's Orphanage* moved and became the *Woodville Orphanage* in 1904, and after that disappears from the Community's records. Evidence appears again from 1916 in abundance. This is because 1916 was an important year in the educational works of

the *Community of the Resurrection*, as this was when they purchased the Huntly Street building and opened the second *Good Shepherd School*. This school will now be discussed, following themes and issues that occur in the history of the school.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL ISSUES RELATING TO THE GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOL 1916-PRESENT

The current *Good Shepherd School* was founded largely in response to various language issues in South Africa in 1916, discussed in Section 7.4. The pupils were from the coloured and Indian communities of Grahamstown and the school was an extension of the educational work of the Community of the Resurrection discussed in Section 4.3. Various social and educational issues are discussed in this chapter in an attempt to capture the quintessence of the school. It is difficult to separate the social issues of *The Good Shepherd School* from those of the *Bethlehem Home* (Section 5.4.), the orphanage from which most of the pupils came. The Sisters were in charge of both and cared for the whole child rather than simply the academic education of the child. This reflects the Liberal philosophy of education practised by the Sisters and discussed in Section 4.7.

5.1. A TRADITION OF CHARITABLE WORKS

As already discussed in Section 4.7., the first *Good Shepherd School* under the *Community of the Resurrection* had its origin in educating orphans and the most needy. This is a tradition that carries on to the present day.

The *Quarterly Letter* (Section 1.3.) written in 1903 stated that, "On an average St Peter's Home rescues ten children a year from a homeless, evil life, and has done so for the last 19 years." These children were educated at *The Douglas School* (Section 4.10). The Sisters of the *Community of the Resurrection* were concerned with all aspects of these children's lives; social, emotional, religious and intellectual; and did what they could to alleviate the distress of being orphaned.

By 1912 the Sisters had ten institutions in Grahamstown under their control, including the *Woodville Orphanage* and *Technical School for Europeans*, and the *Alexander*

'*Babies Home*', which was run in conjunction with Woodville. In Port Elizabeth, *St Mark's Mission House and School* for coloured children had been established. In Keiskammahoek there was a boarding house and college for "Native Girls". There was a *House of Mercy* for the destitute in Queenstown, and three works in Bulawayo. From this it is clearly evident that the Community was responsible for many charitable works in Southern Africa.

It must have taken courage and determination from the Sisters to live lives of service in answer to a calling, as circumstances were not always easy. There is little that can be done to alleviate situations of dire poverty, and often faith alone was what made the Sisters persevere. This was demonstrated by the building of the new chapel on St. Peter's grounds in 1916. This was during World War 1 when most of the world was in turmoil. To build a place of peace and worship, that became the centre of their work, and to foresee growth and prosperity in wartime, was an act of faith.

5.2. PROBLEMS AFFECTING EDUCATION AT THE GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOL

In continuation with this tradition of charitable works the second *Good Shepherd School* was established. Various social issues arose and these will now be discussed in the context of the day-to-day educational practises at the school.

5.2.1. Erratic Attendance

From the start education took place under difficult circumstances. Although the school was started at the request of the coloured parents (Section 7.4.), it was often they who inhibited their children's educational development. This is explained in the *Annual Report* of November 1917, the first report written about *The Good Shepherd School* in Huntly Street:

... They are on the whole quick and keen to learn up to a certain point, but it is often disappointing that neither the child's ambition for itself, nor that of the parent for the child soars beyond Std 2, or even in some cases Std.

1.

This might be explained by the fact that there were heavy financial restraints on most of the families, with the typical father earning normally between 13 shillings to 15 shillings a week, which is hardly sufficient to support a large family. The typical mother in the family thus had to supplement the income by, doing laundry work, for example. Whilst this may have been a large help to the family it often turned into a hindrance for the school, as the children were sometimes taken out of school in order to collect and deliver laundry to homes. Attendance at school was thus erratic. From the beginning the Sisters tried to visit the homes and explain to parents that the children learned far more than "sums and spelling" at school. These skills were apparently not considered terribly important by typical parents, who themselves had had limited educational and employment opportunities. The Sisters tried to gain parents' co-operation by emphasising the religious and moral aspect of the education offered at *The Good Shepherd School* (*Annual Report*, 1917). It is reported in subsequent *Annual* and *Quarterly Reports* that this problem continued for many years.

The *Annual Report* written in 1925 reported that whilst the lower standards did well, many of the older children "failed". The Report explained that this could be "... partly accounted for by bad attendance, when boys and girls are old enough to be useful at home."

In 1936 this problem was still prevalent; irregular attendance was still used as the reason for many of the children not achieving at school:

It is difficult in a school of this kind to secure the co-operation of the parents in regard to punctuality and regular attendance. Some of them still think of school as a kind of pastime for their children, and the pupils themselves have little sense of the importance of their education. It is not only on days of inclement weather that the attendance is poor; most of the pupils will take a holiday to watch the Rhodes Rag [charity procession held by Rhodes University students] or any other exciting event in town (*Annual Report*, 1937).

The *Annual Report* of 1943 stated that improved attendance and punctuality had led to higher standards of work and orderliness, although the following year's report again

spoke of the "...necessity for methodical training as the children come from badly regulated homes." It was the norm for pupils to arrive at 10.30 am. at school because they had to run errands for their parents (*Annual Report*, 1944). At this stage there was no official policy regulating school attendance of coloured children, although piecemeal legislation from 1905 to 1958 ensured that schooling was free and compulsory for White children in the Cape Province (Malherbe, 1977:252).

Running errands for parents was not the only reason for absenteeism: poverty and lack of appropriate school attire are cited as additional reasons. In the 1944 *Annual Report* there is a letter of thanks for the donation of clothing as "... already in two cases prolonged absence from school has been necessitated by the lack of them." Attendance was again reported to be poor in 1946, as poverty was so acute that families could not clothe their children appropriately for school, so the pupils stayed at home.

In 1945 legislation was passed in the Cape Province declaring that school boards could request that education be made compulsory for coloured children. The legislation stipulated that the children had to be "... between the ages of 7 and 14" and live "... within a three mile radius of an undenominational school unless they had passed Standard IV or were in regular employment" (Malherbe, 1977:253). Because of the "undenominational" statement this legislation could not be enforced at *The Good Shepherd School*, so this did not eliminate the problem of non-attendance. However, the Sisters found a way to enforce attendance and to assist the Social Work students at Rhodes University. These students needed experience in house-visiting and so they served as attendance officers for the school (*Annual Report*, March 1947). It is not stated if this programme was effective or not.

5.2.2. Malnutrition

The poor economic circumstances of many of the pupils' families meant that many the pupils lacked the basic physical requirements of daily life - food and shelter. In 1928 these circumstances were made worse by a severe drought that hit Grahamstown. Even *The Douglas School*, the original Good Shepherd School for underprivileged

whites (section 4.10.), suffered as many families had to leave the district in search of employment, and thus enrolment dropped.

The coloured community was also severely affected by the drought as poverty increased in Grahamstown. Many children at *The Good Shepherd School* were forced to leave school before the end of Std. 3, in order to earn money to ensure their families survival (*Annual Report*, 1928). By 1931 the conditions were so bad that the attendance of the school was suffering through the illness of many pupils. It was at this time that the first feeding scheme was introduced. The *Child Welfare Society* allowed 12 pints of milk a day per school for undernourished children (*Annual Report*, 1931).

In 1944 this feeding scheme was extended with the inauguration of the Citrus Fruit Scheme, which gave the pupils fruit daily. Milk continued to be supplied free of charge to the school. This milk was served to the children at ten thirty every morning and Sr. Heloise tells of how enterprising children can be. Two girls were responsible for fetching the milk and pouring it into the mugs. Sr. Heloise noticed that every day there were two mugs of milk with little sticks floating in them, and asked the girls from where these had come. She was told rather sheepishly, that seeing as though the girls poured the milk each day, they felt that they were entitled to the first two cups of milk poured, containing the cream. They however, did not feel comfortable hiding the mugs from the other children, so each day they would put little sticks in the first two mugs, so that the other children would choose different mugs and leave the cream (pers. comm.)

In 1945 a *National Feeding Scheme* was instituted whereby the fruit and milk was supplemented by raisins or peanuts. The Sisters had also started making soup for the children at St. Peter's, which was fetched each day by two boys and brought to the school. This practise was hampered to some extent by the theft or disappearance of the school mugs, and there was an appeal in the *Annual Report* (1945) for a donation of mugs so that the scheme might continue. The same report contains two letters of thanks from the pupils to the Sisters for this scheme:

Dear Sister - I just want to thank you for the soup you give us at school every day. The soup was very nice this morning. I want to thank you as much as I can for the soup. All the children like the soup very much in the morning.

Dear Sister - I want to thank you because you have been so kind to make us everyday some nice soup and the bread too. Sister, I hope you live many years to go on making nice soup. Let all the children get fat until they are growing up.

It was not only welfare organisations and the Sisters who helped care for the nutritional needs of the children, but the relatively more privileged Indian Community as well. The parents of the Indian children used to send food or treats to the school. Ms Appolis, past pupil and currently a teacher at the Good Shepherd School, recalled that: "The Indian community always used to support, you know when they had feasts or so on, they used to send things to the school for the children. So we were very privileged" (pers. comm.). In the 1945 *Annual Report* thanks were extended to such an Indian parent who was an old boy of the school, and who had donated a bottle of cooldrink for each child as a Christmas treat.

There is also a report in an *Occasional Letter*, dated October 1954, of the children of *The Good Shepherd School* inviting Mr Gopal, the owner of a local laundry, to the annual Ascension Day picnic, as thanks for often driving the children of the *Bethlehem Home* around and providing them with ice cream. Both of these incidents show how members of a more fortunate community freely assisted the Sisters in their work with the underprivileged.

As seen in Section 4.7., in the discussion of the generosity of the orphans at the *St. Peter's Home*, this in turn taught the children to be generous with what they did have - talent and time. There are frequent reports of concerts given at the end of the year for parents and friends and every year at this time a gift would be given to the cleaning staff of the school. Pupils who could would bring donations of coffee, tea, rice, sugar or something similar, the children would then make decorated boxes or tins and present

the staff with these gifts. In 1946 the hand work period was used to make articles and toys to be donated to the Athlone Institute for blind children (*Annual Report*, 1946).

This spirit of giving and receiving is demonstrated clearly in the words of Ms Appolis in reply to a question about what impact the school had had on her life:

I think the fact that I can actually put back into the school what I benefitted from. It's remarkable, I always remind the children that I was a pupil here as well. They are very surprised at that and it is fantastic that I can somehow or other plough back into education for these children. Very much under different circumstances, with a very big class, and yet coping (pers. comm.).

5.2.3. Health and Medical Problems

Right from the start of the *Community of the Resurrection* one of their main tasks was to visit and care for the ill (Section 4.2.). In 1912 a fever epidemic severely affected attendance at the schools, and the 1919 flu epidemic was so widely devastating that the Training College was forced to shorten hours and lessen the work load of the students as there were many absentees amongst staff and students. The *Annual Report*, 1919, stated that *The Good Shepherd School* was indeed fortunate to not have lost any pupils during the epidemic, as many coloured people in the community had died from influenza.

The poverty in which most of the coloured community found themselves living, meant that medical care was often neglected and the 1938 *Annual Report* stated that health amongst the children at *The Good Shepherd School* was problematic, with pupils suffering from bad teeth and other ailments. The Medical Officer of Health examined all the mouths of the children at the school and found that there was a dire need for treatment. He obtained the assistance of the hospital authorities and several dentists in town, who gave the children free care and treatment. Subsequently there was a marked improvement in both attendance and the standard of the children's work. This reflected the Sister's policy of caring for the whole child in all aspects of his/her development. It also demonstrated an awareness, perhaps instinctive, of the theory

later advanced by Maslow's hierarchy of needs, which emphasised the fact that if the educational needs of the children are to be met, the lower-level biogenic needs of adequate health and wellbeing must first be met (Schiffman and Kanuk, 1994:109).

The Sisters gave not only superficial aid to the needy, but taught people how to take preventative health care measures. In 1942 the medical inspection at the school revealed widespread malnutrition amongst the pupils at the school. The Department of Health supplied cod liver oil to the school to be taken daily in an attempt to combat this problem. The students at the Training College and the Sisters decided to take this a step further. The Training College students started a vegetable garden on the school premises, the produce of which was distributed amongst the pupils to take home. The Sisters held a mothers meeting where they displayed Red Cross posters showing healthy children and the basic foods needed to promote healthy growth. There was a talk given on feeding and personal hygiene (*Annual Report*, 1943).

In 1943 it was decided to admit children under six to the school. Although this was not strictly legal, it was for the purpose of training the children in healthy habits. Personal cleanliness was insisted upon with regular inspections of necks, fingernails and feet. There was also a handkerchief inspection. The problem of litter was discussed and tidiness encouraged, and "... through endless patience and perseverance", results were achieved. A Red Cross Certificate was handed out at the end of this period of training to encourage the children to continue in these habits (*Annual Report*, 1944).

5.3. EDUCATION AT THE GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOL

The liberal educational philosophy held by the Sisters meant that the school day was structured to cater for every aspect of the child's development.

5.3.1. In the classroom

There was much activity in the classroom, producing education of a high standard. The esteem in which the school was held is reflected clearly in the Inspector's report in 1935:

The three teachers in charge are all experienced and hardworking and anxious to do the best for the children entrusted to their care. ... Sub-standard B this year is an excellent little class. In fact all the kindergarten work is up to date and better than anything to be seen in any other Coloured School in the circuit (*Annual Report*, 1935).

This excellent work did not happen in the easiest circumstances. Apart from the difficulties, such as absenteeism, already outlined in Section 5.2., there was the added difficulty of not having electric lights, which made teaching on grey, dark, rainy Grahamstown days difficult. Ms Appolis remembered this clearly:

You know it [the school] is very modernised today. Number one we did not have electricity that I remember vividly - in fact I was doing- strangely enough yesterday about light and dark, and I switched off the lights and said this is how I was taught, and perhaps that is one of the reasons that I wear glasses today (pers. comm.)

Past pupil, Chris (Section 1.3.) also remembered having no lights to work by yet the teaching carried on despite the difficult conditions. Mrs Clark said that the school was only electrified after she left, which must have been in the 1980's.

The mixed standards, with one teacher teaching a combined standard two and three class, for example, meant that work had to be differentiated. Children had to learn to work independently whilst the other section of the class was being taught. Varied pupil activities and extension activities must have been supplied, by organised teachers. The *Annual Report* of 1940 gave some indication of this:

... remembering the drabness of the lives of most of these children, we cannot but admire the joy and the zest with which they enter into their work and their play. They respond very quickly to care and attention and the elder ones are acquiring a satisfactory sense of consideration and responsibility. They quite obviously enjoy being set individual work while

the younger ones are taught in class, and many of them are developing quite a thirst for reading, with the result that their language work has improved considerably.

It seems that there was a conscious effort to give children activities involving project work, to make learning real for the pupils. Pupil participation appears to have been encouraged and the contribution of pupils seem to have been appreciated. A description of the events of a typical day at *The Good Shepherd School* that appeared in the *Annual Report* of 1954 illustrated this:

Classes begin. First year students are a little nervous at having to face a class for the first time, but find the children unconsciously sympathetic to their faltering ways, even to the extent of, "No teacher, you must do it like this." The babies are having a news period and six year old Peter's contribution is about a knife fight he has seen in the street. Marie tells about her birthday party. In the upper classes, Std 6 are doing self study in the early civilizations; Std 5 are making a model map of Europe in paper mache, while Std 4 are being taught the mysteries of fractions.

These methods suggest a strong constructivist philosophy of learning, where children work with material and construct their own meanings and understanding of the subject. The emphasis on project work and discovery learning reflects the ideas of Dewey that were popular in liberal English schools in South Africa at the time.

Many of these ideas now form the basis of *Outcomes Based Education*, currently being introduced into South African schools. Clearly these ideas and philosophies are not new in education, although they have never been part of State Policy. South African policy, especially after 1948, has favoured a more behaviourist view of education, stressing the forming of a Christian and National identity. *Christian National Education* espoused the view that children were to be moulded into an 'acceptable' adult, following 'Christian' (Calvinistic) principles and having strong 'National' pride, meaning pride in the Afrikaner culture and language. Rote learning from textbooks was the norm in Christian National schools, the liberal discovery methods used by the Sisters contrast strongly with this, and can be judged in the light of current educational developments as being the 'better' option of educating.

The curriculum described in the 1954 *Annual Report* above, does however, reflect the colonial nature of the curriculum taught. Today the relevance of teaching early civilisations and maps of Europe would be questioned, if it is to the exclusion of local history and geography. The importation of a foreign curriculum and methods from England were features of the Huntly Street school, from its inception, as the *Cathedral Grammar School* (see Section 3.2). This could perhaps be justified if teaching white English speakers, who would possibly still have ties with England. The relevance of this curriculum for coloured and Indian children does, however, need to be questioned.

5.3.2. Music lessons

In all celebrations and parties music played a pivotal role. Indeed, music has been central to the school since its days as the *Cathedral Grammar School*, when choristers were trained to sing in the Cathedral (Section 3.10.). Ms Appolis remembered participating in eisteddfods and singing competitions:

I still remember, I think I was in Sub B. at the time when we had this concert and I had to sing a solo. And I remember that very clearly, in front of all those people. These things I still remember very clearly from my childhood (pers. comm.).

She also recalled participating in the Nativity plays at the Christmas parties and leading the singing at these functions, and felt that this exposure to music has been a lasting influence in her life:

I used to sort of lead in the singing, and today strangely enough I still love music, all sorts of music. My son too. He's just done a project on Bach, so he's sort of well balanced for music, which is good. And I've learned to appreciate that kind of music more, and those were highlights. We used to look forward to those. They were super. Dealing with children, music is very important (pers. comm.).

Chris also remembered having music lessons at school with a Mrs Valentine. This too had a lasting impact on his life as today he has his own gospel group, in which he sings bass (pers comm 1996). Pianoforte lessons have been given at the school since 1940 (*Annual Report*, March 1940). The *Annual Report* in 1957 told how Hans, a *Bethlehem Home* child, had taken his elementary grade music exam, and had passed with

honours. The 1962 *Annual Report* told how Anna, also a *Bethlehem Home* child, at *The Good Shepherd School*, enjoyed her singing and percussion band on a Friday afternoon.

5.3.3. Play and sport

Children's needs for friendship, playtime and physical exercise were also noted and catered for at *The Good Shepherd School*. The Huntly Street premises have always been small and lacking in space for the facilities often associated with schools, such as sports fields and playgrounds. As such, physical education and sporting skills were not easily provided. Yet, this never deterred the Sisters or staff from attempting to provide these as best they could.

At the end of the first World War in 1919, the School received a gift of money from the local fund for Peace Celebrations. This was used to purchase a swing, a see-saw and some skipping ropes (*Annual Report*, 1919). A report written in an *Occasional Letter* in November 1920 showed clearly that the teachers appreciated the playful nature of the children at the school:

In school, it is a picturesque little crowd, with faces of all shades, keen bright eyes, and all the fun and mischief of child-nature somewhere within, politely kept in check, if necessary, because of the good management of the class teacher or the student teacher. But the hour changes; the student is followed perhaps by one less gifted, and it takes less time than the twinkle of an eye for Anthony or Huri-bai, Eric or Govind, to blacken their good hour's reputation by departing from virtue.

The Sisters attempted to channel this energy in useful directions, as can be seen in the *Annual Report* of 1923. This described how a cricket set was a great help in getting pupils to school early, because of their enthusiasm to play the game. This enthusiasm apparently also helped them to forget about "... differences in races". These children also came from homes where they had to work very hard in order to help struggling parents. The Sisters being aware of this made sure that there was adequate play time for the children (*Annual Report*, 1940). The 1921 *Annual Report* illustrated this point clearly in the following anecdote:

There is a wonderful keenness and simplicity about these children, and especially about the Indian boys. They are no slackers. Govinbhai, for instance, works hard out of school-time in his father's laundry; he gets far less play time than a boy of his age ought to have after the long school hours. On Sunday he has to make the special Indian bread and do the cooking for the week..."

The lack of sporting facilities did not stop the school from offering sport or from pupils excelling in sport. Chris remembered how he became interested in rugby, soccer and athletics at *The Good Shepherd School*. He said that the facilities of *Victoria Girls High School* were used for these sports, as they are today. He recalled how when he started at the school in 1972, the school "was never on the map," in terms of sporting achievement. By 1977, however, the teams had improved so much that the rugby team was awarded the Grahamstown district floating trophy (pers. comm.).

Chris is also the only local coloured person to have received Springbok Colours for athletics, and this too he attributed to the staff at *The Good Shepherd School*, in particular, Mrs Rose Daniels. He said that his preparation in athletics was of such a high standard that in his first year at Mary Waters School, a secondary school in Grahamstown, he received Eastern Province Colours almost immediately. A year later he was awarded South African Schools Colours "... and that's all through them" (pers. comm.).

Neelah Dullabh, also a past pupil, remembered how, perhaps because of the lack of playground equipment, the children used to make up games. A game called "klipklippie", played with stones was popular, as was "Skidulli", which was played with a ball and plastic packets. The girls used to play hopscotch and the all time favourite of boys chasing the girls, also occurred frequently (pers. comm.). Both Neelah and Chris remembered playing on the jungle gym, which still stands on the property today, a little rusted, but still functional.

The *Annual Report* written in 1948 described *The Good Shepherd School* as having had a busy year, characterised by a "... spirit of happy willing co-operation amongst the

children" with the elder children instilling "... their rules and customs into the minds of the younger ones." Chris' experience of being introduced as a new boy at *The Good Shepherd School* in 1972 was to have his head put under the tap by the old boys. However he recalled this being done in a spirit of fun, with no malice (pers. comm.).

5.3.4. Discipline

The playground at *The Good Shepherd School* was not always a happy place. Neelah recalls being "hassled" and "bullied" by an older girl who used to steal her sandwiches. She got her revenge one day by putting very hot, spicy Masala onto her sandwiches, thus surprising her assailant. Mrs Clark, who was principal at the time, was eventually called in to resolve the problem (pers. comm.). Mrs Clark recalled not this specific incident, but many others similar in which she was called to arbitrate:

They would have a quarrel out in the yard, we would have someone who was supposed to be supervising, but there are two sides as you know ... and they would be out there and there would be a quarrel, and they would come to me the two culprits, and a group of inquisitive children with them. They would stand there and I would have to adjudicate, and correct them and be impartial. And I knew that the others that they were judging me, and would condemn me if ... but I was always fair. And in the end it would be all over. They would go out and be the best of friends again. I never really had any trouble. Miss Tmlate [a lecturer from the Training College] told her students that I was one of the best disciplinarians that she ever knew. She said that I didn't ever raise my voice or lose my temper, and the children just accepted me (pers. comm.)

Sr. Truda, Head of the Training College, confirmed this about Mrs Clark. She remembered her simply walking into a room and raising a finger and thus changing the behaviour of an unruly class (pers. comm.).

Sr Heloise related a similar anecdote about discipline during the drill period taken by the students of the Training College. She recalled clearly how a little boy called Moses refused to comply with an instruction from a student teacher to remove his jacket for a physical education lesson. Sr. Heloise heard the commotion and took Moses aside to determine the cause of his distress. She discovered that he had a hole in his shirt and had been told by his mother not to remove his jacket so that nobody would notice the

hole. He was afraid to tell his teacher as he thought he would be ridiculed. Sr. Heloise asked one of the assistant teachers to mend Moses' shirt and a happy little boy rejoined the class. Later the student teacher asked Sr. Heloise if she had "walloped" Moses. Sr. Heloise replied, "No I didn't wallop him, I found out the cause" (pers. comm.).

When Sr. Heloise could not find a "cause" for disruptive behaviour, or when the pupils used to take advantage of the lack of experience on the part of the student teachers, pupils found themselves being delayed after school to clean the yard. Chris remembered some of the mischievous deeds that he and his friends used to perform at school. He recalled playing hide and seek from the teachers in the cellar, and banging on the piano when they were unsupervised.

This spirit of fairness and disciplined caring freedom seems to have always been part of the school, and again illustrates the liberal ideology followed by the Sisters (Section 4.7). Children's personalities seemed to be valued and there is no evidence to suggest that discipline was ever intended to make children conform or used to instill fear. The *Annual Report* written in 1935 stated that, "Visitors are struck by the naturalness and friendliness of the children, combined with ready obedience and orderliness." This once again reflects Locke's ideas on discipline. (Section 3.2).

5.3.5. Feastdays and Holidays

Holidays and Feastdays were also always special occasions for the pupils at *The Good Shepherd School*. As with the orphans at the *St. Peter's Home* (Section 4.7.), Christmas was always a very special time of the year, and was always celebrated with a concert, Christmas tree, Father Christmas and gifts for the children. There was an account of the Christmas party in almost every *Annual Report* written, detailing where the celebration was held, the delight of the children with their gifts and Father Christmas and the appreciation and gratitude of the parents to the Sisters and the contributors for the gifts. These gifts were often of a very practical nature, such as clothing, which, as already established, was often needed. The Sisters used to knit jerseys for the pupils of the

school, and these were presented at the Christmas party. This tradition ended in 1996, as the only surviving members of the Community are now too old to perform this task.

There was a prize giving that was also held at this occasion. The prizes given were for the best work in each class, for best attendance and good conduct medals for obedience, punctuality and general helpfulness (*Annual Report*, 1923). Each year a prefect or "staatmaker" was also appointed to encourage leadership and responsibility in the pupils (*Annual Report*, 1943). These once again illustrate the values and attributes which were encouraged and rewarded.

Another time honoured tradition at the school, that has only recently been discontinued was the annual Ascension Day picnic. Such was the commitment to holding this picnic that when in 1935 the day was cold and rainy the picnic was held in the "Infants room". "Desks were used as tables, old sheets as table cloths, and the children seemed to enjoy the unusualness of it quite as much as being out on the hills" (*Annual Report*, 1935). Mrs Clark recalled having "two paraffin tins full of food" for these picnics. The Sisters used to provide the money, Mrs Clark would buy the supplies and the children would help in making the sandwiches, so this was a venture that required the co-operation of all concerned (pers. comm.).

Special Occasions were also always celebrated by the Training College, and all the schools run by the *Community of the Resurrection*. On the 15 May 1925 the Prince of Wales visited *St. Peter's Home*. 800 people attended, including children, staff members, workers and Sisters. The whole College had been decorated for the visit and the children waved red, white and blue handkerchiefs as the Prince arrived. He inspected the pupils and signed his name in the visitor's book, "Edward P." (*Quarterly Letter*, June 1925).

King George VI's Coronation in 1937 was also celebrated in style. There was a sports day with refreshments and each child was given a bronze medal showing the King and

Queen on one side, and a South African design on the other, as a commemorative souvenir (*Annual Report*, 1938).

The nature of these celebrations indicate the strength of the colonial ties between the *Community of the Resurrection* and their homeland, England. These ties remained strong amongst English colonials, as opposed to the strong Nationalistic movement that was prevalent amongst some White Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. One can only wonder what relevance and significance occasions such as these held for Indian and coloured, Afrikaans-speaking children, other than being a fun day outside the classroom.

5.3.6. Educational excursions

It might also be surprising to learn that a school catering for mainly the poor and underprivileged would find the finances for educational excursions, often considered a luxury. Yet, these did take place, thanks largely to donations and the generosity of the supporters of the school. The *Annual Report* of 1971 contains the writings of a pupil called Jean telling of a day trip to Port Elizabeth:

On Saturday, 25th September, our teachers took us to Port Elizabeth for the day. We left at 7 o' clock in the morning. We went in a big bus. Lots of the children had not been in a big town before.

When we got to Port Elizabeth the bus took us through the town and we saw all the big shops. We then went to the Docks. Forty of the big children went on to a boat and we were surprised to see how big it was, just like a home. The small children stayed in the bus and watched the men working on the docks. After dinner we went to the snake park and the snakes made us feel creepy. Then we went to the Oceanarium where we saw the dolphins doing tricks; when the man kicked the ball into the water his shoe fell off, and we all laughed and clapped when the dolphin brought it back to him. We also saw the men feeding the little fishes and a big turtle when we looked through the windows. The penguins made us laugh when they made their dance.

We were very sorry when we had to come home. It was night time when we got back to Grahamstown. We thanked our teachers for taking us and the people who paid for the bus and our food.

It does seem that the pupils that attended *The Good Shepherd School*, although perhaps not having the best home circumstances, or a wealth of material possessions, received a rich and holistic education that changed, or significantly influenced their lives. Chris seemed to concur with this opinion:

Actually it was good to be at that school, because according to me, its because of that school that I am where I am today. They taught me a lot. ... All the pupils that were at that school, our backgrounds were the same. It was difficult for us at that time to study, to go to school. But, the Good Shepherd School made men out of us. Most of us, all the chaps that were with me at school are in a good positions working. I'm a cop, another is a councillor and someone else is finishing his studies to be a doctor (pers. comm.).

5.4. THE BETHLEHEM HOME

The *Bethlehem Home* can be seen as an extension of the educational services offered at *The Good Shepherd School*. The orphans housed at the home (discussed below) were all educated at the school and I therefore feel that a description of the Home and the experiences of those living in it, is relevant to this chapter.

The *Bethlehem Home* was established in 1939 in Donkin Street. This was an orphanage for coloured children, run by the *Community of the Resurrection*, along the same lines as the *Woodville Orphanage* for White children, formally known as *St. Peter's Home* (Section 4.6.). It opened with nine children, three boys and six girls, aged between two and eight, living there. The four eldest children were pupils at *The Good Shepherd School*, and in the first year of its existence the children managed to contract both chickenpox and influenza (*Annual Report*, 1940). By 1943 the number of orphans at the *Bethlehem Home* had increased to such an extent that new premises had to be sought. The home was moved to New Street, opposite the present Victoria Hotel.

Children were accepted from all parts of the country and as with all orphans the tales of how they ended up at the *Bethlehem Home* were often tales of tragedy. The *Annual Report* of 1943 told of how the five newest children to the Home had been found in

Cape Town. There was a family of three Muslims who were found homeless and friendless in the streets of Cape Town. Another brother and sister were found at the top of Table Mountain, being raised by their forester father, who allowed them to run wild. The six year old boy was fortunate to be able to settle in well at *The Good Shepherd School*, but his sister is described in the report as being "very backward but by sheer hard work pulled herself through Sub. A and Sub. B."

In addition to a small grant from the Coloured Affairs Department the *Bethlehem Home*, as were all the works of the *Community of the Resurrection*, was dependant to a large extent on contributions from overseas and local organisations such as the *English Helpers Union* and the Anglican community in Grahamstown. The 1951 *Annual Report* thanked contributors for gifts of soup, shoes, a washing machine and money, which was used to buy treats for the children and to start a vegetable garden at the Home.

The financial decisions were made by a Committee consisting of men and women from the local community, and in 1964 Rev. B.S.C. Knowles, warden of the *Community of the Resurrection*, wrote that the funds for the home were well administered and that there were no debts owing (PR 3604). This letter was written in defence of the Home to the Regional Under-Secretary of the Department of Planning, as it was threatened by the Group Areas Act. This is discussed in Chapter 8.

These funds were used to care for the orphans every need; shelter, clothing, food, health, recreation and education at *The Good Shepherd school*. Sr Heloise reported that the orphans were often more fortunate than some of the town children who were not from affluent homes. The *Bethlehem Home* children had raincoats, whilst many of the other children did not. Sr Heloise said that the children would often arrive at school soaking wet, having walked a long distance to school. Sr. Heloise allowed the wet children to dry out in front of the fire in the cellar before lessons began. This led to jealousy on the part of the *Bethlehem Home* children as they were dry, but still wanted to sit in front of the fire (pers. comm.).

In 1964, Rev Knowles wrote that the pupils from the Home were making good progress under the guidance of Mrs Ivy Clark, principal for many years. Despite this good progress not all aspects of school were enjoyed by the *Bethlehem Home* children. Ms Appolis, who grew up in the Home, recalled disliking the usual things that most children dislike about school:

Oh, the homework, number one. The strict teachers too, but you know there was a depth of love too for them, but they were very strict, and studying. I don't suppose I was one of the best or brightest pupils, but I suppose with a bit of diligence and real persevering one gets somewhere (pers. comm.).

The social and emotional needs of the orphans were also taken care of at the *Bethlehem Home*. Rev. Knowles told of lots of personal, individual attention given to each child, of discipline being administered with "... great tact, wisdom and understanding" and of the children being permitted reasonable freedom (PR 3604). Rules and regulations also seemed to be important and this created a secure environment in which the children could grow. Ms Appolis said:

Well, I suppose the best memories I have are the freedom of childhood. You really don't have much responsibility. And looking forward to getting out, because we were brought up rather strict, I can say that. I remember that. You know there were certain rules that we had to abide by, well for which I have no regrets today. But, also getting out and meeting other friends, and also the security we grew up with, and the love from the nuns (pers. comm.).

The children were also treated to many holidays either at the Kowie River or at Stone's Hill, just outside Grahamstown. The following account of one of these holidays is given in the *Annual Report*, March 1953. It was written by a 13 year old, Std 5 pupil at *The Good Shepherd School*. It tells of the holiday activities and reflects the spirit of enthusiasm the children had for these activities. For these reasons it is worth quoting in full:

As we were all sick in the June holidays we were looking forward to our September holidays. On the last day of school, which was on Friday, it was raining. We thought that we would not be able to go to St. Francis, but later it cleared up and we were all delighted to see the blue sky. At

12.30 we had our reports and then we came home quite excited. Mr Wilson's car was already here to take the babies, about twelve babies got into the car.

When the house was locked up the lorry came. Roy our dog was so excited that we had to put him in first. We put the birds on the lorry too and all our mattresses, blankets and food. Then we all got in.

When we arrived at St. Francis, we helped to unload the things and soon had them all in their places. We had a picnic dinner and then we collected fir cones and wood.

We were glad when bedtime came. When we got up the next morning we all had some work to do. When that was finished we played games. One day we all went out and only Sister was left at home. When we came home we had our dinner and after dinner we had a treasure hunt. Sister had hidden the presents while we were out. Another day we went for a walk along a new road, we thought we were lost but soon found the way home.

Nearly every day Mr Wilson's car came with our milk and our food, sometimes he brought us visitors. One afternoon the Warden and Mrs Bowers came and we ran races and everyone got a prize.

Miss Winston also sent us a can full of ice cream, we enjoyed it very much. The bees like St. Francis as much as we do, and when we went to Chapel we had to be careful that we did not kneel on them.

The last night we were sad because we had to go home, but we had a lovely moonlight walk. The next morning we left at 8 o'clock and we just had time to get ready for school.

The Sisters at the *Bethlehem Home* also ensured that the older children took responsibility for the younger children and helped run the Home smoothly. Older girls acted as 'mothers' to the younger ones and were responsible for looking after themselves, their own belongings and the belongings of their 'children'. This was a responsibility. An *Occasional Letter* written in October 1954, showed how the older girls often appreciated this responsibility, and stayed in the Home to be of assistance, even though they were old enough to leave. A girl called Joan who in 1954 was training to be a nurse, used to come home for the holidays to help. Mary stayed at the Home until

she was 21, working as a cook. Evie, who came into the Home as a baby came in to look after the other babies (*Occasional Letter*, 1954). Ms Appolis remembered having responsibility in the Home, when she was older, and is grateful for the Sister's support during her life. They sponsored her attendance at Teacher's Training College in Worcester. Even today the Sisters are still part of her life as she and her three children live in a house that belongs to the Community (pers. comm.).

The words written in the *Annual Report*, March 1956, perhaps encapsulate the spirit of the *Bethlehem Home* best. It is described as "one of the most rewarding and successful of the Community's works" that transforms children "suffering from malnutrition and neglect" into "happy, wellfed, natural children." Thus, the Sisters' role in the lives of many of the pupils of *The Good Shepherd School* was much broader than educating the mind.

The 1967 *Annual Report* stated that there were 12 applications for one vacancy at the Home. By 1988 *The Good Shepherd School* and the *Bethlehem home* were the only two works belonging to the *Community of the Resurrection* that remained (see section 6.4. for explanation of closure of other works). The *Bethlehem Home* eventually moved from the New Street premises to a more homely situation in Port Elizabeth, consisting of four cottages each with ten children in them, and having a married couple running each cottage.

Educating children thus involved far more than imparting knowledge to the child. The Sisters were concerned with the development of a well-rounded, balanced person and thus ensured that the education received at *The Good Shepherd School* and *Bethlehem Home* met all the socio-educational needs of the child.

CHAPTER SIX

RELIGION: AT THE HEART OF THE SCHOOL

The religious motif runs throughout the history of the Huntly Street School, with it first being the *Cathedral Grammar School* officially attached to the Cathedral of St. George and St. Michael. As such, the focus of the education offered was of an Anglican, Christian nature. The aims, as stated in the founding statement of the school (Section 2.6.), were to provide a Church education to the children of the settlers, preparing them for active life in the Anglican Church. Young gentlemen were prepared for Holy Orders or to sing as choristers at the Cathedral mass (Section 3.10.). Some of the Masters who ran the school, for example, Rev Bankes, Rev Mosel and Rev Parkhurst, were ordained ministers, who also preached in the Cathedral. The school premises were also used for services, even having a pulpit in one of the main classrooms, which was later taken down by the Sisters (Mrs Clark, pers. comm.). Religion was thus a central factor in the reasons for the establishment of the school.

6.1 MISSIONARY SCHOOLS IN SOUTH AFRICA

As already stated in Section 2.3., the Church and western education are historically linked. There had been a shift toward the secularisation of education in South Africa, by the introduction of state schools for Whites in the late 1800's (Section 2.3.). However, education for the 'non-Europeans' in South Africa remained in the hands of the missionaries of various denominations. The state only took control of Black education with the passing of the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953. This was a deliberate attempt by the Nationalist government to abolish the missionary influence in Black education, which was regarded as, "nothing less than an instrument in the hands of liberalism," which had achieved, "nothing but the destruction of Bantu culture ... nothing beyond succeeding in making the Native an imitation Westerner" (attributed to M.C. Botha, member of parliament, 1953, quoted in Malherbe, 1977:546). The Bantu Education Act, No 47 of 1953, allowed the Nationalist government to control and to

institute the system of inferior education for Blacks, which was to become the hallmark for the next 40 years.

Mission schools were largely responsible for the education of the coloured and Indian communities. *The Good Shepherd School*, established in 1916, for the coloured community in Grahamstown, fell into this category. The original *Good Shepherd School* established in 1884, for underprivileged White children had also been classed as a mission school (Section 4.3.).

As the name 'mission school' suggests, the focus of these schools were to convert non-believers to Christianity. *The Good Shepherd School* being founded as it was by a religious Community, has always had a missionary focus. Caring for people meant more than just looking after the physical, emotional and intellectual needs (Chapter 5); the spiritual side of a person's development was also of the utmost importance to the Sisters who ran the school. *The Community of the Resurrection* consisted of women who had devoted their entire lives to the service of God, forsaking wealth and material privilege. It was essentially important to them to try and convert those with whom they came into contact to Christianity.

6.2. MISSIONARY ZEAL AT THE GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOL

The school, after 1916, had close links with *St. Clement's Church* (the Anglican Church attended by the coloured people of Grahamstown), being established at the request of the parents of children in the Sunday School (Section 7.3.). This link between the School and the Sunday School continued and the Sisters made every effort to encourage the children to be baptised. An *Occasional Letter* written in November 1917 stated that two children had been baptised.

The impact that the School had on student teachers from the College was also emphasised. Although the College was an Anglican institution, students of other religious persuasions were enrolled (see Section 7.3.), and a "missionary spirit" was

encouraged amongst all the student teachers. It seems that this meant becoming more accepting of people as well as an effort to convert people:

It is most encouraging to know that the school has been a real help to the College students. There is amongst them less and less of that deeply-rooted antipathy to the coloured people of South Africa; they have come to really like the children, and with many the time at the Good Shepherd School has been a time of genuine happiness, and there is evidence amongst them of the growth of a true missionary spirit (*Occasional Letter*, November 1917).

This missionary zeal was probably unproblematic amongst the coloured community, many of them being descended from European settlers and having been exposed to the Christian faith. It became a little more difficult in regard to the Indian children, who were often of the Hindu or Muslim faith. The intent to evangelise the children would be clearly outlined by the Sisters to the parents before children of a different faith were enrolled in the school (*Annual Report* 1921). This must have been a dilemma for the parents of the Indian community in Grahamstown. There was no other school for their children to attend in the city, and if they attended *The Good Shepherd School* there would be an attempt to convince the child that their parents' faith, and the traditions with which they had grown up, were incorrect. Govindbhai, whom we met in Section 5.3.3. was written about in the *Annual Report*, 1921:

Church and Sunday School are impossible, he maintains sadly, but then adds more cheerfully, "Rama comes to my house and reads his Bible to me." Rama's 'Bible' is a beloved fat little Prayer and Hymn Book, which he can produce at any time from his pocket. He will come every now and then with great delight to show the place where some Collect or Gospel Story recently taught in school is to be found. So even among these little unbaptised lads we have a missionary! Rama is hoping to be baptised as soon as he can win his father's consent.

The last sentence of that report leads one to believe that Rama's interest in Christianity was not met with the same enthusiasm at home as it was at school. Indeed, it appeared that there was an attempt to convert parents as well. An *Occasional Letter* written in November 1920 told of how an Indian boy showed the Sisters "a new treasure" - a St. Matthew's Gospel written in Tamil, out of which he read the previous day's Scripture lesson. He boasted that his father was reading this as well.

6.3. DAILY RELIGIOUS RITUALS

The school day was structured around religious activities. Each day began with a short assembly, with prayers being said, a hymn sung and the day being dedicated to "The Good Shepherd". The 1954 *Annual Report* described this ritual as follows:

A bell rings and there is a hasty scuffle to line up outside. Hymn books are solemnly distributed and with a sudden hush the first children lead into school for Prayers. Most of the older children have a few tinies grouped round them: this is their own idea, as they feel responsible for the behaviour of the little ones at Prayers and like to have them within reach when they are tempted to chatter. There are always shy, backward glances at the College students and when quite satisfied that their 'juffrou' [teacher] is there they are ready. With eyes tightly shut we begin, " In the Name of the Father and of the Son..."

The morning continued with academic lessons, then there was a break, followed by physical education, and then the pupils would come back to the classroom for religion. The pupils are described as being "usually most reverent and attentive" (*Occasional Letter*, November 1920). This could not always have been easy to achieve as young children are often restless at this time of day. The pupils apparently enjoyed the pictures used by the Sisters to illustrate the Bible stories (*Occasional Letter*, November 1920).

All the children at the school also attended special services at the St. Mary's chapel, no matter what their home beliefs were. An example of this was a special Children's Eucharist held on the 4 August 1917, a Day of Prayer, presumably held to pray for peace and an end to the First World War. This was attended by the pupils at all the schools under the care of the *Community of the Resurrection*: The *Woodville School*, *St. Peter's School*, *St. Bartholomew's*, *The Douglas School* and the *School of the Good Shepherd* "... the last with serious little brown faces and wondering eyes" (*Annual Report*, 1917).

The children were also encouraged to develop private habits of daily prayer, "... which are so difficult to acquire in their small and crowded homes." This was facilitated by making a little room in the loft which was to be used specifically for prayer in the

morning before school. It was called "ons kerkie" [our little church] and the pupils were responsible for keeping it clean and tidy (*Annual Report*, 1925).

Special attention to devotion, and steeping the children in a religious atmosphere did indeed appear to allow the children to value prayer. The *Annual Report*, 1946, contains a prayer written by an 11 year old on the First Victory Day:

We thank Thee, O Lord, for the peace which Thou hast given us. Help us now to live together as Thy children and make us strong to serve Thee only. Bless the soldiers who have fought and died for us, and comfort the people whose houses have been bombed. We hope that there will never be a time again when people do not believe in Thee. Amen.

This amount of time and attention spent in a school day on religion was because of the missionary focus of the school. State schools did have religion (Christianity only) included in daily school rituals and taught as a subject, but these were, according to a survey of religious education in White state schools in the Transvaal in 1959, "superficially implemented" (Hunter, 1966:248).

6.4. THE MISSIONARY STATUS CHANGES

The Coloured Persons Education Act No 47 of 1953, put the control of coloured schools in the hands of central government. This meant that while Christian mission schools were allowed to continue, the government had the power to take over the management of such schools (Hunter, 1966:255). Government now had to approve all staff appointments, and this had important ramifications for *The Good Shepherd School* (Section 8.5.). It did mean that the Sisters became less and less involved in the school, and as more lay people began to teach there, the emphasis on religion lessened. As the school became subject to increased government control, the curriculum was brought into line with state schools, and religion became merely a subject. Although Hunter (1966:249) stated:

The recent power shifts in education from church (and individual) to state and from province to centre have not affected the long standing

enshrinement of Christianity in ordinance and textbook, in syllabus and official circular. Not only is the Christian tradition reflected in the programs of many secular subjects; state schools are required to open each day with prayer and reading from the Bible. Provision is also made for the study of Biblical history, but dogmatic interpretation is forbidden.

There could thus be no deliberate attempt at conversion, and at parental request pupils of differing faiths could be excluded from these religious rituals. Thus state control had a 'liberalizing' aspect to it. Neelah, past pupil, of Indian origin, who attended the school in the mid 1970's, could not recall any attempt being made to convert her to Christianity, but remembered morning prayers. Mrs Clark, principal from 1948 to 1978, did not recall the attic being used as a prayer room in 1925, thus suggesting that this was no longer practised. Mrs Clark stated that by 1948, the Sisters played a peripheral role in the running of the school. The school was really running as a state school, with the Sisters owning the buildings and providing a feeding scheme for the children (Section 5.2.2.).

By 1968 the works of the *Community of the Resurrection* had begun to rely more and more on being staffed by people not belonging to the Order. The *Annual Report* of 1968 ascribed this to the fact that the works of the Community were widely spread, and that whilst the existing community was growing older and less able to work, there few young Sisters coming into the Community. The novitiate in 1968 is described as being "... only a small trickle" (*Annual Report*, 1968). By 1969 there was no novitiate. The number of works undertaken by the Community decreased, as many closed down, or were taken over by the state.

Thus, though the Community's present involvement in *The Good Shepherd School* is peripheral, they have left a legacy of religious devotion that still remains in the person of Mrs van der Linde, current principal of *The Good Shepherd School* (Chapter 9).

CHAPTER SEVEN

LANGUAGE ISSUES AT THE GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOL 1916 - PRESENT

The language issues in education are many and particularly problematic in a multi-cultural, multi-lingual country like South Africa. This chapter only begins to scratch the surface of the implications of the medium of instruction issues and problems that have occurred in this country. The discussion of language issues is limited mainly to the use of the 'European' languages, English and Afrikaans (the South African language derived from Dutch). This is because these were the languages of instruction at *The Good Shepherd School* from 1916 until 1992. Black languages are not discussed in this chapter, as it was not until 1992 that Black students were admitted to the school. The current language policy at the school is discussed in Section 9.2.

7.1. HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF LANGUAGE ISSUES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Language is an integral part of one's identity, personal and national, and as such it has become an issue in education. In South Africa the languages and cultures of the dominant groups have been imposed upon other ethnic groups. This has caused language to become a contentious issue in South African educational history. The link between education, language and group self-interest is reflected in the following quote from Hartshorne (1992:186):

Education is never neutral but is directed towards the achievement of certain purposes, behind which rest fundamental issues such as philosophies of life, views of man, religious beliefs, ideas about the state and society, in particular the place of the individual, political ideologies and the working of economic forces. So it is with language. It is in this context, too, that language has to operate in the schooling system: it, too, does not exist in a vacuum. It is used by people, who grew up with it "at their mother's knee", who use it to express their deepest feelings- to pray, to swear, make love - and to communicate with others.

The imposition of the language of the coloniser on the colonised was a feature of colonisation, and began as such with the arrival of the Dutch at the Cape Colony in 1652. Indigenous groups, such as the Khoi and the San people, as well as slaves, were expected to learn Dutch for trade purposes. The later colonisation of the Cape in 1806,

by the English complicated language issues enormously. A concerted effort to anglicise schools, churches and administrative processes began almost immediately, particularly under governor, Lord Charles Somerset (Malherbe, 1925:57). Somerset imported teachers from England and Scotland and started free English schools in all the major centres. This deliberate anglicization provoked hostility among the Dutch Settlers. The anger was not directed towards English as a language, but on the way it was imposed on them. Malherbe (1977:5) wrote that the Dutch were:

"... not averse to learning the English language as such. ... It was, however, when English education meant the exclusion or the denigration of their own mother-tongue that the Afrikaners [Dutch] rebelled."

Language issues were partly responsible for driving the Dutch settlers to 'trek' inland, in order to be self-governing and to educate their children in the medium of their choice. They established the Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The British soon became interested in acquiring control of these Republics, as it was there that gold and diamonds were discovered. It was over the control of these republics that the South African War was fought, between 1899 and 1902. During this war, and the subsequent "insensitive implementation" of Lord Milner's Anglicization Policy, antipathy towards English grew (Malherbe, 1977:3). The former president of the Orange Free State, M.T. Steyn, stated, regarding Milner's attempt to force English education on Afrikaners: "The language of the conqueror in the mouth of the conquered is the language of slaves." An ironic statement in terms of the later National Party language policies in education (Hartshorne, 1992).

By the time of Union in 1910 the rigidity of Milner's policy had been relaxed and there was a swing in favour of bilingualism. In terms of Article 137 of the 1910 Union Constitution, both English and Dutch were recognised as official languages of South Africa (Hartshorne, 1992).

7.2. THE CHANGEOVER FROM DUTCH TO AFRIKAANS

The reality of education for the Afrikaners was that Dutch instruction was not mother-

tongue instruction. Over the years 'High' Dutch had undergone such changes in South Africa, that it was no longer the language of everyday communication, but was used only in formal religious services, and was taught in the grammatical style of a 'dead' language (Malherbe, 1977:12). Afrikaans, the language now in common use, was not however considered fit for academic discourse. There were very few textbooks in Afrikaans and little Afrikaans literature. The Afrikaans-speaking child thus had to use English or Dutch textbooks.

"The Afrikaans pupil was therefore doubly handicapped as regards to medium, for he [sic] had to acquire all his [sic] schooling through two semi-opaque media, English and Dutch" (Malherbe, 1977:12).

English was often more accessible to the Afrikaans child, as it was more often heard than Dutch, and there were more textbooks available in English. It was only through concerted efforts of authors such as Langenhoven, Marais, Totius and Leipoldt, that Afrikaans literature was written, and that Afrikaans became recognised as a medium of instruction. According to Malherbe (1977), the use of Afrikaans as opposed to Dutch in the classroom began in 1914, although it was only recognised by Parliament in 1925.

7.3. THE GRAHAMSTOWN TRAINING COLLEGE AND THE LANGUAGE ISSUE

Mother-tongue instruction for English and Afrikaans speakers, became compulsory for pupils up to Std Four in terms of the Consolidated Education Ordinance or the "Language Ordinance" of 1912. Secondary schooling remained mainly English (Bosman, 1989). This meant that there was a need for bilingual primary school teachers, and teacher training was adapted accordingly.

This occurred in the Cape Education Department under W.J. Viljoen, Superintendent-General of Education in 1918, after the retirement of Dr Muir (Section 4.8.). Teacher Training Colleges became dual medium, and teachers were awarded with a bilingualism certificate at the completion of their training.

The *Grahamstown Training College*, though it was an English, Anglican Institute, had

always accepted students from both English and Afrikaans language groups, and students from other religious persuasions. Provision was made for students to receive religious instruction from their own ministers, and although there was, as yet, no Afrikaans or Dutch medium of instruction, "... Dutch girls came to be trained from a thousand miles away" (*Annual Report*, 1902). Also included in the Report was the statistic that 300 Dutch girls had already been trained at the *Grahamstown Training College*, and sent out to teach in schools throughout South Africa.

Mother Cecile, founder of the Training College (Section 4.8.) was often criticised by conservative English speakers, for her tolerant, liberal acceptance of Afrikaans speakers. This was illustrated by Kate's (1922:37) statement:

Such co-operation brought Mother into opposition with some whose judgement she valued, but her courage never failed, and the years have proved that the way of charity was also the way of wisdom.

With this tradition, The Training College had little trouble accommodating the shift to dual medium education. The one problem that did face the staff of the College was where to send students for practise in teaching Afrikaans. Most of the existing schools in Grahamstown were unilingual English schools, and thus, gaining experience in teaching in Afrikaans for a bilingual qualification was difficult (*Occasional Letter*, November 1916).

In Grahamstown the largest Afrikaans-speaking community was the coloured community. Sr Millicent worked among the coloured people in Grahamstown, holding a Sunday School for them at *St. Clement's Church*, situated near the railway station. Part of her pastoral care was visiting the parents of these children. During these visits she found that many of them longed for a day school under the care of the Sisters at which their children could receive a religious education (*Occasional Letter*, Oct 1942). The Sisters saw an opportunity of meeting both these needs by opening a school for coloured children that would serve as an Afrikaans practising school.

7.4. THE FOUNDING OF THE SECOND GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOL.

A small Afrikaans school was started by the Sisters, for the coloured children in a wood and iron building on the College premises. This school was then moved to "a tiny and very inadequate cottage" in Cross Street (*Occasional Letter*, Nov 1917 and 1956 *Annual Report*). In 1916 the *Community of the Resurrection* purchased the building in Huntly Street, from the Cathedral Vestry, which, as was noted in Section 3.10., had been used first as the *Cathedral Grammar School* and later as an analytical laboratory. The building was used briefly, by the Sisters, as a boarding hostel for the Training College, but the growing number of pupils at the coloured school and the inadequacy of the cottage caused the Sisters to move the school into the Huntly Street building (*Occasional Letter*, Nov 1917).

It was decided to call the school *The Good Shepherd School*, and like its predecessor started by Mother Cecile (Section 4.3) it was formed to meet the needs of the underprivileged. The school was officially consecrated and opened on 26 December 1917. This event is described in the *Annual Report*, 1917 as follows:

On St. Stephen's Day, December 26, the new school for the coloured children was blessed. Several days before Christmas, such furniture as we possessed was transferred from the little white cottage to the more imposing building in Huntly Street, and at 3.30 pm. on St. Stephen's Day the school children and some of their parents assembled in St. Mary's Chapel, where a short service was conducted by the Warden of the Community. The Dean of Grahamstown, Mr Pacey, priest-in-charge of the Coloured Mission, and Mr Faunce, assistant priest at the Cathedral, were also present. A procession was then formed, led by a coloured boy carrying the children's banner of the Good Shepherd - and such was his zeal and excitement, he led off the children so rapidly that they were completely out of sight when the more dignified procession of priests and sisters emerged from the Chapel! However, we all met at the school, where a short Service of Blessing was held and an address given by the Very Reverend The Dean. The procession then reformed, and we returned all together to the St. Peter's School, where tea and a Christmas tree were provided for the children.

In keeping with official policy, that encouraged bilingualism and mixing of English and Afrikaans in order to unite the groups (Malherbe 1977), it was decided that the school

should be a dual medium school, teaching in both official languages. This decision was also motivated by the fact that the coloured pupils at *The Good Shepherd School* were not a homogenous group of Afrikaans speakers. Du Pre (1994) outlined the difficulties of defining 'a Coloured people' as they are simply people with a racially mixed ancestry (Section 1.3.). Not all coloured people were Afrikaans speakers, many spoke English or Xhosa or even Indian languages, depending on the group with whom they most closely identified themselves, and the particular mix of parentage. Thus while establishing *The Good Shepherd School* may have solved the bilingualism dilemma for the Training College it was certainly not providing mother-tongue instruction for all its pupils. This difficulty is clearly outlined in the *Annual Report* written in 1917:

At present there are 39 on the school roll, and many different types among them - some barely to be distinguished from English children, others appear to be very closely related to the Native races, while a goodly portion are Indian and Mauritian! So the "mother tongue" presents its difficulties, though the difficulty is more, far more on the part of the teacher than the taught. These little folk are wonderful linguists, and many of them speak three, if not four different languages, and they know instinctively whether to address their hearer in English, Dutch, Tamil, or even isiXhosa, if it rests on them to speak first!

7.5. PUPILS AND TEACHERS EXPERIENCE PROBLEMS WITH BILINGUALISM

In 1923 Sr Millicent, who had been instrumental in the founding of the school, became principal. She remained there until 1926 when her health failed. The Annual inspection in 1923 went well for the school, as the Government Inspector made very favourable comments, saying, "... with exception of the arithmetic in the lower classes, the children's work is excellent" (*Annual Report*, 1923). One assumes that because it is not mentioned, he must have been satisfied with the language usage of the pupils and their ability to understand and learn in Afrikaans. An unidentified visitor to the school became immediately aware of the bilingualism problems experienced by pupils, but was impressed by the dedication of the staff and the efficiency of the school as a whole. The letter written by this visitor is quoted in the same *Annual Report* (1923):

I entered the school of the Good Shepherd with many and varied feelings. I was inclined to share the view held by the inexperienced, that coloured schools did not justify their existence, nor did they meet any educational needs. After the first few hours I discovered that in spite of the fact that

the scholars were struggling with bilingualism, their progress seemed sure. ... Then the general tone which prevailed appeared to be the result of something beyond the ordinary standards of method, punctuality, and enthusiasm on the part of the staff. It was not the result of a slavish desire to fulfil the requirements of the Educational Department. One felt that capable and courageous teachers, together with the aid of the Church (in its desire to meet the real needs of humanity), were more than maintaining educational traditions. The scholars were keen, observant, and paid great attention to detail. In the case of the School of the Good Shepherd wonderful possibilities are there for making great strides in educational advancement.

This report outlined the dedication of the staff of *The Good Shepherd School*. It is a theme that constantly recurs in reports of the school (Chapter 5), and an attitude that probably smoothed some of the problems of bilingual education. It also hints at the racist belief that coloured children were not worthy of education, which seemed prevalent. This suggests that the work of the Sisters in educating coloured children was courageous and progressive.

Dual medium instruction must have been problematic for many of the pupils as English was often a third or fourth language. This must have led to much frustration for teachers, but it also led to some lighter moments in the classroom. The *Annual Report* of 1923 recorded such an incident:

A boy was sent to one of the teachers to ask for a picture of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego [the three friends who joined Daniel in the furnace, in the well-known Bible story]. He wanted to show off his English, so he said, "Please, Sister wants the picture of the three men in the oven."

But if we get a little amusement out of the two languages, they also add considerably to our difficulties in teaching.

Teaching in a second language was difficult for the students of the Training College. The *Annual Report* of March 1926 noted that the bilingualism of the student teachers had improved considerably. By 1927 approximately three fifths of all lessons at *The Good Shepherd School* were taught in the medium of Afrikaans and this provided ample opportunity for the student teachers to practise their second language. However, second language teaching can be a frustrating experience for an inexperienced

teacher, as the following account in the *Annual Report* of 1945 indicated:

It must however be confessed that several students after making very elaborate explanations to ensure their lessons being understood by even the duller pupil, were completely non-plussed to discover that the most intelligent had no inkling of what was required, until the teacher in charge, using the minimum number of very simple words together with a few objects or pictures, soon enlightened the puzzled little minds. A very practical application of the direct method of teaching the second language was thus demonstrated.

Sister Heloise who was principal at the school from 1942 until 1947 also recalled some of the difficulties of having to teach in Afrikaans. She said that even though she had passed Afrikaans Higher with a first class pass at College she was far better at written Afrikaans than the spoken language. She recalled how the children would sometimes help her to remember a word, when during lessons her vocabulary had failed her (pers. comm.).

Another staff member who remembered the difficulties of teaching in her second language, with humour, is Mrs Ivy Clark, who was principal for thirty years, from 1948 to 1978. She said it was necessary for her pupils to be bilingual as she would often lapse into English during a lesson. At her first inspection, the inspector, Dr Schnell, said to her, "You speak Afrikaans well, but its 'juffrou taal' [teacher language]." She also recalled trying to teach a young Afrikaans speaking boy simple English spelling words. She said that this boy was very eager to learn and "desperately keen to get on", although he struggled with spelling. One day after she had given the Sub B. class a simple test and this particular boy had got all the answers wrong she went outside and found him sitting on the step very disconsolate, and he said, "Ek weet nie wat is die use van die woorde [I don't know what the words are used for]" (pers. comm.). This illustrated a young child expressing the frustrations of learning a second language, and demonstrating the common phenomenon of mixing the languages being learned.

Neelah Dullabh, a past pupil of the school, who is an English first language speaker, also told of her frustration in trying to learn to speak Afrikaans. She had to become fluent to cope at the school, because of the large number of classes taught in Afrikaans. As part of the rather small Indian community in Grahamstown in the 1970's, she was

forced to attend *The Good Shepherd School*, as there were no other educational facilities for the Indian community in Grahamstown. She was thus put in the situation where she came from an English home background and was suddenly thrown, at the age of six years old, into the situation in which she was partly taught in another language (pers. comm.).

However, not all past pupils viewed the dual medium education at *The Good Shepherd School* in a negative light. Ms Katie Appolis, past pupil and currently on the staff of the school, has Afrikaans as a home language, but found herself growing to love English, which was her favourite subject at school. She attributes this not only to the teaching at *The Good Shepherd School*, but also to growing up at the *Bethlehem Home*, under the guidance of Sr Gwendolyn who "...was very English, but fluent in Afrikaans as well" (pers. comm.).

7.6. THE ENGLISH SPEAKING SECTION OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOL

By 1932 the number of English-speaking pupils at *The Good Shepherd School* had grown to such an extent that it was decided to separate the English children from those in the Afrikaans stream. A new single-teacher-school was started for the English speakers. This section of the school was moved to premises down the road from *The Good Shepherd School*, but still fell under the auspices and authority of the School. This section of the school had the practising status of a 'farm school' which is often the situation found in rural schools. There was one teacher for twelve to eighteen pupils of different ages. The pupils in this section of the school were mainly from the Indian community of Grahamstown, whose situation is explained in Section 8.3.1.

This single-teacher-school did not however remain separate from the main *Good Shepherd School* for long. In 1943, under the principalship of Sr. Heloise this section was again moved back to the main school. This move was made because the main section of the school was understaffed and needed the extra hands of the English teacher to cope with the growing number of pupils. Sister Heloise related that at one point in her time at the school, she was teaching 56 pupils in a single class. These

pupils ranged from Std 4 to Std 6 and so she had to contend with differences in age and ability. To add to this difficult situation, she had to take a class of Std 1's as well as her 56 other pupils. This was because the kindergarten teacher was overwhelmed by a large number of Sub A's and Sub B's, so Sr Heloise taught juniors and seniors who worked at different paces and levels, and who all demanded her attention. The solution to this problem was to reincorporate the single-teacher-school into *The Good Shepherd School*. The new teacher took on some classes and shared the teaching load, whilst the Indian pupils from the English school were incorporated into the main body of Afrikaans speaking coloured children.

As can be imagined, this served to create new language difficulties at the school. Many of the Indian pupils attending the school were immigrants to South Africa, and therefore spoke little English and no Afrikaans. Sr Heloise was aware of this problem and in 1947 wrote a letter to the circuit inspector, Mr Dreary, requesting that the Indian kindergarten group be held in a separate classroom with a Hindi speaking teacher, who could help the pupils develop their mother tongue, whilst assisting in the learning of English. Chief Inspector Bouden replied to her later on the 21/5/1947, refusing her request, saying:

"It is a dangerous precedent to establish and as immigration of Indians to South Africa is practically non-existent the sooner they acquire one of our official languages as medium, the better for everybody" (MS 16255).

This demonstrated the official policy of the time, which whilst ensuring equal status of English and Afrikaans, paid no cognisance to the mother-tongue of 'non-White' South Africans.

Afrikaans was not just a language that was taught in the school. Afrikaans culture and tradition were also taught. Sr Heloise recalled how a College student gave up her time in the afternoons to teach the children Afrikaans Volksliedjies [folk songs]. These were full of actions or accompanied by dances. It appears that the pupils enjoyed this very much, with both boys and girls joining in. Sr Heloise comments that, "It was really very spectacular". Prayers were also said in both English and Afrikaans.

7.7. THE GOOD SHEPHERD LIBRARY

The structure of the classes, with children of different ages and levels in the same class, required the staff to introduce a programme of self study amongst the older children (Section 5.3.1.), which encouraged them to read in both official languages. With money granted from the Rhodes Trustee Fund (Section 8.2.) additions were made to the school and the old staff room became a small library in order to aid this purpose. This was started by Sr Evelyn, who incidentally, is, in 1997, the oldest surviving member of the Community. Sr. Heloise reported that she used this small room in the school as a library and collected books for the pupils. Sr Evelyn would spend every afternoon with the children, helping them with their reading.

The library was soon much in demand, and not only by the children. In 1966 the membership was extended to include many parents, and a new cupboard had to be bought for the increasing number of books (*Annual Report*, 1966). By 1967 it was open to any member of the community that could make use of the facilities. Members were asked to contribute 1 cent a week in order to cover costs and running expenses. The library contained a great number of English books, many of them contributed by members of the *English Helper's Union*, one of the societies sponsoring the Community's works. These were of great assistance to many older children who hoped to attend university. The library became such a busy place that Sr Evelyn was assisted by a past pupil of the school who was then in high school and was hoping to become a teacher. The *Annual Report* of 1967, from which the above information was obtained, described the library as "... a friendly, homely place."

In 1970 there was an appeal for donations of Afrikaans books. This need was met in 1971 by a grant from the Abe Bailey Trust, which was set up to promote bilingualism in South Africa (*Annual Reports* 1970, 1971).

By 1973 there were so many people using the library that the tiny room at *The Good Shepherd School* became inadequate. This problem and its unusual solution were

reported in the *Annual Report* 1973:

We wanted a reading room, but we NEEDED even more, larger premises so that children who came long distances would not have such a long time before getting into the tiny space to choose their books. The need was really on our hearts, because the large number of the keenest little ones often came to school without a meal and although we provide soup and milk during the morning, they were faint with hunger before reaching home after changing library books. Our prayers were answered in quite a different way from that which we had envisaged! Instead of a larger space we were donated by a Port Elizabeth Biscuit Manufacturer [Pyotts] a monthly supply of Fortified biscuits, also a supply of broken biscuits, so that the children could partake of some nourishment during the long wait for admittance. Hurrays went over the tree tops!

The result of this has been two-fold: hunger satisfied and an increased attendance at the Library, which means more minds being fed in addition to hunger being appeased.

The library thus served to encourage bilingualism and language development, providing mental stimulation as well as sustenance. It is remembered fondly by an unnamed Indian woman who was a member of the library when it first started. She graduated from University with a BA degree and taught English and Afrikaans at a High School. She wrote that she is sure that the library helped her considerably (*Annual Report* 1973). Unfortunately, there is not much information on this woman, but it must be remembered how difficult it was for 'non-Whites' of any group to receive quality education at this time in South Africa's history.

Sr. Evelyn's library eventually did move to bigger premises at the Bethlehem Home in New Street (section 5.5.).

7.8. LANGUAGE ISSUES IN 1997

The language issue continues to be a contentious one in South African education. As stated in the introduction of this chapter little mention has been made of the exclusion of Black languages from official recognition. They were not recognised officially until 1994, when the New South African government proclaimed 11 official languages. These were however used in schools long before they were made official languages.

Today the pupils at *The Good Shepherd School* are largely Black and it is an English Medium school. Language problems still exist at the School as most of the learners are English second language speakers, Xhosa being the mother tongue of most. The change from dual medium to single medium was made at the request of the parents of the pupils in 1992, and after due consideration by the staff of the school.

The Good Shepherd School was thus a dual medium school from 1916 to 1992. This situation suited both the pupils and the Training College and decisions about medium of instruction were based on what was practical and workable at the time. Dual medium instruction had both advantages and disadvantages, but at all times resolutions were motivated by trying to provide the best education possible to the pupils.

CHAPTER EIGHT

POLITICAL FACTORS: THE GROUP AREAS ACT NO 41 OF 1950

The Good Shepherd School has its historical roots deeply embedded in colonialism, missionary work and church education, which are often held responsible for breaking down African culture, undermining the African way of life, and being racist and exploitative (Christie, 1985:62). The Sisters of the *Community of the Resurrection*, however, demonstrated a sense of goodwill to all races, and always attempted to meet the needs of the underprivileged (often non-White) and to create inter-racial harmony. This was in keeping with the liberal philosophy that they espoused, outlined in Section 4.7.

8.1. HISTORY OF LIBERAL RACIAL ATTITUDES

Evidence of the attitude discussed above can be found as far back as 1895 in a letter from Mother Cecile to a Sister at a mission house in which she said:

The attitude about Natives and Native work makes my blood boil. We certainly in the Church can never do enough to make up for the great wrong our White race has brought to them. It is all a great puzzle; we can only pray and remember nothing is too hard for our Lord (SPCK, 1930:45, MS 18812).

There is evidence that the Community was well aware of the existence of problems of racial prejudice and social injustice, before the formal establishment of the Apartheid system after 1948. This is reflected in the 1933 *Annual Report* about *The Good Shepherd School*:

Many of the students of the Training College are glad of the special kind of experience they get teaching in this school, and express regret when their six month practice is over. It is quite usual on the last day of term for several of them to bring cameras with them and ask to be allowed to photograph the classes they have taught. This encourages us to believe that the school is doing valuable work over and beyond what it does for the children it educates, and the practice ground it provides for students - that is it is playing its little part towards breaking down the colour prejudices that are the bane of this land.

The Sisters at St. Peter's took active steps to facilitate an understanding between the White students at the College and Black educational institutions. In 1937 they held a Social Study Circle that focused on topics such as peace and race relations. This demonstrates enlightenment and a strong desire for racial understanding. Two Black principals were invited to address the circle, and students were taken to visit schools in the township and to attend a Xhosa Nativity play at St. Phillip's Mission. A "Bantu Student's Day" was held and students from Lovedale, Healdtown and location schools came to St. Peter's to show handwork and present musical and dramatic items (*Annual Report*, 1937).

The Sisters also encouraged the various racial groups to mix socially. The students of the Training College gave a surprise Christmas party for the children of The *Bethlehem Home* (Section 5.4.) in 1953. The report on the party that appears in the *Annual Report*, emphasised the unselfconscious mingling of the students and children, even though by this time Apartheid legislation was well in place:

In these days when there is so much talk of "Apartheid" it was good to see the happy way in which Europeans and non-Europeans met with no colour sense on either side. It is difficult to say to whom the party gave the greatest pleasure - whether to the children to whom it came as a complete surprise, or to the Rangers [the student group] who gave so generously, and planned and carried it out with thought for every detail, or to the onlooker.

In light of the above evidence it is not surprising that the *Community of the Resurrection* joined a wider group of local Grahamstown residents in resisting the implementation of the Group Areas Act in 1950.

8.2. THE COMMUNITY AND THE GROUP AREAS ACT NO 41 OF 1950

The Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950 was passed in parliament making provision for racial zoning of people, and forcing each racial group to develop separately and to have their own amenities. This Act caused anxiety amongst the Community as many of their works for coloured people were situated in what would be declared White areas, and

as such were under threat of closure or forced removal. The 1951 *Annual Report* on the *Bethlehem Home* demonstrated this clearly:

The Group Areas Bill has brought anxiety to us, as to many. It was thought that we would have to leave the present home and go further out of town - which would have created many problems. But we refused to cross our bridge before it was inevitable and the bridge has vanished for the time being. It would have grieved many people if the Bethlehem pews in St. Mary's Chapel had been emptied.

The Sisters who ran the *House of The Good Shepherd*, a school and shelter for the coloured community in East London, expressed the following concerns about the effect that the Group Areas Act and other apartheid legislation would have on the people with whom they were working. It is likely that the Sisters and staff at *The Good Shepherd School* in Grahamstown had similar concerns:

What can we do for our Coloured people? What outlook is there for the lads who have to leave school at fifteen years of age? Welfare maintenance stops, they must work; where? Officially they may not be apprenticed to a trade. If they apply to the Labour Bureau, they have to compete with the African with his possibly greater strength and certainly lower scale of wages. "Yet," they say, "we have learned to live as White people and pay the same prices as they do for food."

The lack of housing is an economic problem which is affecting all grades from the richest downwards. ...

"It is hopeless to try and make useful citizens of lads in such surroundings," says a social worker; that is just where we come in. In the midst of all this sordidness, there do shine out bright lights, members of our Church, witnesses to the Faith. On our knees we must work for them all; will you also pray? (*Annual Report*, March 1951).

Whilst not belittling the role of South African Churches in their fight against Apartheid, one wonders if more active resistance might have been a more effective way to end the injustice. Yet for a religious community, prayer is perceived to be the most powerful weapon and the belief in God's guidance and destiny is very strong. This view that God would supply solutions to the problems is reflected very clearly in the editorial of the *Annual Report*, 1953, probably written by Father Knowles, warden of the Community:

As you read these notes you may be struck by the slight mention of disaster or distress in the face of all that has been happening in Africa this year. There may be various reasons for this reticence: it may be a feeling of history - there are still Sisters who remember how we had children from both sides in our schools during the Anglo-Boer War. It may be that politics are taboo - otherwise it might be hard to keep peace and serenity. It may be a feeling that far too much has been written and spoken already. Maybe - many things! Be assured however that it is not, and never could be, that the troubles are no concern of ours. Many of us are South African by birth; we have Coloured Sisters whom we love and honour; many of us have worked amongst and loved Africans and Asiatics as well as many Europeans in this storm-tossed country; we cannot but feel the guilt and the shame and the sorrow deep in our hearts. But our times are in God's hands and we know that the good things, the mutual love, the friendship, the kindness, the willing service, are still to be found throughout the land.

Development at *The Good Shepherd School* had already been delayed by the Group Areas Act. In 1950 Mrs Clark and Sr Truda, head of the Grahamstown Training College, applied to Lord Elton of the Rhodes Trust for funding for the school as it was overcrowded and lacking facilities. Mrs Clark motivated her request by saying that *The Good Shepherd School* was the only educational facility serving the Indian community (MS 16255). Sr Truda wrote to Lord Elton on 2 May 1950 saying that she had been reassured by the municipal authorities who believed that the school would be unaffected by the rezoning measures because it was situated in an educational, rather than a residential area (MS 16231). A sum of £900 was granted to the school, but because of the uncertainty of the zoning issues, it was not until 1955 that these funds were used. When the funds were eventually utilised, a feeding kitchen, a cloakroom, a small classroom, a staffroom and a staff toilet were added to the school. As the future of the school was by no means secure at this time, it seems certain that these repairs and additions must have been essential, or an act of faith, or both.

8.3. GRAHAMSTOWNIANS UNITE IN PROTEST

The Group Areas Board turned its attention to Grahamstown in 1956 when it invited submissions for proposals regarding rezoning. By May 1957 the draft for racial zoning of the city had been formulated by the National Party, and made available for public inspection. These first plans included a coloured area, a small Indian zone, a Chinese zone and a buffer area, which took away large sections of the traditional "Fingo Village", below the railway line (see Figure 8.1.). Objections to these plans from the public were to be sent to the Group Areas Board in Port Elizabeth by the 31 May 1957 (PR 3604).

The public outcry to the proposed changes was enormous. May of 1957 saw Grahamstown rise into incredible activity. People from all walks of life wrote letters of opposition to the Group Areas Board and there were numerous letters to the press. Most of these emphasised the existing racial harmony in Grahamstown and the undesirability of applying zoning to the city. J.V.L. Rennie, chairman of the Group Areas Action Committee, recalled in his notes for an address given in 1970, that the opposition to the first plan in 1957 was based on broad matters of principle. These included the disruption of existing social patterns and the fact that moves were to be made without adequate compensation. There was also concern about the fate of the Indian and Chinese communities and the freeholder rights of the Blacks who had property in the lower parts of the "Fingo Village" (PR 3604).

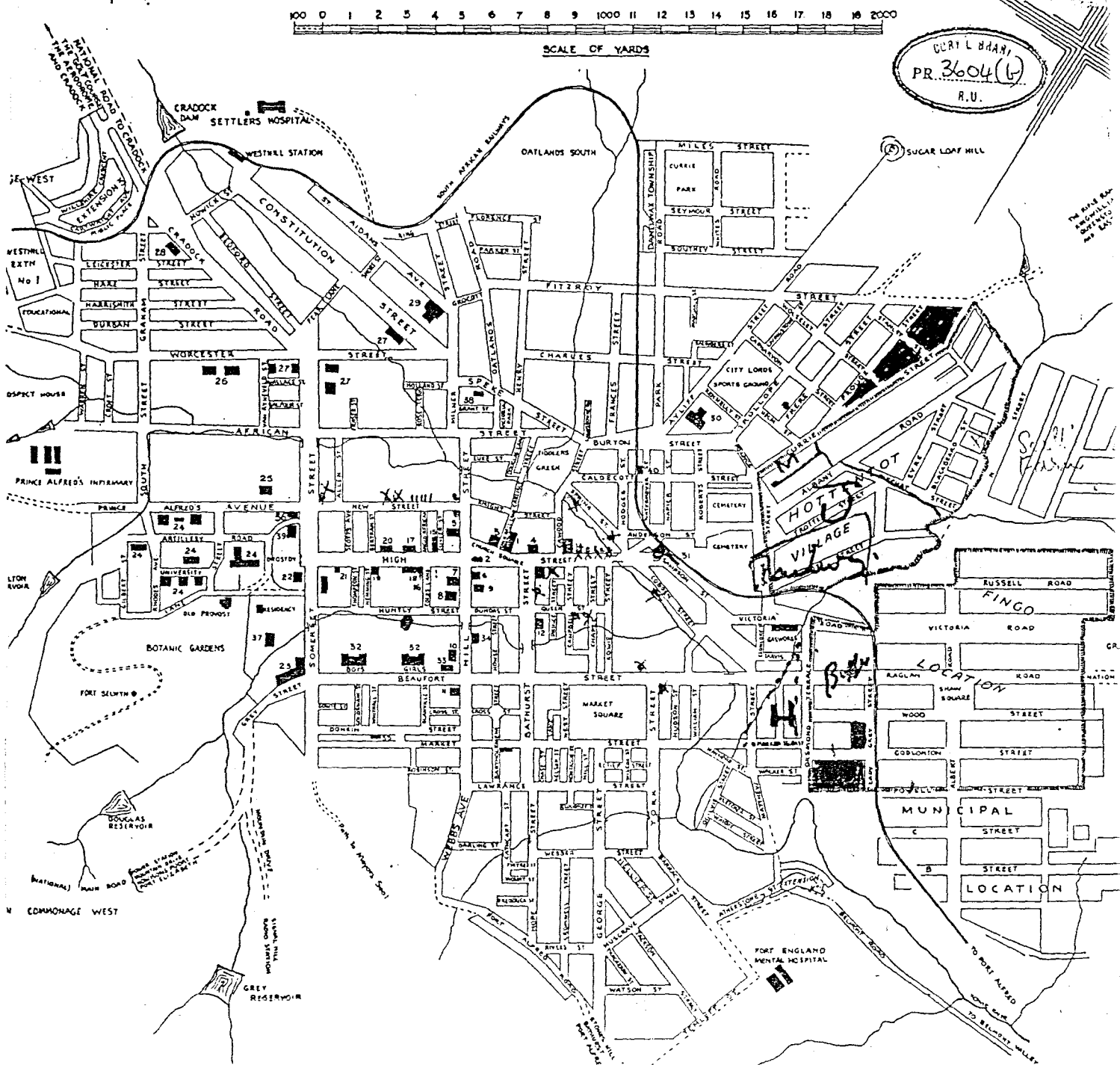
A large public meeting was held in the Minor Hall on the 22 May 1957. The event was described as follows:

More than three hundred and fifty people, Europeans, Indians, Chinese, Coloureds and Africans crowded the Minor Hall in Grahamstown last night while many more thronged the passage ways and some even stood on the stairs leading to the hall where by means of loudspeakers they heard addresses given by three speakers on the Group Areas Act (*Grocott's Mail* 25/5/1957).

FIGURE 8.1

COPY OF THE ORIGINAL MAP ACCOMPANYING RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE MEETING AT THE MINOR HALL 31 MAY 1957.

PLAN OF THE CITY OF GRAHAMSTOWN



CITY HALL
ST GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL
STANDARDS BANK
COMMEMORATION CHURCH, METHODIST
HIS MAJESTY'S THEATRE
1820 SETTLERS CLUB, LADIES
PUBLIC LIBRARY
PRINCE ALFRED'S PRO-CATHEDRAL
CHURCH PRESBYTERIAN

11 DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH
12 BAPTIST CHURCH
13 HOTEL GOODWOOD
14 GRAND HOTEL
15 POST OFFICE
16 BARCLAYS BANK
17 CARLTON HOTEL
18 EASTERN DISTRICTS COURT
19 BRAILLE LIBRARY
20 MAGISTRATES COURT

21 TOC H. HOUSE
22 ALBANY MUSEUM
23 TRAINING COLLEGE
24 RHODES UNIVERSITY
25 GOVERNMENT LABORATORY
26 DIOCESAN SCHOOL FOR GIRLS
27 ST ANDREWS COLLEGE
28 ST ANDREWS PREPARATORY SCHOOL
29 ST ANDREWS COLLEGE
30 KINGSWOOD COLLEGE

31 RAILWAY STATION
32 VICTORIA HIGH SCHOOLS
33 CONVENT SCHOOL
34 DRILL HALL
35 WOODVILLE ORPHANAGE
36 ART GALLERY
37 ST PETERS SCHOOL
38 CHRIST CHURCH
39 SCHOOL OF ARTS
40 TECHNICAL

x Sole Memorial Church.

• Red indicates existing Indian business stands.

1111 Bethlehem Home coloured orphanage.

* Other coloured institutes in European Zones.

NOTE: This is not a publication by the South African Institute of Race Relations or any other group. It is a contribution by one ratepayer towards the understanding of present difficulties.

At this meeting members of the City Council stated that whilst they were forced to adopt the Group Areas Act, as it had been legislated and could only be changed by Parliament, there were certain steps that local action groups could take to make their objections heard and thus hope to change the "conscience of the Europeans" and "the climate of opinion" (PR 3604). They urged that every member of the public keep him or herself informed "... as to how legislation affects the lives of those who are the pawns which it is proposed to move on the checkerboard" (PR 3604). Support for the Municipality was requested, in its attempt "... to avert or to modify zoning plans which have no particular relevance to the practical needs of Grahamstown, and which are unnecessary and repugnant to the interests and sentiments of so many" (PR 3604). They strongly urged for representation to be made to the Group Areas Board that had been set up to report on, in terms of section 27 of the Group Areas Act, whether implementation of the act was 'desirable'. It was stated that the Minister had discretionary power and need not accept the recommendations of the Board, and the appeal was concluded as follows:

"RESPONSIBILITY for PROVIDING EVIDENCE to be considered RESTS with the INDIVIDUAL or the GROUP. YOU must ACT NOW."

The Council then went on to explain how each population group would be affected by the implementation of the legislation. Grahamstown at that stage was, as it is now, a non-industrial city with most of its White population engaged in either professional or distributive trades, and because of the numerous educational institutions, more than forty per cent of the land was non-rateable. Therefore:

It stands to reason that legislation designed primarily for industrial areas which are for the most part wealthier, newer and more highly developed is not applicable here. The future can be provided for. The past ought not to be undone. The tradition is one of social harmony, mutual respect and tolerance. Grahamstown has reason to be proud of institutions such as the Sole Memorial Church (High Street), the Bethlehem Home (New Street), the Good Shepherd School (Huntly Street). These have grown up over the years. Though provided for the service in this instance of the Coloured people, their aim is the service of God, their conduct an example to all. We all want to see the City improve. It cannot do this if we have to destroy what has been painfully built by faith and service through the years. At present there is neither friction with other racial groups nor

between Afrikaans speaking and English speaking Europeans between whom there is a lively and living tradition of friendly co-operation (ibid, emphasis in original).

8.3.1. The Chinese and Indian Communities

The Chinese and Indian communities were in similar predicaments as they were both very small groups that provided services for the other population groups. Both groups had reputations among White groups, for being "hard working" and "honest" (PR 3604). The five Chinese households provided general store facilities and ran the only entertainment hall and bus service for the Black community. The twenty seven Indian families at the time ran twenty five businesses, including five laundry services, all utilised by European families and many retail fruit and vegetable, or general stores.

The zoning that was suggested by the Group Areas Act for these two groups would cut them off from their businesses and segregate them from other groups. The City Council Resolutions of 22 May 1957 surmised what would happen to the Indian community under the proposed zoning:

Like the Chinese, they would be uprooted from home and livelihood, deprived of the dignity of a useful daily life, serviceable to the community. ... What will they do? One can only imagine they are expected to take in one another's laundry, mend one another's shoes, and take it in turn to go to market with non-existent capital. Or should we advise them to conduct a postal business? Like the Chinese, there is for the Indian a prospect of slow and demoralising deterioration.

From the sarcastic tone of the report it is reasonable to note that the City Council viewed these plans as ludicrous. The objections are of both a practical and moral nature.

8.3.2. The coloured community

The coloured community in Grahamstown was a much larger group, mainly in the lower income bracket, most of them employed in the shops, hotels or in trades. Many coloured families had freehold tenures in what was called the "Hottentot Village". This had been granted to them for the role that they had played in both the Sixth and the Seventh Frontier Wars (Sections 2.5. and 2.7.1.). The coloured community had already lost a large section of their land to the developing railway system and the Group Areas Act further threatened the freehold land, as it was zoned for "European and/or Coloured/Indian/Chinese". The main way in which the coloured community would be affected would be in the denial of access to the institutions that had been established for their benefit, which would now fall into European areas. *The Good Shepherd School* was among these institutions. Other buildings threatened by this were the *Sole Memorial Church*, *St. Clement's Church*, the *Union Congregational Church* and the *Bethlehem Home*.

Many people in Grahamstown took up the cause of these institutions and wrote public defences of the good done for the coloured community in many of them. Sr. Truda wrote to the Group Areas Board protesting against the closure of *The Good Shepherd School* as a practising school, as the infant school was particularly well run and the teaching of infants was especially popular amongst the students. She petitioned that *The Good Shepherd School* thus met the needs and interests of many 'European' Training College students. This shows how inter-dependent the races were in Grahamstown. She also pleaded for the plight of the Indian community who did not have another school to attend in Grahamstown (MS 16255).

Grocott's Mail (20/5/1957) printed the resolutions of a Cathedral Vestry meeting in which it was stated that, "The Good Shepherd School in Huntley Street has a very good name, does a most useful service for the Coloured community, and is in first rate condition." Dean Hodgson of the Cathedral also wrote a letter of protest that was published in *Grocott's Mail* (22/5/1957):

The Good Shepherd School, which is situated in Huntley Street, at the bottom of my garden, disturbs no one, least of all myself. The school not only gives a Christian education to a large number of Coloured children, but is of great importance to the Grahamstown Training College for educational purposes.

Rev. Knowles, Priest in charge of St. Clement's Church and Warden of the *Community of the Resurrection*, wrote a long letter of protest that was printed in *Grocott's Mail*(27/5/1957) in which he objected to many of the proposed changes that would affect the Indian and coloured communities in negative ways. The eighth point he makes concerns *The Good Shepherd School*. He wrote:

This is a church school for Coloured and Indian children, and many of the worshippers at St. Clement's Church send their children there in deep appreciation of and gratitude for the spiritual atmosphere and training there given.

Rev. Knowles also wrote a letter to the Regional Under-Secretary in the Department of Planning, referred in Section 5.4. In this he defended the Bethlehem Home stating, "Children are not Europeanised and made to realise their station in life." This suggests that each child was valued for who he/she was.

8.3.3. The Black community

The Black sector of the Grahamstown population was to be most affected by the proposed creation of a 'buffer zone' between European and non-European areas, between Orsmond Terrace and Lady Grey Street (see Figure 8.1.). This would take away land that had been granted as perpetual freehold land to the Mfengu people by the British Government in return for services rendered during the Sixth and Seventh Frontier wars. It would also take away many well kept homes, and mean the closure of the Katherine Webb Tuberculosis Hospital, the only non-European cinema and homes for the Aged.

8.3.4. A call to action

The City Council Resolutions handout (22/5/1957) ended in the following way, summing up the effect of the proposed zoning on Grahamstown:

The whole situation can only be described as tragic and wanton. This is but one small corner of a great country. The happiness, and in time the security of this community, and the smaller communities within it, turn on our power to persuade and convert the group Areas Board that zoning is here impractical and redundant, and that the present policy of the Municipality is to move gradually, as resources allow; to maintain the status quo and develop in planned zones. Financial resources are already strained to the utmost by housing schemes and a realistic approach to local needs. The present crisis does more. Fear and uncertainty haunt us. We must face our responsibilities. ... If Grahamstown adopts zoning now on present plans, the past will be undone. The present will be wrought with misery and any future development, would be jeopardised. To do this is not only wrong, it is foolish (PR 3406).

Prof. Irving of Rhodes University echoed these sentiments in a letter published in *Grocott's Mail* (23/5/1957), "There is nothing in this scheme but raw pain, suffering and the loss of an integrated community."

It was resolved unanimously by the City Council to ask that no rezoning measures be introduced. The Group Areas Action Committee was formed by leading residents of Grahamstown, including ministers, doctors and academics. Its first task was to issue invitations to all racial groups and all significant organisations, such as churches and welfare groups to submit letters to the Group Areas Board, as there were still nine days before the deadline. As a result more than one hundred letters were sent to the Board in Port Elizabeth by 31 May 1957. In the face of such united opposition the Group Areas Board did nothing in Grahamstown for almost two years (PR 3604).

Early in 1959 the Group Areas Board gave two weeks notification of a meeting to be held in the City Hall. This was after two years of silence. The Group Areas Action Committee had to act quickly, holding many meetings in order to raise funds and to provide top representation for all racial groups and involved organisations. The meeting

was held, but, once again, in the face of united opposition, the Board decided to leave Grahamstown alone. Another four years lapsed before they interfered again.

8.4. THE GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOL GROWS IN DIFFICULT TIMES

Despite all the turmoil and uncertainty, *The Good Shepherd School* continued with its task of educating the Indian and coloured children of Grahamstown. The service to the Indian community was extended in that the school premises were used for Gujarati classes in the afternoons. In 1959 it was decided to design a school uniform for pupils at the school. It was felt that this would enhance the status of the school and afford the pupils the same prestige as the European schools. Because of the nature of the pupils at *The Good Shepherd School*, many could not afford the uniform, so a trust was set up in order to assist parents in buying the uniforms (MS 16255). These actions are indicative of the will of the school to stay open and functioning, despite continued threat of closure.

There were however members of the Grahamstown population that objected to the presence of coloured children in the 'European' city centre. This is reflected in a letter from one Dr Kritzing, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church and the Afrikaans Skakel Committee, published in *Grocott's Mail* (17/2/1959). In this letter he objected to coloured children walking through town to get to school or church. A woman named May Bell responded to this letter strongly criticising "church people" for objecting to coloured children walking in the street. She stated in her letter (*Grocott's Mail* 23/2/1959): "The Bible says, more plainly, that children - presumably all children - are about the streets of Heaven. What is good enough for Heaven should be good enough for Grahamstown!"

Ms Bell's letter in turn was responded to by the Rev. C. Moore (*Grocott's Mail* 24/2/1959) who said that not all church going people objected to having coloured children in the street. May Bell then had a letter of apology printed (26/2/1959) in which she retracted her generalised definition of "church people" saying:

...only one church was anxious to enforce the rigour of the Group Areas Act. ... If it was only in order that Coloured children should not have so far to walk to school that they wished to uproot their parents, and not because they disliked seeing the children about the streets and were introducing a colour-neurosis not indigenous to the city, and which makes nonsense of the teaching of Christ, then I must have received a false impression and will be glad to find myself wrong.

8.5. INCREASED GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOL

Just prior to the passing of the Coloured Persons Education Act No 47 of 1963, whereby the state took control of mission schools for coloured people (Section 6.4.), the Nationalist government clamped down on *The Good Shepherd School*. This increased involvement with the school could clearly be seen in letters of appointment during this period. There were constant references to the need to staff the school with coloured teachers, and to the inappropriateness of having European teachers in a coloured school (MS 16228). This did not in any way deter staff members who remained as determined and as dedicated as before. A clear example of this is Mrs Evelyn Clark, a White teacher, who spent many years at the school, always employed in a temporary capacity and under the provision that if a suitable coloured candidate was found, she would be replaced. Yet, when she found a position at a European school in Port Alfred that offered more security and probably more money, she wrote longingly of how she missed "her children" at *The Good Shepherd School* and how she longed to return (MS 16228). She did return to the school, and often acted as principal during times when Mrs Ivy Clark was on leave or seconded elsewhere. In fact in 1962, she and other members of staff took a salary decrease of £20 a month because, "Any European teacher, including the principal ... can only be paid at Coloured rates" (letter from the Department of Coloured Affairs to Mrs E. Clark 1/1/1962, MS 16288).

The school's practising status was also under threat at this time. As already seen, the fact that *The Good Shepherd School* served as a practising school for European students was a strong motivating reason as to why it should stay in existence. It was

also a motivating factor for keeping White members of staff at the school. Mrs Clark wrote in support of keeping White members of staff as follows:

We have consulted our local inspector, Mr L.P. Dreary, upon this matter and he strongly supports us on the point that it is not at all desirable that such students should have to accept criticism from Coloured teachers who have a lower standard of training than themselves (MS 16288).

Several coloured members of staff were appointed to the school by the Department of Coloured Affairs. Miss J.M. van Niekerk was appointed in a permanent capacity in 1961. She had served as an assistant under the guidance of Sr Hester Michael, another coloured teacher at the school. She was to board at the *Bethlehem Home* and was reminded of her responsibility in a letter from Sr Truda:

The Bethlehem Home children attend the Good Shepherd School so some of them would be your pupils, you will have to remember that you are Miss van Niekerk, a member of staff, both at school and at home (30/12/59 MS 16288).

Miss van Niekerk did not do very well on her first inspection. Dr Bobbins, the Inspector, felt it necessary to send her on observation as she, did "not know how to teach" (MS 16288). It was also after this inspection that he expressed concern over the changing tone of the school, with the replacing of European teachers with coloured teachers. One supposes that this expressed concern was with the dropping of standards of teaching at the school, with coloured teachers having received inferior training to white teachers.

In 1961 *St. Peter's* practising school closed down, and so *The Good Shepherd School* became the only remaining practising school under the *Community of the Resurrection*. Student teachers did use other schools in Grahamstown to gain practical school experience, but *The Good Shepherd School* was used throughout the year for

demonstration and criticism work for first year and second year student teachers. Sr Truda explained this pragmatic reason in a letter to the Superintendent-General of education, dated 17/7/1961:

It would be almost impossible for us to dispense with this particular school as most schools in Grahamstown are not very willing to have their classes used for this weekly demonstration and criticism work, which is so essential for thorough training and preparation of the students.

She also stated that *The Good Shepherd School* was the only school at which students could receive mixed standard experience (MS 16231, Section 5.3.1.). It appeared at this stage that the school had an enrolment of 68 pupils. These were grouped into three classes with 29 sub A's and B's combined, 25 Std one's and two's, and a class of 14 Std three's, four's and five's together.

Despite Sr Truda's plea for maintaining the practising status of the school, authorities made it increasingly difficult for this to occur. By 1961 the Sisters had to ask the White students if they had any objections to working with coloureds and Indians, and could not insist that a student gain teaching experience at *The Good Shepherd School*. In 1962 the status of practising school was finally taken away from the school and it was placed under the authority of the Coloured Affairs Department. White students no longer practised there, and had to obtain their teaching experience in European schools. The government even went so far as to reimburse students' travelling expenses to schools in Bathurst and Port Alfred, towns approximately 50 and 60 kilometres away, respectively. The staff at *The Good Shepherd School* was now entirely coloured, except for Mrs Clark. By 1964 it was even necessary for Indian pupils to apply

for special permission to attend *The Good Shepherd School*, even though there was no other school for them, as it was now classified as a 'Coloured school'.

These difficulties are clearly evident and documented, yet when asked about these problems, an ageing Mrs Clark, 94 at the time of interview, appeared to have very little recollection of these events. The interview transcription is as follows:

Interviewer: Do you remember the Good Shepherd school under the Apartheid regime and the Group Areas act? Was there a problem at all?

Mrs Clark: No, we were always just a happy school. We were under the Coloured Affairs Department in Port Elizabeth and the inspectors used to come up regularly. One of my favourite inspectors was Dr Schnell, and he lived in East London, of German origin ... and the inspectors were always very nice. There was no unkindness or superciliousness or anything like that.

Interviewer: There was no threatening of closure, because you were in a White area or anything like that?

Mrs Clark: No, or that I was a White Principal, no never (interviewed on 26/6/1997).

Sr Truda, 96 at the time of interview, also almost brushes off these difficulties experienced by simply stating of the relationship between the authorities and the school, "We ignored them and they ignored us" (pers. comm.). One can only assume that details and unpleasantness are forgotten, while pleasant details are remembered.

8.6. THE SITUATION WORSENS

The political situation in Grahamstown was aggravated by the poor social conditions of much of the coloured community (Section 5.1). The *Annual Reports* written about St.

Clement's Church reflected this. The 1959 *Annual Report* stated that St Clement's, which was attended by the children of the *Bethlehem Home*, was endangered by the Group Areas Act, and talks of the great poverty and the real shortages of food and clothing experienced by many of their congregation. The Mayor's Emergency Fund was used to alleviate this problem and the Grahamstown Areas Distressed Relief Association (GADRA) became actively involved in the problems of the coloured community.

The 1962 *Annual Report* shows that the situation had not improved much:

The lot of the Coloured people in Grahamstown is not an enviable one. They are a small community, work is scarce and there is little choice of employment. Many of the houses are badly in need of repair; the roads in the new township are badly drained and a number of houses there are not rainproofed. A good many families live below the breadline and there is a constant anxiety as to what will happen to them when the Group Areas act is implemented.

The report also commended GADRA for continuing to supply soup to many hungry people daily and for providing blankets in the cold weather.

In 1963 the Group Areas Board again turned its attention to Grahamstown, and the Grahamstown City Council was told that it was time for Group Areas planning to get started. A meeting of the City Council again resolved that the status quo be maintained. However this motion was no longer unanimous. City Councillor, Mr C.J. Oosthuysen came out in favour of the Group Areas Act saying:

We are not going to discuss the pro's and cons of Group Areas. We must leave that to the politicians. Group Areas is there whether we like it or not.

It is part of the law of the country. We have no option but to abide by the law (*Grocott's Mail* 25/7/1963).

He went on to mention that he had spoken to "several leading Coloureds" who told him that they would welcome the rezoning of the city. He did not name these people. Councillor A.K. Rautenbach opposed Mr Oosthuysen's motion and the Council voted in favour of Mr Rautenbach by ten votes to three. This caused another year's delay to the implementation of the Act (PR 3604).

There were public hearings in 1964 and 1965. At both the Group Area Action Committee organised objections, but the united front was deteriorating. As in 1965 the coloured representatives refused all invitations to attend. In 1970 the Group Areas Board issued a proclamation whereby the "Fingo Village" was declared a coloured area. It was at this time that the Group Areas Action Committee dissolved and was incorporated into the "Fingo Village Action Committee". This was in order to strengthen the protests against the loss of this land, a battle that continued for some time, but that is beyond the scope of this thesis.

8.7. THE GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOL STAYS IN HUNTLY STREET

This pattern of the Group Areas Board threatening closure and removal and then nothing happening is the reason for *The Good Shepherd School* having survived the Apartheid era. The *Annual Report* of 1965 has this to say about *The Good Shepherd School* "The Group Areas Act has not yet affected the school. We think that this is because the removal has been postponed until other schools are built to accommodate

the children. Activities continue as normal." Perhaps this is where Sr Truda's words, "We ignored them and they ignored us," (Section 8.5.) are true.

In 1978 there was an article published in the *Eastern Province Herald* which stated that *The Good Shepherd School* was to close and that the pupils were to be incorporated into the George Dickerson School (another coloured primary school in Grahamstown).

Ms Appolis, a member of staff, remembered what appears to be this incident:

In fact I was one of the staff members at the time when we were told that by the end of this year we'll have to move. I can't really remember the year, and I remember how we sorted out things, and we were just preparing to move. But after that each year we just expanded and expanded, and another class came and another class came, and it was just an answer to prayer. ... It was just so unnecessary getting us all alarmed (pers. comm.).

So it appears that once again nothing came of this threat. Mrs Rose Daniels was appointed the first coloured principal of the school in 1978, remaining there until 1992, when Mrs Prudence van der Linde took over the reins.

CHAPTER NINE

THE GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOL 1999

The Good Shepherd School today is under the leadership of Mrs Prudence van der Linde. In keeping with the long musical tradition of the school, she is a trained music teacher and worked as music subject supervisor, before becoming principal of the school. She has been head of the school since 1992, and has watched it change considerably over the last seven years, as South Africa has undergone its transformation to a democratic country.

Mrs van der Linde, in keeping with another strong trend of the school's history, is a religious person. Her husband is a minister, and she expressed a strong sense of being called by God to her work. She explained this in the following manner:

Look I never dreamt, as I told you earlier, that I would first of all come to Grahamstown. Once when passing through Grahamstown with my husband en route to Pietermaritzburg, we stopped at a garage and I looked at this place with rain and I thought I never want to live here.... The strange thing was that my husband was transferred to Grahamstown. I feel that God's hand is in all of this. And for the instance when I visited the school in the subject advisory service, I never dreamed I would come here. And after I became the principal of the school I felt that God was trying to say something to me. He sent me here for a purpose so I have to live up to that calling. That to me is important (pers. comm.).

9.1. RESTORATION OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOL

Mrs van der Linde's first visit to the school in her subject advisory capacity was not very positive. She remembered that she was appalled by the condition of the school, and found it unfit for teaching, as the floors had holes in them and the toilets were in a terrible state (pers. comm.). This is the first mention made in the evidence that conditions were not always perfect at the school. No *Annual Reports* or *Occasional Letters* were found from 1978 onward, and thus the reasons for this deterioration in the building are uncertain.

Mrs van der Linde said that the buildings were badly dilapidated when she became principal. One of the first things she did was ask Mother Nonne, current Mother Superior of the *Community of the Resurrection*, if the buildings could be restored:

...within the first year I went to Mother Nonne and I said, "Look these children come from very poor and abject conditions. I don't think it is quite fair that their environment in which they receive their education should be like that as well. Isn't there a possibility that we could do something about the place?" (pers. comm.).

Mother Nonne agreed and the *Community of the Resurrection* advanced the money to the school, so that restoration could begin. It is not clear why nothing was done prior to this. Fund raising was done on behalf of the school by Prof Walters of Rhodes University. The entire building was restored at the end of 1993 and during the first half of 1994. Today the school buildings are in excellent condition and a deceptively small exterior hides a large, well maintained school.

9.2. CHANGES AT THE GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOL

The changes that Mrs van der Linde has experienced are not only structural, but in the size and nature of the school as well. When she started at the school there were six teachers and 124 pupils. The current enrolment is 248, exactly double. Mrs van der Linde explained the change in the nature of the school in the following way:

When I got here in 1992 it was just at the stage when the department was contemplating closing the school, and having us merge with one of the other schools. But, then, of course, that was also before the [1994] change. They [The Department of Education] left the school and they didn't bother about us. They just left us here and whereas the school initially was under the previous departments, under the House of Representatives, which meant it was a coloured school and it was mainly Afrikaans speaking children, and Indian children. Many of the business people, the Indian business people here, attended the school. And, but somehow it happened just automatically that just more and more of the children were Xhosa speaking children that came to the Good Shepherd School. We didn't turn them away, even though at that point there was no definite policy as regards to whether or not we could allow Black children into the school. We just opened the doors and let them in. So it has been a natural process so that now, at the present moment, we are about 96%

FIGURE 9.1.

PHOTOGRAPH OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOL PRINTED IN GROCOTT'S
MAIL OCTOBER 9 1986



Photograph by Philip Mostert.

Xhosa speaking. There are very few coloured children in the school, not that it matters (pers. comm.).

These changes need to be seen in the context of the educational changes occurring in South Africa as a whole. In the interim process of dismantling Apartheid, parents and governing bodies of schools were given more say in the running of government schools, called Model C schools. Governing bodies took increased responsibility for the finances and upkeep of the school, and could determine who was admitted to the school and what the medium of instruction would be.

In this capacity, as discussed in Section 7.8., the Governing body decided to change the medium of instruction from Afrikaans to English, as they feel that it is easier for the children to learn in English than Afrikaans. English is also an international language and does not have the same political baggage attached to it as Afrikaans. Afrikaans is taught as a second language up to Standard Five, where Xhosa becomes the second language and Afrikaans the third. Two of the teachers can speak Xhosa and help in the teaching of the language as a subject. Thus whilst learning is done in a second language for most learners, provision is made for mother-tongue tuition.

9.3. DEDICATION OF THE STAFF

The Good Shepherd School currently has eight members of staff, three of whom have been on the staff for long periods of time. Ms Katie Appolis has been at the school for twenty three years. The fact that the staff stay at the school for long periods of time is indicative of the sense of commitment and dedication that seems to characterise the teachers. As with any school, teaching at *The Good Shepherd School* is not always an easy task. The classes are large. For example, Ms. Appolis has 38 Sub. B's in her class. She said it was difficult to do all the very necessary things like hearing each of them read everyday, yet, "... I suppose with my experience and having had a lot of dealings with young children, I cope easily. I enjoy it" (pers. comm.). Ms Appolis has had to cope with large classes before, she recalled her first year of teaching:

... I remember starting with fifty three Std. 1's and I nearly died. It was tough and it was all new to me. Training is one thing, but with the actual thing you sort of learn more. You come to grips with reality when you're in a classroom situation.

Another problem that still exists at the school is that of age distribution of the pupils. Ms. Appolis has a wide range of children of differing ages in her Sub. B class, from eight years old to twelve years of age. Thus whilst all the children in the classroom may be at the same intellectual stage, they are at very different social and physical stages. Ms. Appolis stated that meeting this diverse range of needs, "... demands a lot from a person."

Each teacher is required to give a lot to the school. Mrs van der Linde, as principal, also has to teach, and thus has to cope with both a teaching load and an administrative load. She said:

I teach. I teach for more than half of the week. In the old days under the department this school did not qualify to have an administrative person because of the size of the school, so I am having to teach and to mark and to prepare lessons and go for in-service training like everyone else. So, from that point of view the job is tough, but there is not a moment that I regret.

On the day that Mrs. van der Linde was interviewed, she had two members of staff that were absent from school. One was ill and the other was on a course. This meant that there were two classes without teachers and the classes had to thus be doubled up, making for very large classes. Mrs van der Linde was also called on to fill in and so her day, which should have been an administrative day, was disrupted. She said, "That is one of my biggest frustrations, that we don't have way of dealing with this problem."

Despite this Mrs. van der Linde receives a great deal of satisfaction from her work:

I am a born teacher and there is nothing that gives me more joy than to be in a school, than to teach. When I teach and experience that my teaching has borne fruit, I can see the results. I can see the growth. That is the greatest thing. I don't think that money can buy that. When there are problems you find ways to solve them. When there are disabilities, we

now have access to the services, the support services... and we do a lot of remedial work and that is very very important.

Such dedication is invaluable in a rapidly changing education system.

9.4. CURRICULUM 2005

Currently the school is trying to adapt to the changes being made throughout South Africa, with the implementation of Curriculum 2005. This involves a complete change in educational philosophy and involves new methods of teaching and of assessment, and requires teachers to change practices that they have perhaps had for many years. The staff at *The Good Shepherd School* have chosen to see this change as an exciting challenge. Mrs van der Linde described this as follows:

... and of course we are right in the middle of the transition stage... you know the whole transition of education. But a very exciting one. We have just undergone in-service training with regard to Curriculum 2005, and without the teachers being told that they need to make certain changes, they have already on their own started bringing about the transformation programme. So we go at it slowly, one step at a time, but we see it as a challenge and very exciting... We think it has tremendous possibilities for the pupils and for the teachers. ... There are the odd people who are finding it difficult to adapt, and who are speaking of opting out. But I don't suppose that there is much we can do. We can encourage them as much as possible, but it is their decision whether they come or go.

Ms. Appolis concurred with this description when she described teaching at *The Good Shepherd School* as being, "... very challenging, especially with the new Outcomes Based Education that is coming up, and with this Curriculum 2005, very challenging."

9.5. THE COMMUNITY OF THE RESURRECTION'S ROLE

The *Community of the Resurrection* still owns the buildings and are responsible for the maintenance and the upkeep of the school. However, with the Sisters ageing, they tend to play a less active role in the day to day functioning of the school. The government has taken over the feeding scheme, and so the Sisters are no longer responsible for

this. They are still represented on the governing body by Father Doyle and so they are informed about the happenings at the school. Mrs van der Linde works with Mother Nonne quite closely and makes sure that she is aware of major developments at the school, and Sisters always try to attend the end of year prize giving. The main support that the ageing Community can now give the school is spiritual as the Sisters pray for *The Good Shepherd School* regularly (Van der Linde, per. comm.).

9.6. SERVING THE COMMUNITY

There is still a strong sense that the school is serving the Community of Grahamstown in catering for the educational needs of many underprivileged children from the township. Mrs van der Linde felt that the school has an important part to play in redressing the imbalances of the past, in that it gives pupils opportunities that their parents never had. She said that the school aims to empower the pupils to go out and live enriched, useful lives, and to equip them with the tools necessary to break out of the cycle of poverty (pers. comm.).

The staff still do not only concentrate on the academic side of the children's development, but on their physical, emotional and moral development as well. Mrs van der Linde described a typical day at *The Good Shepherd School* as follows:

A typical day at the Good Shepherd School is um, well generally it is a happy school. A typical day would be working very hard during the teaching times, then during break times there is a lot of fun. There is a lot of joy and of course the occasional little complaint or argument, those come in between and because our children have been through that very violent period that we have gone through. Violence was something that was very problematic, but we've applied a few methods to try and reduce that, so there are indications that we have been successful. We have been trying to get children to understand each other and to respect each other. So we've been working very hard at attitude as well (pers. comm.).

Extra mural activities continue to be a little problematic to facilitate at *The Good Shepherd School*, due to the lack of physical space and equipment. In summer there is athletics, and in winter netball, both enabled by being allowed to practise on the

playing fields of *Victoria Girls High School*, situated directly behind *The Good Shepherd School*.

The staff at the school are also aware of the financial difficulties experienced by the parents of many of the pupils. The school does have a uniform, but the wearing of it cannot be strictly enforced, because of the fact that many of the pupils are underprivileged. Ms Appolis stated that this is the main way that she differentiates between the wealthy and the underprivileged, "... by the way they are dressed." Mrs. van der Linde is aware of this problem and so are the parents. She said:

"But now we have governing bodies, the parents are directly involved. I am sure parents will address the issue. I foresee that we will have our own uniform because the parents will own the decision" (pers. comm.).

This increased parental involvement through governing bodies, reflects a move toward more democratic governance of schools in South Africa, discussed in Section 9.2. This recent decentralisation of power, allowing parents ownership over the decision making process should allow the culture of learning to thrive.

Perhaps the ethos of *The Good Shepherd School* can be summed up in the words of Ms Appolis as she reflected on her years as a teacher:

I've taught so many children, a lot of them. There is one girl, she's married now. I think she's manageress at Foschini, I taught her. So I see these young people, these married youngsters, and I look back and say, but I taught you. Hundreds of children ... and the remarkable thing is the respect that they still have, you know that is fantastic.

Interviewer: The school has obviously made a difference in their lives.

Ms Appolis: Yes, I am sure it has. Some have really gone quite far and that's super. One feels that even if one starts at grassroots, something has happened.

9.7. CONCLUSION

Thus it is evident that the educational facility at Huntly Street has always had strong ties with the Anglican Church, first being the *Cathedral Grammar School* and later belonging to the *Community of the Resurrection*. It also has a history of strong colonial ties with England. As such, English educational practices, liberal philosophies and Victorian Christian morality have featured heavily in the history of the school. The *Cathedral Grammar School*, in particular, was a direct import of British education to the Cape Colony, being a traditional Grammar School for young gentlemen, and only later emphasising vocational training.

The Good Shepherd School, the major focus of this thesis, was founded in the tradition of meeting the educational, social, emotional, physical and religious needs of the underprivileged in Grahamstown. In following this aim, the people involved with the school, particularly the Sisters of the *Community of the Resurrection*, demonstrated enlightened ideas and educational philosophies. Courage in the face of harsh racial discrimination, often so blatant in South Africa, was also often evident. In pursuing these ideals the Sisters and staff members, such as Mrs Ivy Clark, gave many coloured and Indian children in Grahamstown a well rounded, solid education that laid the basis for their future development.

This is exceptional, and was certainly not the case for most coloured children in other parts of South Africa. Du Pre (1994:111) described the general situation in the following way:

Education was not always available to coloured people and when it was, they had to endure wicked discrimination and low quality. Inadequate facilities were the norm and not the exception. Classrooms were invariably overcrowded, with 50 pupils in the classroom not unusual. Pupils had to endure poorly qualified and low-paid teachers.

Whilst the problems of inadequate facilities and low salary scales for teachers were part of *The Good Shepherd School*, it is hopefully evident from the preceding evidence and discussion that the quality of education received was of a comparatively high standard.

The high level of staff commitment and interest in the pupils at *The Good Shepherd School*, has also been shown in the preceding discussion. Up until 1978 there was a white principal at the school, and before 1964 many white staff members. Du Pre (1994:113) stated that the presence of white teachers in coloured schools during the Apartheid era often had a detrimental effect on the schooling:

The debilitating effect of the white presence arose from the unfortunate fact that many of these whites had no loyalty to the school, no interest in the community and no dedication to their work. It was just a job, in a place they did not want to be in the first place. Many white teachers received an additional allowance, 'danger pay', which made teaching at a coloured school financially worthwhile. In fact, it was the pupils who should have received danger pay because it was these racist, indifferent whites who contributed to the gutter education which non-whites received.

Nothing could have been further from the truth concerning *The Good Shepherd School*. If what Du Pre described was the norm then one can indeed see how exceptional *The Good Shepherd School* was. It is clear that the staff and others involved in *The Good Shepherd School* were far from indifferent, disinterested or racist, and I am sure that none of the past pupils with whom I spoke, would agree with Du Pre statement about 'danger pay'.

The Good Shepherd School does, thus, seem to be an outstanding school, caring for and educating the whole child and taking an active role in the community. This seems to continue today. The religious influences in school administration are no longer as strong as they used to be, as the school is now fully under state control. This, however, has not lessened the concern for the whole child and the sense of needing to serve the community, amongst those involved in the school.

The sense of dedication amongst staff that has characterised the school for so long still exists. The staff are eager to meet the current challenges of new curriculum and

methods creatively and enthusiastically. This appears to still be appreciated by the parents and the community, as applications to the school are numerous and the school is growing rapidly. The school in Huntly Street seems set to carry on in an educational capacity for many years to come.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF PRINCIPALS:

ST. GEORGE'S/ CATHEDRAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL 1851-1902

THE GOOD SHEPHERD SCHOOL 1916-1999

1851-1854 Mr. Charles Bendelack

1854-1857 Rev. Frederick Bankes

1857-1859 Mr. Samuel Brook

1859-1881 Mr J. Evens

1881-1883 Rev. Dr. Maurice Davies

1884-1885 Mr. le Cornu

1885-1887 Mr. L. Eaton

1887-1889 Mr. Frank Hawkins Fisher

1888-1889 Mr. Spry

1889-1890 Mr. William Henry Ramsbottom

1890-1891 Rev. Hubert Gustavus Mosel

1891-1892 Rev. William Horatio Parkhurst

1893-1897 Rev. Joseph Lowther Hodgson

1897-1899 Rev. Charles Herbert Hutt

1899-1900 Rev. Henry Clifton Gladstone Hawke

1900-1902 Rev. Alfred Williams Brereton

(Matthews: Vol 2)

1916-? Sr. Ursula

1923-1926 Sr. Millicent

1926-1933 Sr. Ida

1934-? Ms. Norah Band

1936-1939 Mrs Johanna Zylstra

1940-1942 Unknown

1942-1947 Sr. Heloise

1948-1978 Mrs Ivy Clark

1978-1991 Mrs Rose Daniels

1991- Mrs Prudence van der Linde

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