THE HISTORY OF TUMELONG MISSION IN THE DIOCESE OF PRETORIA WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE PERIOD 1939-1996

by

DANIEL KGOMOSOTHO

submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF THEOLOGY IN CHURCH HISTORY

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: DR J A MILLARD

NOVEMBER 1997

I declare that the *History of Tumelong Mission in the Diocese of Pretoria with specific*reference to the period 1939 - 1996 is my own work and that all the Sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Olikepnicseth

DANIEL KGOMOSOTHO

UNISA DISCIOTERK (1995ARY

Class 1998 -09- ()

283.68235 KGOM

0001708290

SUMMARY

During the period 1939 - 1996 the Anglican Diocese of Pretoria sponsored Missions in disadvantaged communities served by the Church. Socio-economic factors were largely responsible for the situation of disempowered communities which lacked adequate resources in the spheres of education, healing and community development. This dissertation deals with Ekutuleni as a first model for later Missions in the Diocese. The Mission at Sophiatown was established in 1927 and has ever since provided a paradigm for the Anglican Church's involvement with disadvantaged communities of the Transvaal. The Church was able through the Work of Ekutuleni to meet the needs of the people of Sophiatown.

In 1939 Tumelong Mission was established by the Anglican Church at Lady Selborne, Pretoria. The work of the Mission is evaluated against the background of the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Pretoria. The dissertation puts Tumelong in the context of the communities of Mabopane, Temba and Ga-Rankuwa. Finally it puts Tumelong in the wider context of missions in the Transvaal.

KEY WORDS

Ekutuleni, Tumelong, education, mission, Pretoria, Sophiatown, Lady Selborne, Diocese, Bishop, self help.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Over the years I have spent researching this dissertation a number of people have expressed interest in what I was doing. I would like to acknowledge their contribution and thank them for their encouragement.

I am grateful to the Department of Training for Ministries at the Diocese of Pretoria for the bursary they awarded me to help conduct the research needed for the dissertation.

My promoters Professor Gerald Pillay and Dr Joan Millard questioned and helped me formulate the ideas that I wanted to present. I thank them for the incisive guidance that they gave one.

A number of other people have shared in the dissertation. I want to thank the following:

Mr Hansen Mathobela, Mrs Sophie Lebogo, Mr Amos and Mrs Monica Namise, the Revd Moses Chirwa and Mrs L S Motloi who provided me with their oral history of Tumelong Mission.

Daisy Selematsela for showing personal interest in the work. Susan Eicker for typing and editing.

Various archives gave me access to documents in their possession.

I would like to thank the following institutions for their help:

Church of the Province Archives -, University of the Witwatersrand,

University of South Africa -, Archives and Library,

State Archives - Pretoria

Finally, I would like to thank my family Nokuboriga, Linda, Ayanda, Muzi and Gogo for their encouragment.

CON	CONTENTS			
СНА	PTEF	₹1		
Introduction				
1.	The field of study on Turnelong Mission			
	1,1	Oral Interviews	2 3	
	1.1	Published source material - Archival material		
			4	
	1.3	Unpublished source material	5	
	1.4	Correspondence, minutes and constitutions	5	
	1,5,	Citations in respect of the Order of St Alban the martyr	6	
	1.6	Ecclesiastical publications and correspondences	6	
	1.7	Newspaper articles	7	
	1,8	Ekutuleni Mission, Sophiatown	7	
	1.9	Biographies	7	
CHA	PTEF	R 2		
2.	Background history of the Anglican Church in the Diocese of			
	Pretoria during the period 1864-1879		8	
	2.1	The period 1878-1902	10	
	2.2	The period 1902-1909	11	
	•			
CHA	PTEF	R 3		
3.	The history of Ekutuleni Mission, Sophiatown, Johannesburg			
	3.1	The history of Ekutuleni Mission with specific reference		
		to the period 1927	15	
	3.2	A description of social conditions in Sophiatown in the 1920's	17	
	3.3	A description of the state of African education in Johannesburg		
		in the 1930's	20	
	3.4	Evaluation and conclusion	21	

-

4.	An analysis of the social and political conditions at Lady Selborne				
	township in the period 1905-1959				
	4.1	The historical background to the origins of Lady Selborne township	23		
	4.2	An analysis of the social and economic conditions at Lady Selborne			
		during the period 1939-1946	26		
	4.3	An analysis of political campaigns in Lady Selborne during the			
		period 1940-1950	30		
	4.4	An examination of factors which led to the political campaigns			
		of the 1950's at Lady Selborne	31		
	4.5	The bus campaign of 1957	32		
	4.6	The anti-pass campaign of 1959	34		
		•			
CHA	PTEF	₹5			
5.	The history of Turnelong Mission with specific reference to the period				
	1939-1996		36		
	5.1	An evaluation of developments in the era 1938-1960	37		
	5.2	The history of St Peter's Church, Lady Selbome	37		
	5.3	The history of Cholofelong Training Centre, Lady Selborne	41		
CHA	PTEF	R 6			
6.	The history of Tumelong with specific reference to the period 1960-1980				
	6.1	An evaluation of developments at Tumelong Mission during the			
		period 1960-1964	46		
	6.2	An evaluation of developments at Tumelong Mission during the			
		period 1964-1969	46		
	6.3	An evaluation of developments at Turnelong during the period			
		1969-1977	55		
	6.4	Details of an interview conducted with Lilias Graham on			
		26 March 1996	56		

BIBLIOGRAPHY

7.	The history of Turnelong Mission in the period post 1980		
	7.1	A discussion of an article on Tumelong Mission by Lannie Motale	
		in the Pretoria News of 5 April 1995	62
	7.2	Conclusion	67
CHA	PTER	8	
8.	Other Mission organisations in the Diocese of Pretoria		68
	8.1	The role of the Anglican Church in the sphere of mission	
		education in the period 1825-1953	68
	8.2	The contribution of Grace Dieu to the training of student	
		teachers in the Transvaal	72
	8.3	The role of Khaiso Mission in the missionary outreach of	
		the Diocese of Pretoria	75
	8.4	The history of the Good Shepherd Mission in the period 1905-1978	75
	8.5	The history of the Pretoria Native Mission	76
	8.6	The role of the Sekhukhuniland Mission in the history of the	
		Diocese of Pretoria during the period 1921-1976	78
	8.7	Conclusion	80
	8,8	Assessment	80

84

INTRODUCTION

This study demonstrates that the Anglican Church in Pretona addressed the needs of marginalised communities in the period when most Africans in urban areas of South Africa led a life of social and economic deprivation. The period 1927-1996 in the history of the Anglican Church in Pretoria is characterised by the church's outreach to the disempowered communities of Ga-Rankuwa, Mabopane, Hammanskraal and the Winterveld through the activities of Tumelong Mission. However, in contrast to the wealth of information which exists on the general history of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa, there is hardly any research material about Tumelong Mission. Church historiographers neglected to document the contribution made by the Mission in the field of education and social work. Nothing exists either on the history of Ekutuleni Mission, Sophiatown, Johannesburg, from which Tumelong grew.

One of the few primary sources which exist on Tumelong, is a book written by Hannah Stanton, *Go Well. Stay Well* (1961). However, Stanton's material, though well documented, is written from a missionary point of view. The book deals mainly with the author's experiences of life on the mission. Although Stanton refers briefly in her book to the history of Lady Selborne since 1905 when the township was established, she nevertheless fails to make a critical study of the social and economic factors at play in the life of the community. In an unpublished honours paper submitted to the History Department of the University of the Witwatersrand, *Urban Control, Popular Struggles and the Destruction of Lady Selborne* (1989), Monama attempted to make a social, economic and historical study of the Lady Selborne community in the period 1905-1965.

This dissertation highlights the contribution of Tumelong Mission in the Anglican Church's outreach to the community of Lady Selborne which began in 1939. This is achieved through a presentation of material comprising seven chapters. Chapter two outlines the background history of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa in the Diocese of Pretoria with special reference to the period 1878-1909. The history of Ekutuleni Mission, Sophiatown, Johannesburg, is recorded in chapter three as a model of later missions such as Tumelong in Lady Selborne, Pretoria. Section 3.2 describes the

founding stages of Ekutuleni Mission, as well as the arrival of in 1927 of Dorothy Maud, a pioneer Anglican missionary. Section 3.3 examines the state of African education in Johannesburg in the 1930's.

Chapter four makes an analysis of the social and political context of Lady Selborne township with specific reference to the period 1905-1959. The historical background to the origins of the township is given in section 4.2. A study of developments in the history of Lady Selborne township during the period 1930-1940 is made in section 4.3. Political Campaigns form the highlights of the social history of Lady Selborne in the 1940's and 1950's. Sections 4.4 and 4.5 examine factors which triggered the campaigns of the period 1956-1957.

The following chapter outlines the history of Turnelong Mission during the period 1939-1995. Section 5.2 tells the history of St Peter's Church, Lady Selborne. The history of Cholofelong Training Centre forms the focus of section 5.3. Chapter six looks at developments at Turnelong in the period 1960-1969. Section 6.2 examines Bishop Edward Knapp-Fisher's correspondence with Clare Lawrence dated 10 October 1969. Details of an interview conducted with Lilias Graham on 26 March 1996 are recorded in section 6.3.

Chapter seven outlines the history of Turnelong in the period after 1980. This is undertaken within the context of an article on Turnelong written by Lannie Motale in the *Pretoria News* of 5 April 1995. The role played by Missions other than Turnelong in the Anglican Church's outreach to marginalised communities of the Diocese of Pretoria since 1905, is highlighted in chapter eight. There were four other Missions which operated in the Diocese prior to 1939 when Turnelong was established. These were Khaiso at Pietersburg, the Jane Furse Memorial Hospital and the Sekhukhuniland Mission, the Pretoria Native Mission, and the Mission of the Good Shepherd.

1. Field of study on Tumelong Mission

Oral interviews were conducted with people previously associated with the Mission and archival sources in Pretoria and Johannesburg were consulted in the compilation of the data on Tumelong. Vital as oral sources can be for research purposes, they must be compared with

other sources as a control.

1.1 Oral Interviews

The material on the role played by Turnelong in the history of the Anglican Church at Lady Selborne was supplied by individuals previously associated with the Mission. I interviewed Mrs Lucy Motloi, the widow of the Revd William James Motloi, on 15 March 1997. He was the formerly headmaster of St Peter's School, Lady Selborne. Motloi approaches the subject of Turnelong from a social, religious and educational perspective. She also gives an account of the history of St Peter's School which dates back to the 1940's.

In 1973, Lilias Graham, a British missionary, was appointed assistant to the Director of Tumelong. She told me about her involvement in the work of the Mission on 26 March 1996. Graham provides a theological rationale for Tumelong's involvement with the community of Lady Selborne. Gwendoline Ditlhakanyane, is a lay Anglican person and stayed with the Sisters at Tumelong House in the 1950's. I spoke with Ditlhakanyane on 17 April 1996. She described the role played by the Mission in the context of a community deprived of essential services. Ditlhakanyane gave a lay person's view of the contribution made by Tumelong in the provision of educational and medical facilities at Lady Selborne.

Hansel Mathobela provided material on the social, political, and economic aspect of the Lady Selborne community. He is a former student of St Peter's School and informed me on 2 May 1996 about the effect of the Group Areas Act on the community of Lady Selborne in the 1950's. Sophie Lebogo, a lay Anglican, also talked about the role played by St Peter's in the history of the Anglican Church at Lady Selborne (interview on 18 May 1996).

Cholofelong was established by Turnelong at Lady Selborne in 1958. The Centre trained African women in mission and social work. Olga Magoai, a former student of

Cholofelong, recalled her experiences of life at the Centre in a conversation on 21 May 1996.

In 1942, the Revd Solomon Galane (b.1908), was appointed by Bishop Wilfrid Parker to serve on the staff of St Peter's. Tumelong was at the time hosted by the church at Lady Selbome. I spoke to Galane on 24 May 1996, and he told me about his involvement with the Mission. He approaches the subject from a missionary point of view. The Revd Moses Chirwa was associated with the Anglican Mission at Lady Selborne in the 1950's. He taught at St Peter's School, and served the church as a catechist at St Peter's Church. Chirwa explained, in an interview on 29 May 1996, the role played by the Anglican Church in the educational sphere of the community. He approaches the subject of the Mission from an educationist's and a missionary perspective.

Amos and Monica Namise told me their stories about the Mission in early 1996. Monica was employed as a housekeeper at Cholofelong in 1958. She provided information on the operations of Tumelong from a social perspective.

1.2 Published Source Material - Archival material

The CPSA¹ archive section at the William Cullen Library of the University of the Witwatersrand holds copious records on the subject of Tumelong. These are composed of minutes, correspondence, reports and constitutions of the Mission. The Cathedral Collection of the University of South Africa keeps a set of annual reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG)² These are comprehensive and detailed reports written by missionaries when accounting for their activities to the Society.

The CPSA stands for the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, otherwise known as the Anglican Church in South Africa.

The latter is a missionary agency of the Church of England whose headquarters are located in Westminster, England. Documents of the Society provide primary reference material on the role of Tumelong in the life of the Anglican Diocese of Pretoria. Such material dates back to the founding of the Mission in 1939, and is shelved under the Cathedral Collection of the University of South Africa Archives.

1.3 Unpublished Source Material

Information on the social history of Lady Selborne township is derived from a number of unpublished sources. Monama's *Popular Struggles and the Destruction of Lady Selborne* (1989), is written from a social point of view³. He makes a critical study of the political and economic forces which influenced the community of Lady Selborne in the period 1905-1959.

Both Reynard's and White's undated *Histories of Tumelong Mission*, are written from a missionary point of view. These indicate that the Mission empowered the people of Lady Selbome in the area of community development. Reynard joined Tumelong in 1963 and recorded her experiences of life at the Mission in her undated *History of Tumelong Mission*. She supplies information on the activities of the Mission in Mabopane and Ga-Rankuwa in the 1960's.

White's involvement with Tumelong began in 1963, and her contribution to the life of the Mission was in the Sunday Schools. She provides information in her undated *History of Tumelong Mission*, on the role played by the Anglican Church in the education of marginalised communities of the Diocese of Pretoria. White approaches the subject of Tumelong from the background of a lay person involved in Christian education.

1.4 Correspondence, Minutes, Reports and Constitutions⁴

The correspondence of Bishop Edward Knapp-Fisher with Clare Lawrence, Joan Watson, and the SPG, form part of the research material. These provide details on the history of Tumelong during the period 1963-1980. Minutes of Tumelong Governing Body, Annual Reports of Tumelong and Khaiso African Mission are also used as sources for the period 1939-1996.

Monama deals with the social and economic aspect of the history of Lady Selborne in an honours paper presented to the History Department of the University of the Witwatersrand in 1989

Correspondence, minutes, Reports, and constitutions form part of the research material utilized in the compilation of this dissertation. The material is located at the CPSA Archives, William Cullen Library, the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

1.5 Citations in respect of the Order of St Alban the Martyr⁵

Citations are used as primary material on the contributions made by the following recipients to the missionary outreach of Turnelong:

Mary L. White, M.B.E. 1996

Margaret Warries, 1996

Ken and Kitty MacLea, 1994

1.6 Ecclesiastical publications and correspondences

The following is a list of ecclesiastical publications and letters consulted as research material: Constitutions & Canons of the CPSA (1990), is used to verify dates pertaining to the enthronement of Bishops in the Church of the Province.

Lewis & Edwards (eds), (1934). The Obituary for the Funeral Service of the late Mokhali James Motloi (d.1994), provides biographical details in respect of James Motloi, former headmaster of St Peter's School, Lady Selborne.

The Pretoria Diocesan Centenary 1878-1978 Souvenir Album. 19786.

The Kingdom is a monthly newsletter of the Anglican Diocese of Pretoria⁷.

White, Mary. 1996. A letter to the Friends of Turnelong, 24 June 1996.

Reproduced in *Partners*⁸. White's *Letter to the Friends* contains primary information on developments in the organisation during 1995.

The Order of St Alban's is an award bestowed by the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Pretoria for distinguished lay service.

The Souvenir Album contains the history of the Pretoria Anglican Diocese since its inauguration in 1878.

⁷ Various editions of the newsletter contain contributions made by Bishop Wilfrid Parker about Turnelong since the 1930's.

Partners is the Journal of the Transvaal, Zimbabwe and Botswana Association (TZABA). White's letter of 24 June 1996, was reproduced in *Partners* of November 1996. For the purpose of this dissertation White's letter is listed under ecclesizatical journals and letters.

1.7 Newspaper Articles

Articles in publications such as **The Pretoria News**, **The Star**, **The Daily Express** and **The Rand Daily Mail**, were consulted for material on the social and economic history of Lady Selborne dating back to 1905 when the township was established. Lannie Motale's article on Tumelong Mission in the Pretoria News of 5 April 1995 proved particularly useful in its treatment of the subject of the role of the Mission in the life of the Winterveld community in the period post-1980.

1.8 Ekutuleni Mission, Sophiatown

The Church Chronicle provides part of the material on Ekutuleni Mission, Sophiatown, Johannesburg. Alan Paton, in his book, Apartheid and the Archbishop (1973), approaches the subject of missions in the Church of the Province of Southern Africa from a social and lay person's point of view. He refers briefly in his work to the contribution made by Dorothy Maud to the work of Ekutuleni Mission in the 1920's⁹.

1.9 Biographies

Although considered to be secondary source material, *Mosley's The Life of Raymond Raynes* (1961), contains important details on the social history of Sophiatown which begins in the 1920's. Mosley also provides information on the contribution of Raynes to the life of Ekutuleni Mission¹⁰.

⁹ Paton's Apartheid and the Archbishop (1973), should be-compared with other books on the subject of missions in the Anglican Church, particularly on issues of dating as the author tends sometimes to be at fault in this regard.

Although not entirely accurate in matters of detail, *The life of Raymond Raynes* (1961), provides essential secondary source material on the history of Ekutuleni Mission. The latter was previously located at Sophiatown, Johannesburg. Mosley's book was utilized as reference material for both the early history of Ekutuleni, as well as on the role played by Clare Lawrence in the life of the mission at Sophiatown. She was a pioneer missionary and was responsible for the founding of Tumelong Mission at Lady Selborne during 1939. The information supplied by Mosley's *The Life of Raymond Raynes* should however be critically examined in the light of the material supplied by other authors on the subject of missions in the Church of the Province of Southern Africa during the period 1927-1996.

2. Background history of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa in the diocese of Pretoria ¹¹ during the period 1864-1879

Introduction

The year 1864 marks a watershed in the history of the Anglican Church in the Transvaal. In that year Bishop Twells of the "Orange River" (Bloemfontein) responded to an invitation from the English speaking community of Potchefstroom to visit and initiate mission work in the town which by then was a principal town of the Transvaal. The Anglican community of Potchefstroom had intimated in their petition that they were willing to do their outmost to support a clergyman (Lewis & Edwards 1934:573). Twells visited Potchefstroom, Rustenburg and Pretoria in 1864 and returned on annual pastoral visits. The Revd Joseph Wills, a deacon, was stationed in Pretoria in 1868 where Anglicans had for a long time been asking for a minister. William West Jones, Archbishop of Cape Town (1874-1909), expressed concern for the state of the church in both the Free State and the Transvaal. He stated that the church in those provinces would collapse in the absence of bishops. The Archbishop received a request to visit the Transvaal where two deacons ministered to congregations which had had no Holy Communion for two years (Lewis & Edwards 1934:574).

In 1869, and 1870, the synod of Bishops and that of the Province met. Both recommended that a bishopric be established for the Transvaal. Allan Webb, Bishop of Bloemfontein (1870-1886), visited Pretoria in 1872. He did missionary duty there for three months in the absence of Wills who was in England at the time. Webb in turn asked T.E. Wilkinson, Bishop of Zululand (1870-1880), to visit Pretoria (Lewis & Edwards 1934:573). The Church did not adequately cater for the needs of the English population in Pretoria and its neighbouring towns. Bishop Webb

Although the Anglican diocese of Pretoria was established in 1878, its origins should be viewed against the background of missionary outreach undertaken by Bishop Twells of Bloemfontein in the Transvaal from 1864. In that year Twells undertook a historic pastoral visit to the Anglican community of Potchefstroom, and subsequently appointed the first missionaries for church work in what was later to become the new See of Pretoria. Whereas the Transvaal initially consisted of one diocese of Pretoria, more Dioceses have since come into being. The second Diocese for the Transvaal, Johannesburg was inaugurated in 1922.

appointed a young deacon, J. Sharley, to serve in Pretona where there should have been an experienced priest. A priest, Richardson, served at Potchefstroom, and a church served by a deacon was to be built at Zeerust. The Anglican Church established a presence at Heidelburg where a Wesleyan preacher held a service for about thirty English families every six weeks.

A Wesleyan local preacher cared for the English people of Wakkerstroom and these were left without Sunday services when his ministrations ceased. Each Sunday at Rustenburg and on surrounding farms, a lay minister gathered about forty people for whom he took a service. This lay minister was ordained and placed in charge of the work in the area by Bishop Wilkinson. He visited British settlers in each town and at Rustenburg, where the people agreed to pay the stipend of a clergyman and gave a site for the church. Wilkinson went westwards to Zeerust, Lichtenburg and Potchefstroom which lay on the road between Bloemfontein and Pretoria (Lewis & Edwards 1934:576).

Wilkinson's second visit lay North to the goldfields of Eerstelling near Marabastad, and those of Lydenburg and Pilgrim's Rest. There was no mission undertaken by the Anglican Church in these areas which lay to the north of Pretona. A large number of people dug and washed gold at Mac Mac, a newly established mine in a mountainous area. Here the Sunday collection contained nugget and gold dust which was the medium of exchange at the store. Wilkinson held a Sunday service for the English people at Lydenburg where, Mr Cooper, the *landdrost* campaigned for a church, one of the first churches to be built in the northern Transvaal. There, Wilkinson ordained Thorne, a Wesleyan preacher from the Diamond Fields (Lewis & Edwards 1934:574).

The Anglican church in the Transvaal struggled financially during its pioneering days and many congregations could, as a result, not complete their church buildings. The SPG undertook to support the clergy in response to Wilkinson's appeal that the Society finance mission work in the province. The Anglican Church had no presence in the African community except at Rustenburg. In 1875, Bishop Wilkinson, on his way from Zululand, discussed with the

Metropolitan, West Jones¹², the possibility of founding a new diocese for the Transvaal. West Jones shared Wilkinson's wish to form a bishopric. By 1878 Wilkinson had raised the 5 000 pounds towards the endowment of the proposed See of Pretoria. In 1875, West Jones requested the SPG to raise funds for the project. Bishops Webb and Wilkinson visited England and appealed to both the Colonial Bishopric's Fund, and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) to provide a sum of 10 000 pounds for the new Diocese (Lewis & Edwards 1934:577).

However, attempts by the Anglican community of Pretoria at erecting their first church in Pretoria were met with strong opposition from the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek Government. The latter had at first refused permission for the project to go ahead. The congregation met either in the house of Mr Robert Lys, in the schoolroom or in the old Raadsaal. In 1873 the Revd Sharley was appointed and he put up a church building in Church Street, opposite Poynton's Building. The Revd. A.J. Law set out to build a new St Alban's in Schoeman Street when Bishop Bousfield arrived in Pretoria in 1879¹³. Wilkinson collected over 400 pounds for a cathedral and 500 pounds was pledged towards the project by the Metropolitan and Bishop of Bloemfontein (*Pretoria Diocesan Centenary Souvenir Album 1878-1978:1*).

2.1 The period 1878-1902

The diocese of Pretoria was inaugurated in 1878 with Henry Brougham Bousfield (d.1902) as the first Bishop. He was consecrated at St Paul's Cathedral, London, on 2 February 1878. The arrival in Pretoria of Bousfield, an eloquent preacher, marks the beginning of missionary work by the Anglican Church among African communities of the Transvaal. By then, the Diocese of Pretoria constituted a newly established episcopal region in a province made up of eight Dioceses. Cape Town, the oldest of these dates back to 1847, with Robert Gray as the first Bishop.

West Jones was the 1st Archbishop and second Metropolitan of the Church of the Province of South Africa and was consecrated in 1874.

Lewis & Edwards (eds), 1934:580, record August 1878 as the date during which Bousfield sailed to South Africa, but this date is given in both the *Pretoria Diocesan Centenary* 1878-1978; and in Hinchliff 1963:153 as being January 1879.

Bousfield introduced daily services in Pretoria with regular celebrations of Holy Communion on Sundays and on Holy Days. Public catechising was held for about 500 nominal church members. Bousfield undertook his first visit to the Diocese in 1878. His first ordination, at which the Rev J. Thome of Lydenburg was ordained priest, was held on St Matthew's Day, 1879. The first Diocesan Synod¹⁴ at which the Board of Diocesan Trustees was formed, was held in 1882. However, the South African War began in December 1889, and the Diocese could not afford to pay the clergy and maintain church schools. Bousfield died in January 1902 while attending the episcopal synod in Cape Town.

The work of the Sisters of St Margaret's, East Grinstead, in Johannesburg¹⁵, in the Diocese of Pretoria, began in the year 1898. The Sisters came to Johannesburg at the invitation of Mr. Darragh, an Anglican priest. He was appointed by Bousfield to take charge of the Witwatersrand area in 1889. Darragh was based at St Mary's 'mission district' which covered the squalid, shanty towns of the Reef. He bought extensive property on the Rand in the latter part of the 1880's and gathered a large staff of clergymen in order to minister effectively to Anglicans (Hinchliff 1963:158-159). The Sisters of St Margaret's, whose emphasis was on maternity cases, worked among the poor and suffering, and the sick from both the Coloured and African communities (Lewis & Edwards 1934:593).

2.2 The period 1902-1909

Archdeacon Roberts was appointed vicar-general of the diocese of Pretoria by Archbishop William Jones on 21 February 1902. Roberts was succeeded as vicar-

The Diocesan Synod is a decision making body in Anglican church polity. It constitutes the Church in parliament, and its membership is representative of eligible lay and clerical representatives. Synod meets under the presidency of the Diocesan Bishop and is entrusted with setting guidelines required for effective church government. However, Diocesan Synod is accountable to Provincial Synod which constitutes the supreme legislative body in Anglican Church polity. Provincial Synod like Diocesan Synod meets in cycles of three years and meets under the presidency of the Archbishop and Metropolitan of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. The board of Trustees on the other hand is a sub-committee of Diocesan Synod and is accountable to that body. Its main brief is to take care of church property.

The Diocese of Pretoria had at its inauguration in 1878 covered most of the towns in what was then considered the Southern Episcopal area. Any discussion on the work of the Church in Pretoria prior to 1922 therefore, should of necessity include the work undertaken by the Sisters of St Margaret's, East Grinstead, in Johannesburg. The Diocese of Johannesburg was formally constituted in 1922.

general by Alan Gibson, Co adjutor Bishop of Cape Town¹⁶, and by William Carter¹⁷, missionary Bishop of Zululand. Archdeacon Michael Furse of Johannesburg succeeded Carter as Bishop of Pretoria on 29 June 1909.

In 1903, the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, began mission work in the Transvaal. Three of the Fathers worked in Johannesburg, one among Africans, and the other two at St John's School. The latter was established in 1898, and struggled through the Anglo-Boer War. Father Nash relocated St John's School to Houghton Ridge, and the student numbers rose from forty to four hundred and fifty students. Mission work among Africans expanded as more Fathers did evangelistic work on the mines, and in the townships, villages, and farms (Lewis & Edwards 1934:606).

St Peter's College, which trained African catechists and clergy, was established by the Community of the Resurrection at Sherwell Street. In 1911, it relocated to Rosettenville under Fathers Fuller, Hill, and Osmund Victor. The Community of the Resurrection established mission work in the Northern Transvaal at the request of Michael Furse, Bishop of Pretona (1909-1920). Father Fuller started a teacher training college for Africans on a farm which was acquired by the church at Pietersburg.

The Community of St Mary the Virgin (CSMV), Wantage, has since the early 1900's, provided a paradigm for the Anglican Church's involvement with the marginalised communities of the Transvaal. Its work dates back to 1903, when Bishop Carter asked the Community for Sisters to work in South Africa introducing schools on the lines of their schools in England and India. Three Sisters took charge of the church schools established by Bishop Bousfield in Pretoria. The Anglo-Boer War resulted in a need for rescue work. A second appeal was made by Carter to Wantage in 1904. This led to two Sisters being sent to open the House of Mercy in Pretoria. In 1908, after various moves around Pretoria, the house was eventually transferred to Irene.

16

17

Alan Gibson was appointed Co adjuror Bishop of Cape Town in 1894

A nursery for babies, St Margaret's, and a home for the mentally defective, were added by the CSMV to their property at Irene. Holy Cross, is a House of Retreat at Irene on whose contemplative work, Sister Mary Ruth (d.1930), left an indelible mark. The Good Shepherd School which catered for the so-called Coloured children, was faced with closure in the early 1900's. A further appeal was made to Wantage in 1905, and two more Sisters were dispatched for the work. One of these carried on the school of the Good Shepherd until the SPG mission workers were able to take over (Lewis & Edwards 1934:606-607).

The influence of the Community of St Mary the Virgin is to be seen in the work of Ekutuleni and Tumelong Missions. Both Missions served the evangelistic and social needs of the communities of Sophiatown and Lady Selborne. Dorothy Maud, an Anglican missionary and social worker, was influenced in her work by the CSMV. She was also a mentor of Clare Lawrence when the latter served an apprenticeship at Sophiatown during the 1930's. In 1939, Lawrence initiated mission and social work at Tumelong, Lady Selborne, Pretoria. Maud joined the Community of St Mary the Virgin, and as a religious, assumed the name of Sister Dorothy Raphael. She maintained contact with Tumelong House where she was highly regarded by both the staff and students. Maud was credited with having initiated the work at Ekutuleni, Sophiatown, which in turn led to the work of Tumelong (Stanton 1961:112).

3. The history of Ekutuleni Mission, Sophiatown, Johannesburg

Introduction

Mission work among Africans in Transvaal towns was prompted by the enormous problems posed by the presence of "urbanised Natives" on the mines and in the locations. The Anglican Church attempted through such work to keep in touch with members who came from all parts of the Union of South Africa, and beyond. Contact with mine workers was achieved through visits, and services held in the mine compounds. Attempts were also made to reach out to the unconverted on these premises (*The SPG Story Told to 1939:41*). This chapter documents the history of Ekutuleni Mission, Sophiatown, in the Anglican Diocese of Pretoria. It is presented as a general introduction to the study of the Diocese's¹⁸ involvement with disadvantaged communities of the Transvaal during the first half of the twentieth century.

The premise of this chapter rests on the assumption that mission and social work have since the 1920's, constituted the main focus of the Anglican Church's strategy in its outreach to certain communities in the Diocese of Pretoria. Since 1927 Ekutuleni has provided a paradigm for the church's involvement with marginalised communities in the Transvaal. Consequently, the story of the Anglican Church's outreach to the community of Lady Selbome through Tumelong Mission cannot be told without reference to the history of Ekutuleni. It is necessary, therefore, to give a brief account of the mission at Sophiatown.

Dorothy Maud, one of the missionaries who served the Anglican Church in Pretoria during the early 1900's, pioneered the work of Ekutuleni Mission, Sophiatown, otherwise known as the House of Peace. Since 1927 the Mission at Sophiatown has played a pivotal role in mission and community development. This chapter endeavours to make a brief analysis of the social

Although the usage of the epithet 'Native' is unacceptable in contemporary society, it is used in this dissertation for the sole purpose of academic discourse. Whereever applicable the word is replaced with other acceptable concepts.

and political factors which gave rise to the founding of the Mission during the 1920's.

Mission and social work had been part of the work of the Diocese of Pretoria as far back as 1905. The Mission of the Good Shepherd in Pretoria operated among the so-called Coloured people in the Pretoria area. Disadvantaged African communities around Pretoria were provided with missionary and social services by the Pretoria Native Mission¹⁹. Khaiso Mission was established in 1922 at Pietersburg. It was intended to be an extension of the work undertaken by the Anglican Church in the far northern Transvaal. Turnelong was the Mission to operate in the Diocese of Pretoria in the 1930's (*World-Wide Witness* 1939:71).

3.1 The history of Ekutuleni Mission with specific reference to the period 1927

There is a lack of consensus as to when exactly the work of Ekutuleni was initiated at Sophiatown. Whereas Mosley in his book, *The Life of Raymond Raynes* (1961:67), dates the arrival of Maud and the subsequent establishment of the Mission to 1926, Lewis & Edwards (1934:649), record 1927 as being the year during which Ekutuleni was established. This chapter, relying on *The Historical Records of the Church of the Province* (1934), accepts the latter date as being the most probable. According to Lewis & Edwards (1934:649), during 1927, Miss Dorothy Maud started a settlement for the Africans of Sophiatown on similar lines to settlements in London.

Ekutuleni was built in February 1929 as a venture in peacemaking between the African and European races around Johannesburg. The property was equipped and maintained from finances raised mainly in England. It incorporated a church, a school, a college mission for boys, a playground and a clubroom. The latter was used for the spiritual formation classes of boys and girls, as well as for recreation. After-school sessions incorporated events such as country dancing and sports. These were held on playgrounds situated round about the Centre. St Cyprian's School, which boasted a roll

19

The epithet 'Native' is unacceptable in contemporary society. It is employed herein for academic purposes. Wherever applicable the concept is replaced with other appropriate references.

of 950 children, was situated next door (*The Church Chronicle*, 7 April, and 5 May 1932).

Ekutuleni belonged to the Diocesan Trustees and was part of the Anglican work in Sophiatown. The Mission's staff consisted of five women workers who undertook social and recreational work among women and girls in the township. They also offered classes in cooking, sewing and first aid. Missionary teaching was provided through Confirmation and Communion classes in addition to all the other work undertaken at Ekutuleni. In addition, the Centre hosted eight detachments of Wayfarers and Sunbeams. The Mission at Sophiatown had a special vocation to the great number of non-Christians who came to Johannesburg from the country districts. Although Ekutuleni has come to be regarded as a pioneer of the Anglican Church's missionary and outreach programmes, the mission at Sophiatown was in fact an offshoot of St Cyprian's Mission in central Johannesburg.

St Cyprian's served an important role in the church's outreach to African male servants in the city. Arthur Karney, Bishop of Johannesburg (1929-34), reported to the SPG in 1931, that 'house-boys' alone numbered many thousands, and that it was sometimes difficult to keep in touch with them (*Salute to Adventurers* 1931:80). From 1927, Maud who was the daughter of the bishop of Kensington, London, and the niece of Michael Furse, bishop of Pretoria (1909-1920), played a significant role in the history of Ekutuleni. Her brother was Sir John Maud, later Baron Redliffe, British High Commissioner for Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland (Paton 1973:43). Maud had, while in England, worked as a secretary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), and in her early thirties, she offered her services to the church through the Society. The SPG sent Maud to work with Wilfrid Parker, then vicar of St Cyprian's, in 1926 (Mosley 1961:67).

However, Paton (1973:123), records that Maud came to Africa on the advice of Father Osmund Victor of the Community of the Resurrection (CR). Bishop Karney who was in England at the time, asked Maud to return with him to the Diocese of Pretoria, and a head

mistress in Westermorland offered to pay her salary. Maud was sent by Karney to Zululand so that she could learn the Zulu language. When she returned to Johannesburg, she took a tram each day from the city to Sophiatown, a township of some fifty thousand people.

The Diocese of Johannesburg was inaugurated on 1 January 1922, in keeping with a decision of the synod of Bishops which was taken in 1920. The Revd.A.B.L. Karney, then Canon Missioner in the Diocese of Oxford, was chosen as the first Bishop of Johannesburg, and was consecrated on 25 July of the same year (*Lindhorst, A. (ed)* 1995:455, and Constitution and Canons of the CPSA 1990:233). By 1926 there existed two dioceses in what formerly constituted the unitary Diocese of Pretona. Maud was requested by Karney to undertake community and mission work in the Diocese of Johannesburg.

3.2 A description of social conditions in Sophiatown during the 1920's

In 1927, the Anglican Church established Ekutuleni Mission at Sophiatown, Johannesburg, as a means of empowering the community in mission and social work. The township's population at the time numbered fifty thousand, and Sophiatown had no municipal housing scheme (Mosley 1961:67). Africans in the township were subjected to a life of political deprivation. They had no representation in local government and no vote in parliament. Whatever housing existing in Sophiatown was privately owned, and consisted mainly of tin shacks. Whereas Europeans in South Africa were subjected to Poll Tax at twenty one, Africans were liable for this taxation at eighteen.

Sophiatown was underdeveloped and lacked essential services. Many children were undernourished and family life was compromised. The only relief was found in drunkenness, fighting, rape, murder, and violence. Sophiatown had a high infant mortality rate, and the figure was 700 in every 1 000 (Lewis & Edwards (eds) (1934:648). Moreover, in the Transvaal alone, African children numbered 1, 000 000. These children depended on mission schools for education. There was provision made by the

government for the community to have access to services such as social insurance, medical care and old age pensions. In Johannesburg at the time, 10 000 people were unemployed and workers had no trade union representation. The streets of Sophiatown were untarred, and water had to be carried in cans from white residential areas.

Maud identified with the people of Sophiatown and lived among them. She raised 4 000 pounds from contacts in England and Ekutuleni was built next to the tin-hut church on the grounds of Christ the King Church. Its foundation stone of was laid in September 1928. When her money ran out a visitor from England donated the required 1 500 pounds after noticing the half finished building and children playing in the streets. Ekutuleni, a five bed roomed house, which consisted of a sitting room, offices and chapel, was occupied during the spring of 1929. It operated as a religious, educational, and social centre. Maud visited homes in Sophiatown and invited children to attend Sunday School. Club activities which consisted of draughts, ludo, football, and tennis with a net of rope were introduced at Ekutuleni.

In addition to Ekutuleni, Maud erected a mission house in Sophiatown known as Leseding (the Place of Light). The centre also boasted a nursery. Here baptism and confirmation classes were conducted. There were also classes for the women in hygiene, cooking, sewing and handicrafts. A library was established from which the people could borrow books. Boys received boxing lessons from Maud. She pressed local authorities for material improvements such as water, sanitation, roads and street lighting and Maud undertook pastoral visits in the township for five years. In 1930 she took ill and visited England to recuperate from her illness. Maud returned in the company of Margaret Leeke and Clare Lawrence (Mosley 1961:69). In 1938 Lawrence was asked by Bishop Wilfrid Parker to establish Turnelong Mission at Lady Selborne in the Diocese of Pretoria.

The three women started a troupe of Girl Guides, and Dr Mary Tugman (d.1932), ran the new hospital from the back room of the priest's house. Tugman was the niece of Archdeacon Skey and had trained as a doctor in London. She established medical missionary work on the Rand in March 1927, and she responsible for work at both

Nancefield and Sophiatown. Tugman was assisted in this by her mother and in 1929, Miss Ethel Skinner, a trained nurse from Kwamagwaza, came to help at the Mission. She was followed a year later by Dr Store. By 1930, there were ten dispensaries, three doctors, two European and three African nurses, four interpreters and three European voluntary helpers in the Rand Mission. On average one thousand and five hundred patients were treated annually at the various clinics (Lewis & Edwards 1934:648). However, the work depended entirely upon donations received from friends in England and Johannesburg. Tugman worked at St Cyprian's School, where she established a hospital, until all the 1 000 children were medically examined. The hospital opened in December 1931. The medical missionary work on the Rand was later taken over by the Diocese (Lewis & Edwards 1934:648).

In 1932, Tugman died and Dr Janet Robertson carried on the work at the nursing home and the central clinic. The church of Christ the King was built in Sophiatown for Africans in the 1920's. Father Raymond Raynes (1903-58), an Anglican monk, and Superior of the Community of the Resurrection (CR), arrived in 1932. He was appointed by Bishop Geoffrey Clayton (1884-1957), to take charge of the parish of Sophiatown in 1934 (*The King's Business* 1925:8). The Community of the Resurrection had been founded by Charles Gore on 25 July 1892 in England. It was the second community of men which emerged from the Catholic Revival of the Church of England in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Community emerged from the Tractarian Movement of the 1830's in the Church of England. It re-affirmed the identity of the Church of England with the One, Catholic, and Apostolic Church of the past; and showed this identity by holiness. Religious communities provided a lifestyle dedicated to God in poverty, chastity and obedience. This was apart from their involvement in teaching, nursing, social and missionary work (Mosley 1961:34).

In 1902, William Carter, Bishop of Pretoria (1902-1909), invited the Community of the Resurrection to work among the 200 000 Africans on the Reef gold mines. At the time there were only one priest and four African catechists for an area of five thousand square

miles. The Community adopted Sophiatown as St John's School missionary outreach and raised funds for mission work in the township. This was in addition to the trips organised for the groups of boys to Sophiatown. The township became the focus of African urban life in the early 1900's, and the Community of the Resurrection needed a mission in an area where Africans held freehold. Fr Raynes was inducted as Priest-in-Charge of Christ the King, Sophiatown, in 1934. He was joined at the panish by two members of the Community, as well as an African deacon who assisted them (*Many Members* 1935:55).

A commentary on a cover of Mosley's, *The Life of Raymond Raynes* (1961), describes Raynes as being 'half Jesuit and half Salvation Army'. He combined personal holiness with a passionate care for people, intellectual zeal with a life of intense activity. Raynes worked among the Africans and fought the 'establishment' in the Church of England. His story is about religious life in the twentieth century and the way sanctity can still be the goal in the age of materialism. Raynes' vision of Sophiatown had to do with the City of God, about which he was taught at Mirfield, and of which he had a chance to give expression. He had a vision of Sophiatown as being the place in which the Kingdom of God could be established through love and dedication (Mosley 1961:79).

Raynes and Maud represented the poor in the house court as well as at the police stations. They also paid the house rentals of people who owed the City Council money. Raynes, accompanied by Granny Julia, performed pastoral duties at Orlando and offered assistance to the poor in the form of food and blankets (Mosley 1961:93).

3.3 A description of the state of African education in Johannesburg in the 1930's

The community of Sophiatown experienced a shortage of educational facilities during the 1930's, and the church stepped in to alleviate the situation. Maud and Raynes built seven schools, three nursery schools, and had over 6 000 children under their care. Raynes recruited teachers and the Department of Education paid their salaries, as well as the six percent interest on the capital which was spent on the buildings. St Cyprian's Primary School, Sophiatown, began in one huge room with the classes in different corners. There

were already six hundred and fifty pupils when the school started. An old church was converted into St Mary Magdalene Junior School. This catered for children up to standard 1, while Cyprian's catered for standards II to VII. The latter intended expanding up to the Junior Certificate level when hospitals raised the standard required for the admission of African female students as probationer nurses (*The SPG Story Told to 1939*, 1939:42).

The new St Cyprian's School was designed in 1937. It consisted of a row of twelve brick classrooms, teachers' rooms, storerooms, a playground and a caretaker's flat. Water and sanitation were provided for the new school and a flat was built for the headmaster. A third of the cost of this project, which amounted to a thousand pounds, was collected from businesses around Johannesburg and from family and friends in England. A certain Mr Smith donated the two thousand pounds required for the completion of the project. St Mary's junior school was also rebuilt in brick and a carpentry school was added in which boys made furniture for the classrooms. In 1934 Maud established a nursery school known as Thabong (The Place of Joy) in Orlando. Thabong provided pre-school facilities for a hundred children of between two and six years of age.

According to *The Church Undaunted*, a publication of the SPG (1940:114), the cost of keeping a child at Thabong was six pence a day. However, children in attendance at the nursery paid only two pence and the municipality of Johannesburg subsidised the difference. This was in addition to the gifts of the friends of Thabong (*The Church Undaunted* 1940:114). Thabong was at the time, under the leadership of Miss Dorothy Chaplin, a trained nursery school teacher and a member of Maud's staff. African workers at Thabong were trained over a six year peniod. Two additional nurseries were built in Orlando and New Clare, the worst slum within the Sophiatown area.

3.4 Evaluation and conclusion

This chapter documented the role played by Ekutuleni Mission in the history of the Anglican Church's outreach to a marginalised community of Sophiatown, Johannesburg. In 1927 the Mission pioneered the church's initiative in mission and social work. Ekutuleni

has thereby provided a paradigm for the Anglican Church's involvement with underprivileged communities of the Transvaal.

4. An analysis of the social and political conditions at Lady Selborne township during the period 1905-1959

Introduction

This chapter presents the social context in which Turnelong Mission was rooted during 1938. An attempt is made to show how the freehold status of Lady Selborne was undermined by the absence of essential facilities in the period beginning 1905. An argument is made that the implementation of the provisions of the 1913 Land Act negatively impacted on the Africans of the Transvaal²⁰. This, together the rapid industrialisation of Pretoria in the period 1939-46, led to a housing shortage in the township. There was also the emergence of a complex class structure which exhibited itself within the life of the Lady Selborne community. The township lacked adequate housing, schools, clinics, roads, water, sewage removal, recreation facilities, street lighting, and proper policing. This resulted in the relocation of the township in the early 1960's.

The premise of this chapter rests on the presupposition that the absence of facilities at Lady Selborne in the period 1905-1939, led to the intervention of community development agencies such as Turnelong. These filled the void left at Lady Selborne by the Hercules and Innesdale municipalities in the area of community development. What follows is an analysis of the social conditions which prevailed in the township since 1905.

4.1 The historical background to the origins of Lady Selborne township

Lady Selborne was established as a freehold township in 1905 (*Pretoria News*, 23/09/1968). The township which was situated on the slopes of the Magaliesburg mountain was located next to Mountain View on the southern side and Booysens on the eastern side. According to Hansen Mathobela in an interview on 2 May 1996, Lady Selborne was earmarked as a location for blacks by Lady Selborne, wife of Lord

Selborne. Since 1905, he had been governor of the Transvaal and high commissioner for colonial administration. However, Mathobela is contradicted by information supplied by the Transvaal Archives Depot in this regard. Archival material suggests that the township was named at the insistence of the South African Political Organisation. This was in recognition of Lady Selborne's contribution to South African race relations (TAB, Ps 17/65/05).

However, nothing much is known of the history and background of this organisation except that it helped people who were evicted from the inner city slums of Pretoria, white suburbs and informal settlements. These settled as tenants at Lady Selborne. The history of the township should not be viewed in isolation. It should rather be seen against the background of the Land Act of 20 June 1913. The implementation of the Act led to economic hardship in both the Transvaal and the Free State, and triggered a migration of people from the rural population to the urban areas.

The Land Act restricted each racial group to its own residential and trading sections of cities and towns. It further stipulated that Africans be allocated land in the overcrowded 'Reserves', and that they be excluded from areas demarcated as white. The law restricted African landownership to the so called 'scheduled areas'. This consisted of about 10,5 million morgan or 7,5 percent of the land area of South Africa's 142 million morgan. It was only after 1936 that Hertzog's Natives' Trust and Land Act increased the maximum African areas to thirteen percent. As a consequence Africans could not buy land except from other Africans or in existing tribal reserves. This effectively controlled the movement of blacks in and out of "white cities".

Furthermore, it was intended through the provisions of the Land Act, to suppress squatting and other unauthorised occupation by Africans on Crown and private lands, and to outlaw certain forms of tenancy on white owned farms. It defined as a labourer anyone who gave at least ninety day's service per annum. However, this requirement did not cater for squatters. Notwithstanding such exclusion by the Land Act, nearly a million people lived on white-owned land as tenants, share croppers and labour tenants (Oakes

(ed) 1988:292).

The Land Act had a devastating effect on African farmers in both the Transvaal and the Free State. The system of 'sowing on the halves' whereby African share croppers gave half their produce to the farmer in return for land was made illegal in the Free State. As a result self reliant peasants were either forced into being labourers or had to vacate the land. In some cases African tenants who earned a wage of one pound per month were expected to pay rent of up to six pounds per annum. This was in addition to the fourteen shillings per hut per annum tax imposed by the government. Farmers abused the law and increased rents as a means of removing unwanted tenants. They also used the law to obtain forced labour. Dube (in Oakes (ed) 1988:292); argued that the aim of the Land Act was to compel service by taking away the means of independence and self-employment by farm labourers. The Act resulted in the dispossession of peasants without compensation of housing, schools and churches.

By the 1930's the government had introduced programmes intended to reconstruct the agricultural sector, and this enabled white farmers to mechanise production methods. Farmers were also able to cut down on the use of black labour. Crippling drought conditions during the early years of the 1939-1945 war also adversely affected African labourers. Maize production fell off in the commercial sector and in the reserves. By 1945 South Africa was importing maize from Argentina and farmers cut the rations of their black labourers. These developments contributed to the movement of the rural population to the cities during the early war years (Cameron (ed) 1986:265). Moreover, in the Free State peasants never realised that the provisions of the Land Act applied to the rest of the country. They trekked to the Transvaal in search of new homes and jobs. Monama (1989:2), notes in this regard that in the 1920's and 1930's, the white farms became the dominant source of migration to town as more and more labourers escaped the harsh and exploitative conditions.

4.2 An analysis of the social and economic conditions at Lady Selborne during the period 1939-1946

The second world war disrupted the international capitalist economy, and created boom conditions for the South African manufacturing industry. A war industry established at the time aimed at producing the Union Defence Force's requirements for artillery, armoured vehicles and munitions (Cameron (ed) 1986:264). In 1943, manufacturing outstripped mining's contribution to the gross national product, and economic growth in the post war period led to the expansion of the African working class in urban areas of the country. Lodge (1983:11), attributes this phenomenon to the diversion at the time of a section of the white labour force into the army. Another feature associated with the history of labour in South Africa in the war period, is that women were for the first time absorbed into the manufacturing sector of the economy.

However, the great exodus of parts of the rural population into South African towns which took place after 1939 accelerated the dissolution of the rural economy and society. Lodge (ibid), observes in this regard that the African urban population almost doubled between 1939 and 1952. However, he is contradicted in this assertion by both Stadler and Monama. Both cite the decade ending 1945 and 1946 respectively, as being the period when this took place (Cameron (ed) 1986:265, & Monama 1989:10).

There was a marked increase in the population of Lady Selborne during the 1930's. This increase was due to a combination of economic and political factors. Economically, the secondary industrial expansion which took place in Pretoria at the time was due to the need by manufacturers of a skilled and stable labour force. Authorities were compelled as a result, to relax influx control measures during the 1940's. Developments on the economic front coincided, however, with the stringent application of the Native (Urban Areas) Act in the surrounding peri-urban communities, as well as the clearance of the municipal location of Marabastad. Lady Selborne attracted many people because it was not subject to municipal control regulations applying in other locations such as the Native (Urban Areas) Act, or the Native Land Act.

However, the Hercules Town Council did not have adequate financial resources to deal with the housing needs resulting from the uncontrolled influx of people into Lady Selborne. Moreover, Lady Selborne did not have a municipal housing scheme. Whatever housing existed in the township was built through private initiative. Results of a survey published in the *Rand Daily Mail* of 17 June 1948 indicates that there was an average of 65 people sharing a house at Lady Selborne at the time. The acute housing shortage turned the township into one of the worst slums in the Transvaal (Monama 1989:15).

The question of land ownership was crucial at Lady Selborne. Although the township was designated a freehold area during 1905, most of the land was in the hands of speculators. Building societies acquired large tracts of land and resold this to Africans at high prices on hire purchase. Moreover, the price of land varied considerably between Lady Selborne and Hercules. Stands at Lady Selborne were priced at up to double the price of those at Hercules (Monama 1989:8).

As stated before, Lady Selborne was not subject to state regulation in the form of either the Natives (Urban Areas) Act or the Native Land Act. As a result people evicted from white properties around Pretoria, from the inner city slums and from other informal settlements settled in the township. Most of the African property owners at Lady Selborne with the exception of the Indian and Chinese merchants, struggled to service their loans, pay the monthly service charges and maintain bonded property. They resorted to uncontrolled sub-letting, high rentals, and beer brewing in order to supplement their meagre income. A correspondent in *The Daily Express* of 23 March 1939, indicates that tenants paid up to three pounds per month for a room. This included charges for water and lights but was too high for a wage earning person.

Although by the 1940's subtenants constituted a distinct political constituency at Lady Selborne, they were an alienated group in the township. By 1947, sub-tenants exceeded ratepayers by a ratio of 2:1. Their interests and grievances were ignored by both the Vigilance Committee and the Hercules Town Council. Monama (1989:15), notes that the

housing shortage had turned Lady Selbome into one of the worst slums in the Transvaal. However, authorities did not enforce the Slum Act of 1934 to control the housing situation at Lady Selborne. This was because that property owners depended on rentals to pay for bonds and municipal service charges. The loss of income could lead to a situation where property owners defaulted on these obligations and to the loss of heavily bonded properties. In any case the Hercules local authority had insufficient manpower to enforce the Act.

The Star, a Johannesburg daily newspaper, of the 16 December 1947, reported that the Department of Native Affairs was opposed to the implementation of the Slum Act in Lady Selborne. This view was motivated by the shortage of housing in the township. The Rent Board also undermined the cause of tenants as it failed to protect them against high rents and exploitation by landlords. Even political organisations represented at Lady Selborne in the period 1940-1950, failed to address the concerns raised by tenants on the issue of housing and rentals in the township. The Vigilance Committee which had since the 1920's, enjoyed undisputed political support at Lady Selborne, lost its political influence to the African National Congress in the 1940's. The committee was made up of property owners. However, it advanced the interests of ratepayers at the expense of tenants in the township.

This situation of political dominance by the Vigilance Committee at Lady Selborne ceased with the establishment of the Pretoria branch of the Communist Party of South Africa in the township during 1940. At Lady Selborne, however, political developments in this period suggest that the Vigilance Committee lost its political influence to the ANC during the period 1940-1950. At this time both the ANC and the SACP mobilised support in Lady Selborne. The ANC had by then become the dominant party in the township. The ANC, like the Vigilance Committee, drew the bulk of its support from ratepayers at Lady Selborne. The widespread support enjoyed by the ANC among ratepayers in the township should be attributed to the organisation's uncritical endorsement of private property ownership. This factor accounts for the distance which existed between the

organisation and tenants at Lady Selborne in the period 1940-1960.

On the other hand, the South African Communist Party's message against private ownership failed to make an impact in a township with freehold property rights. As a consequence the SACP had its stronghold in the municipal townships of Marabastad and Atteridgeville. Unlike Lady Selborne, the two townships had a tradition of working class organisation. Moreover, the SACP was inexperienced politically as it was only established in 1940. This, together with the fact that most tenants at Lady Selborne did not consider Pretoria to be their permanent home, accounts for the failure of the SACP's attempt to be the dominant party in the township (Monama 1989:16).

The issue of the inadequate provision of essential services at Lady Selborne was brought to the attention of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) by Bishop Parker during 1949. He had in a report to the SPG during 1939, informed the Society about Lady Selborne, an African location with a population of 300 000 which lay six miles within the municipality of Hercules. However, Hercules could not provide an adequate supply of water to Lady Selborne. There was, according to Parker, also an absence of proper streets, lighting and sanitation. Lady Selborne did not even have a police station, and the result was that people dared not go out after dark without the risk of being assaulted and robbed (*This Vast Family*, 1949:23).

The absence of essential services, as well as the state of decay at Lady Selborne, contributed to the relocation of the township in the 1960's. A recommendation was conveyed from the Pretoria City Council to the Group Areas Board in January of 1960, to the effect that the township should forthwith be declared a "white area", and that removals should start within a year (*Tumelong and Khaiso Mission Report* 1959-1960, 1960:6). The township would, in terms of the provisions of the Group Areas Act, be expropriated, and its inhabitants moved to the townships around Pretoria. According to Hansen Mathobela in an interview on 2 May 1996, land originally bought for ten pounds fetched five hundred pounds on expropriation. However, there was nothing to measure the value

against. The properties were worth more than they were valued at by the government.

As a consequence people lost money in real terms.

4.3 An analysis of political campaigns in Lady Selborne during the period 1940-1950.

The period 1940-1950 in the history of Lady Selborne was characterised by three campaigns in particular launched by the residents of the township. These campaigns had to do with the unsatisfactory means of public transport in 1957 and the anti-pass protests of 1956 and 1959. As was the case with other freehold townships during the 1940's, Lady Selborne had no form of public transport. The result was that residents walked the six miles to and from Pretoria. This prompted Hosea Motla to launch the African Bus Service (ABS). Motla was a member of the Village Committee and a businessman and his ABS was the first public conveyance company to be introduced into Lady Selborne.

However, in spite of the efficient manner with which Motla conducted the ABS, he was unjustly forced out of operation by the 'white' Public Utility Transport Corporation (PUTCO) in 1940. However, under PUTCO bus services deteriorated rapidly. An inquiry into the situation was launched by the Road Transportation Board. Grievances against PUTCO included an arbitrary increase in commuter fares as well as overcrowding. Fares were increased from 4 shillings to 6 shillings during weekends and holidays. A correspondent in *The Star* of the 23 November 1943 complained that PUTCO buses were run for profit making only, and that there was sufficient evidence to prove that the transport expenses incurred by Africans travelling from their segregated homes to their places of work was not commensurate with the meagre wages they received.

Grievances against PUTCO led to a bus boycott in 1945. However, the boycott led to a resurgence of criminal activity by Lady Selborne gangsters. These participated in the boycott for financial gain. One tsotsi gang the *Funani e busuku* (what do you want in the night?) was responsible for attacks against bus inspectors, and against individuals who travelled long distances in the dark. The tsotsis both supported and enforced the bus boycott campaigns. However, their activities of robbing boycotters undermined the

purpose of the campaign. Monama (1989:24), maintains that the reports of crime in Lady Selborne began in the early 1930's, and coincided with overcrowding. He is of the opinion that the social dislocation within the black urban communities was the result of the rapid process of urbanisation.

By the war years tsotsi activities had reached crisis proportions at Lady Selborne. Criminal activities intensified during the Christmas season. The crime situation at Lady Selborne was worsened by inadequate police protection as the nearest police station was about three miles away from the community. Inadequate police protection prompted property-owners to establish Civic Guards in the township. However, these bodies failed to contain the crime at Lady Selborne due to the lack of support from authorities. The problem of gangsterism plagued Lady Selborne residents over a long period. Gwendoline Ditlhakanyane informed me in an interview on the 17 April 1996, that there were two gangs operating in Lady Selborne when she lived in the township during the 1950's, the Funani and Amalaita.

4.4 An examination of factors which led to the political campaigns of the 1950's at Lady Selborne

The pass campaigns of 1956 and 1959 were among the highlights of the 1950's in South African politics. Since the early 1940's there had been an increase in the influx of black women to the urban areas around the country. By 1948 when the Nationalist Government assumed power, the situation had reached proportions that warranted regulation. However, the pass campaigns of the 1950 s should be viewed in the light of Verwoerd's Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952. The Act extended government control over the movement of Africans to all urban areas in the Union. Black women were, in terms of the provisions of the Act, compelled to carry passes. In terms of the Act the Governor-General was authorised whenever he deemed it expedient in the general public interest, to order a tribe or an African to withdraw from any place, district, or province within the Union and not to return, at any time thereafter or during a specified period, to the former place without the written permission of the Secretary for Native Affairs. Contravention of

this law was punishable by a fine of 50 pounds or imprisonment with or without the option of a fine. Africans could in terms of the Act be summarily arrested and removed without a trial by order of the Governor - General (Brooks et al 1958:63).

The Native Laws Amendment Act stipulated that a "disqualified person" could not remain in an urban area for longer than 72 hours without a Pass. Local authorities were authorised to remove "idle or undesirable natives" (Oakes et al 1988:377). Furthermore, the Native (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act of 1952 abolished the Pass in favour of a consolidated document called a "dompas". This document was intended to make the policing of the new Pass restrictions easier and had to be carried by all Africans over the age of sixteen. Survival of Africans depended on the possession of this document. The Pass was 96 pages thick, and standard green or brown in issue and had to be carried at all times (Oakes et al 1988:377).

In 1956 the government removed the right of Africans to appeal to the courts against removal from an urban area. This led, on 9 August that year, to a march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria by 20 000 women. They confronted the Prime Minister, JG Strijdom, and demanded that the government scrap pass laws. This campaign was phenomenal and received enthusiastic support from Lady Selborne residents. However, failure on the part of the ANC to offer meaningful direction to this event led to the Africanist party within the movement seizing the opportunity for its own ends. In 1958 police and local authorities were empowered to raid any dwelling in search of illegal African residents. Raids could be undertaken by the police without a search warrant.

4.5 The bus campaign of 1957

Throughout the 1950's there was little material advance in the position of urban Africans. Communal boycotts of buses were utilised in many freehold townships as a means of highlighting the desperate economic position of the people. A survey conducted in 1957 on the economic situation of African workers indicates that the average wage of a black worker was nine pounds per month (*Pretoria News* 9 January 1957). Most of these

worked as unskilled industrial workers, and could not afford the spiralling cost of travel and accommodation. In 1955 bus boycotts affected the southern Transvaal township of Evaton. Residents of Alexandra township, near Johannesburg, also participated in a bus boycott during 1957. By the end of the week 60 000 people had stopped using PUTCO buses. The company blamed the 4 shilling fare increase on increasing operational costs (*The Star*, 9 January 1957).

However, commuters rejected the proposed increase in fares arguing that the Government subsidy to PUTCO was adequate. They argued that the increase ought to be financed from the levy for African workers. Alternatively, subsidies could be drawn from the municipal beerhall profits. Most of the government's subsidy to PUTCO was derived from the native service levy paid by employers of Africans. This consisted of about 10 pounds and four shillings per worker per month. Nevertheless, there were discrepancies in the way the levy was utilised. Only 20% of the levy (about 2 pounds and 6 shillings) was used for direct transport subsidy.

Monama (1989:21) records that the bus boycott was well supported by the Tumelong Anglican Mission at Lady Selborne. Sister Hannah Stanton, a champion of human rights and an activist, transported the boycotters to the city. On 31 December 1956, she was appointed by Selby Taylor, Bishop of Pretoria 1951-1960, as the Warden of Tumelong (Stanton 1960:36). In her book *Go Well. Stay Well* (1960:37), Stanton tells of an incident in which bus boycotters met on the vacant plot near the Mission. The purpose of the meeting, which was violently disrupted by the police, was to discuss the progress of the campaign. Several people were injured and a 20 year old man, Joel Ramothibe, died in the process (*Pretoria News*, 19 March 1957).

Both Stanton and Cecily Paget, a colleague, collected evidence from victims of the attack, and had the matter reported in the *Pretoria News*. Stanton was detained under emergency regulations on 30 March 1960 and was deported on 22 May of the same year. However, no charges were brought against her. Fr Mark Nye, the Priest in charge of St

Peter's, was arrested at the same time, and detained until 31 May 1960. Cecily Paget mentions in *Tumelong Mission Annual Report for 1959-1960*, that the same treatment was accorded to a number of Tumelong friends. The police action at Lady Selborne was also raised in Parliament by Senator Ballinger (b.1894), a Natives' representative in the House of Assembly, and by Patrick Duncan (1918-1967), at the request of the Pretoria branch of the Liberal Party. The Party maintained that the attack launched against protestors by the police at Lady Selborne was without justification.

The Africanist faction within the ANC was determined to maintain the bus boycott until all their demands had been met. Others favoured calling the boycott off when it began to show signs of weakening. Lodge (in Monama 1989:21), states that it was this bus boycott campaign which caused a split within the Lady Selborne branch of the ANC. The African National Congress, being the largest political party in the township, failed to offer meaningful direction in the campaign of 1957. Most of the leadership was either involved in the Treason Trial or incapacitated by banning orders. Whereas both Lady Selborne and Alexandra were organised under the same committee, a compromise settlement was reached in April 1957, whereby PUTCO shortened its routes, and the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and the Johannesburg Municipality subsidised fares to the pre boycott level. However, this did not affect Lady Selborne where the boycott lasted into 1958 at the urging of the ANC. At Lady Selborne, in contrast to the boycotters' solidarity, there was a split in the leadership of the movement, and the ANC lost membership as a result of the bus boycott campaign of 1957 (Monama 1989:22).

4.6 The Anti-pass Campaign of 1959

The 1959 anti-pass protest was another crucial campaign in the political life of Lady Selborne. Dr Peter Tsele, a medical doctor and prominent partisan of the Africanist movement in Lady Selborne in the 1950's, planned an anti-pass gathering for 26 February 1959. He was a graduate of Kilnerton College, Pretoria, and had studied at Fort Hare before he qualified in medicine at University of the Witwatersrand in 1942. Tsele was one of the first Africans to be elected onto the Students' Representative Council at

Witwatersrand University. He also served on the Transvaal executive committee of the African National Congress Youth League. However, Tsele never gained a position of political leadership in the ANC. In 1950, he dropped out of the Youth League, and joined the Africanist faction of the ANC which he financed through the income from his practice in Pretona (Carter & Karis (eds) (1977:159).

On 26 February 1959, a delegation of eight was chosen by the anti-pass gathering to seek an interview with the Native Commissioner. Tsele defied a banning order by the local magistrate on a meeting at which the delegation would have reported on their meeting with the commissioner. The police violently disrupted the meeting, and a number of women were injured in the process. Tsele was disillusioned with the ANC's failure to adopt a militant stance towards the incident. He was expelled from the Africanist movement after he publicly endorsed a white Liberal Party candidate. In 1959, he launched a rival organisation, the Pan Africanist Freedom Movement and joined the Pan Africanist Congress when the movement was inaugurated in Pretoria in 1959. However, Tsele was not able to attract support. He died in a car accident in 1961 (*Ballinger Papers C2*, Archive Material. Johannesburg:University of the Witwatersrand).

CHAPTER 5

5. The history of Tumelong Mission with specific reference to the period 1938-1962

5.1 An evaluation of developments during the era 1938-1960

The year 1938 marks a watershed in the life of the Anglican Church at Lady Selborne. In that year Clare Lawrence was invited by Wilfrid Parker, Bishop of Pretoria (1933-41), to establish mission and social work in the township. She arrived in South Africa from England during 1930 and served an apprenticeship of some years with Maud at Ekutuleni Mission, Sophiatown. Maud visited England on a fund raising campaign for the project, and returned during early 1939 to choose a site for the mission and commence building (Stanton 1961:58). This chapter documents the history of Tumelong African Mission in the Diocese of Pretoria. Tumelong, "The Place of Faith", served as a residence for Lawrence, the first Mother Superior and her helpers.

Tumelong House was erected on the same site as the church building, priest's house, a creche, and clinic. The Mission complex was partly financed from the 10 000 pounds raised by Bishop Parker in England. Funds were contributed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society of the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. The Earl of Selborne also contributed generously to the project. *The Kingdom*, a Pretoria Diocesan newsletter of September 1940, reports that the foundation stone of Tumelong was laid on 7 August by Dorothy Maud, a guest from Sophiatown. On the Mission's foundation stone were written the words: *This is the Victory that overcometh the world*, even our faith (Stanton 1961:58). Father Raymond Raynes (d.1958), a missionary associate of Maud also attended the ceremony of the laying of Tumelong's foundation stone.

This chapter presupposes that the Ekutuleni Mission, Sophiatown, Johannesburg, provided a paradigm for the work undertaken by Lawrence at Tumelong. Ekutuleni was founded by Dorothy Maud in 1927, and acted as a centre for social work among women and girls. Tumelong owes its existence to the initiative of Wilfrid Parker and Clare

Lawrence. Both had in the 1920's undertaken mission and community work in the Diocese of Johannesburg. The Revd Canon Parker was at that stage associated with St Cyprian's Native Mission in the city and Lawrence served an apprenticeship in the 1930's under Maud at Sophiatown. Besides his involvement in what was considered to be the mother church for Africans in Johannesburg, Parker was also associated with the house for African women workers and its hostels for young females in Buxton Street (Next Steps 1929:78). Parker was consecrated Bishop of Pretoria in 1933.

As a Diocesan institution the primary aim of Turnelong has been to represent the Diocese in mission, education and social welfare. In this respect the staff concentrated on the building up of parish life. This was done primarily through the Sunday School. In terms of its mandate Turnelong undertook work in the areas of evangelism, and participated in the work of organisations such as the Boy Scouts, Wolf Cubs and other similar bodies. The constitution provided for the inclusion of the Bishop, the Archdeacons of Pretoria and Pietersburg, and the Lady Warden of Turnelong to be ex-officio members of the Governing Body. The latter also acted as secretary of the Mission. Turnelong sought to provide and manage clinics, creches and nursery schools for African children. The Mission has always provided poor relief to needy people, the aim being to help them achieve economic self reliance. Of paramount importance was the training of leaders and teachers in the parish, provision of bursaries and the establishment of self help schemes such as sewing clubs and creches (*The Pretoria Diocesan Constitution for Turnelong and Khaiso African Missions*, undated).

5.2 The history of St Peter's Church, Lady Selborne

The history of Tumelong Mission would be incomplete without reference to St Peter's Church, Lady Selborne. This chapter documents the role of the small parish church on whose grounds the mission operated since 1938. Nothing much is known of the origins of St Peter's except for the information gathered from an interview with Sophie Lebogo on 18 May 1996, and from scanty references about the church in ecclesiastical publications. According to Lebogo, St Peter's was, prior to 1938, a mission outpost of the

Pretoria Native Mission. The old St Peter's consisted of a small corrugated from building and was situated on the corner of Carol and Lafleur Streets, Lady Selborne. It is not known who erected the building which was in existence when Lebogo arrived at the township in 1937.

The Kingdom, of February 1940; reported that a central church was needed in Lady Selborne. This would cater for the people who came into the township as a result of the expansion of Pretoria and as a result of the clearance of the inner city slum of Marabastad during the 1930's. A publication of the SPG, Onward (1940:75), reported on the slum conditions which existed at Marabastad. One tap supplied all the water for a street. The streets were used as rubbish dumps and as play grounds for children. One public washing place was provided for everyone. Here people could be seen washing themselves at all hours of the day in full view of passers by. By 1949 the housing conditions at Marabastad remained in an appalling state. Parker identified the shortage of land as being the prime cause of the shortage of decent housing in the area (This Vast Family 1949:23).

When the future of St Cuthbert's Church, school and rectory was threatened by the proposed demolition of Marabastad, it was decided as a result, to build an adequate church and rectory at Lady Selborne (*Onward* 1940:75). Gordon T. Ellis designed the plans and donated a piece of land for the church acquired from the Winklers (*The Kingdom*, February 1940 & Stanton 1961:58). The contract price for the church was 2440 pounds, and the furniture cost 300 pounds. The new church building was designed to hold over five hundred people. However, a report in a publication of the SPG, *Onward* 1940:76, indicates that the new St Peter's would once completed, have a seating capacity of a thousand people.

St Peter's was built with money donated from an Appeal put out by Parker in England and South Africa for mission work in the diocese of Pretoria. St Peter's congregation contributed 50 pounds towards the cost of the project. The building was consecrated at

10:00 on the 24 December 1939 by Parker who celebrated the euchanist and officiated at the consecration ceremony. The Revd John Maund acted as the Bishop's chaplain, and the deacon and subdeacon were Revs John Matlejoane and Levi Phatlane. Canon Percy Woodfield acted as master of ceremonies, and the Revd Mashite Maimane, the resident priest, led the singing (*The Kingdom*, February 1940). Archbishop John Russell Derbyshire, Metropolitan of the Church of the Province of South Africa (1938-1948), visited the parish before Lent in 1940. He also conducted the Three Hour Service on Good Friday that year.

Prior to 1942, the congregation depended on European priests attached to the Pretoria Native Mission for pastoral oversight. Canon Percy Woodfield joined the mission in 1939. He had previously served the church as principal of Grace Dieu College, Pietersburg. Woodfield was assisted at St Peter's by the Revd Donald Arden who later became the Archbishop of Central Africa. Both visited Lady Selborne on a monthly basis (*Pretoria Diocesan Centenary 1878-1978. Souvenir Album* 1978:21). A number of outstanding lay persons ministered to the congregation in the interim. Richard Phala and Johanna Maditse (b.1876) assisted the visiting clergy by acting as translators during services. Phala was a self-supporting catechist employed by the Pretoria Native Department. He performed all pastoral duties not restricted to the clergy.

Maditse (Ouma) and her daughter Beatrice Thabie Mthethwa (d.1966), supported the work of both St Peter's Parish and Turnelong from the time the Mission was established in 1939. Maditse is credited with having pioneered the first mission school at Lady Selborne in 1915 (Stanton 1961:67). She joined the Anglican Church where she taught Sunday School, confirmation and baptismal classes on a weekly basis. At an advanced age, Maditse was appointed to the staff of Turnelong, and worked at St Michael's creche. She also participated in the work of the local Mothers' Union and performed other pastoral duties.

Father Hasael Mashite Maimane (d.1961), was the first African priest to serve at St

Peter's. He came to Lady Selborne having spent time as a priest at St Cuthberts Parish, Marabastad, Pretoria. Maimane was a great evangelist and drew large crowds to the church. Lebogo attributes the erection of the new St Peter's to his efforts. However, she is at fault in stating that Maimane came to Lady Selborne in 1942. He attended the dedication of the church in 1940. This means Maimane was appointed to the parish prior to this date. In 1945, Maimane moved to St Andrews, Makau, in the north west of Pretoria where he died in 1960. He was succeeded as priest in charge of St Peter's by the Revd John Arrowsmith Maund, who became the Bishop of Lesotho in 1950.

I inquired from the Revd Solomon Galane (b.1908) about his stay at St Peter's. He told me that he was appointed by Parker to serve at Lady Selborne. Galane was previously employed as a spiritual worker on the Railway Mission, and as a catechist at Watervalboven in the Mpumalanga Province. The South African Railway Mission ministered to members of the Anglican Church who lived along the South African Railways, and the Trans-Zambezi Railway (*Constitutions and Canons of the Church of South Africa* 1950:139-134). John Tsebe, a charismatic figure and pastoral priest, succeeded Maund as priest at St Peter's. He came to Lady Selborne after having served a curacy in the Sekhukhuniland Parish. Tsebe was assisted by Galane and under his leadership the numbers of the congregation grew. George Herbert Matlapeng (d.1979) took charge of the parish in 1958 until 1965 when the people of Lady Selborne moved to Ga-Rankuwa. Olga Magoai told me on 21 May 1996, that Matlapeng had a magnetic personality, and that he attended to people's needs irrespective of their religious background.

Amos Namise was appointed catechist during Matlapeng's tenure as priest of St Peter's Church. He told me in early 1996, that Matlapeng utilised the processions of witness as a means of drawing people to the church. Namise worked after hours and particularly on Saturdays. He attended the 06:00 mass every Sunday, and would be sent by Matlapeng to take the service at St Thomas' Church, Doornpoort. Matlapeng when he was priest at St Peter's, joined the sisters for devotions, and celebrated holy communion in their chapel

each Wednesday and Saturday. Mary White paid tribute to Matlapeng in the preface to the *Annual Report of Tumelong for 1964-1965*. According to the report, Matlapeng had been supportive of the work of the Mission and was a tower of strength when Tumelong experienced problems in 1964.

The township of Ga-Rankuwa was established in 1962 on a farm called Uitvalgrond in the North West Province. It is named after Rankuwa, a person who once lived in the area. In the same year, Matthew Monareng, a catechist, organised services for a congregation which met every Sunday in his dining room at Ga-Rankuwa. This became a chapelry of St Peter's Church, Lady Selbome, and it was here that a number of children were baptised by Matlapeng. However, Monareng's house could not accommodate the congregation which was made up of Anglicans who were relocated from Lady Selborne. A room was found at Lekgalong Lower Primary School, but before long, the Tumelong Mission Creche Hall was used for church services until 1966 when the church building was completed. It was dedicated by Bishop Edward Knapp-Fisher (*Pretoria Diocesan Centenary 1878-1978:27*).

5.3 The history of Cholofelong Training Centre, Lady Selborne

Cholofelong (The Place of Hope) was a training centre which was established by Turnelong at Lady Selborne in May 1958. The impending relocation of Lady Selborne under the Group Areas Act threatened the work of the Mission in the township. Turnelong fulfilled an important role in the missionary outreach of the Anglican Church to the people of Lady Selborne. Its staff constituted an important component of the worship life of St Peter's Church. They maintained a high standard in sacristy work, prepared candidates for baptism and confirmation and took Sunday School classes. Turnelong had moreover, initiated youth groups, the Guilds, the Brownies and Girl Guides. The Mission staff also participated in house visits, founded a Play Centre and a Nursery School. However, the contribution made by Turnelong and St Peter's Church in the history of Lady Selborne would be compromised by the relocation of the township. It was essential as a result, that African women should come in from communities outside the township and be

empowered for mission and social work (Stanton 1961:13).

Bishop Knapp-Fisher communicated with Stanton, and enclosed the report of a meeting of South African Church Workers in which Mrs Cordon emphasised the need for African women to be trained for church and social work (Stanton 1961:103). A house known as Cholofelong was renovated for this purpose and students at the centre enrolled for a year's course in theological subjects. Tuition was offered by Diocesan priests and lay people. Fathers Walter Lovegrove and Victor Campbell taught the New Testament, George Daniel offered Church History, and Mark Nye Doctrine. The latter was in charge of the Pretoria 'Native' Mission in 1958. Stanton taught both the Old Testament and ascetic theology and Cecily Paget was in charge of Liturgiology. The course included instruction in the church calender, the observance of festivals, ceremonial, vestments, care of the church and sacristy (Stanton 1961:105). Winnifred Funnel lectured on the cultural side of the training which involved art, literature, music and drama.

Amos and Monica Namise were employed as caretakers at Cholofelong in 1958. They informed me in an interview in early 1996, that they were tenants on the property of the Revd Mokgabudi, a retired relative of theirs, at the time of their stay at Lady Selborne. Monica Namise was employed as a cook at Cholofelong where she catered for missionary students. She informed me that cooking was all she was required to do and that the students were responsible for other housekeeping matters at the centre. According to Namise, students at Cholofelong spent twelve months being tutored in sacristy work.

However, her account of the training offered is flawed in terms of detail and should be contrasted in this regard with the information supplied by Stanton in her book, Go Well. Stay Well (1961:103-113). She records that the practical training of the programme offered at Cholofelong was geared into the activities of the church and its mission. Students were expected as a result to participate in preparation class for confirmation. There was also practical work with clubs, guilds, Sunday Schools, Guides, first-aid classes, guidance in the use of a projector, visiting, poor relief, Mothers' Union work,

drama on occasion; and whatever instructors felt students needed in order to be experienced missionary workers. Moreover, special lectures from a qualified social worker were incorporated into the syllabus, and students were taken on expeditions to see welfare projects. They also attended the sub-committee on African Affairs hosted by the National Council of Women. The community of Cholofelong attended the monthly parties held at St Benedict's Retreat House, Rosettenville. These outings offered them an opportunity to interact with students from St Peter's Theological college. Sister Dorothy Raphael (formerly Dorothy Maud), then a resident of Irene Homes, paid occasional visits to Cholofelong. The training and missionary vocations undertaken at the centre were a logical sequence of the work she started at Ekutuleni, Sophiatown in 1927.

Five students were sent to Cholofelong in 1958. Their parishes financed half the cost of the training, and the other half was paid by the Diocese. Cholofelong was allocated a grant of a 100 pounds over a two year period from the Phelps-Carter Scholarship for Missionary Students. In 1958 the students at the centre were Martha Moselakgomo, Johanna Mbele, Eva Ramaoka, Lydia Bogacu and Olga Magoai. The staff at Tumelong hoped that Cholofelong would be a centre for the training of women missionary workers for the whole of the Anglican Church in South Africa. Bogacu, who was in her second year of her studies, came from the Diocese of Bloemfontein. She was a forerunner of the many students who would come to Tumelong from outside the Diocese of Pretoria (Stanton 1961:111). Martha Moselakgomo came to Cholofelong from Khaiso, a sister organisation of Tumelong at Pietersburg. The Mission was established sometime after 1922, and served as a centre of women's work (*World-Wide Witness* 1922:73).

Eva Ramaoka came to Cholofelong having spent time at both Ekutuleni and Leseding Missions in Johannesburg. Leseding (The Place of Light) was established in 1936 outside Orlando township. The centre was an extension of the work done at Ekutuleni and undertook pastoral work, nursery school work, girl guides, guilds, clubs, and Sunday School work (Mosley 1961:107). Ramaoka started a new Sunday School and worked with young girls in the township where she introduced a guild of young communicant girls.

Mary Molatedi, a housewife with eight children came from Atteriogeville. She obtained a first class pass in her standard six examination but could not proceed to high school, and married in her early twenties. Molatedi was a member of the National Council of African Women and had been on delegations to see the Native Commissioner about rents. She was also an active member of the St Bernard the Martyr Parish in Atteriogeville where she taught Sunday school.' Molatedi was an evangelist who brought children for baptism and confirmation. Stanton, (1961:108), described Molatedi as follows:

She entered into the sorrows and difficulties of those around her. her neighbours who were suffering from evictions from their homes, suffering from careless metre readers who involved tenants in crippling bills, suffering from the merciless behaviour of the police, suffering from the lack of transport and the high fares for transport.

Monica Namise attended lessons at Cholofelong as her husband Amos was a self supporting catechist. It was envisaged that the training would enable the Namise's to be effective pastoral workers. Turnelong workers were under the supervision of Hannah Stanton (d.1994). They performed sacristy duties and saw to the general welfare of St Peter's Church. According to Namise, Turnelong workers were also involved in community work, distributing poor relief and undertaking house visits.

I talked with the Revd Moses Chirwa on the subject of Cholofelong on 29 May 1966. He was a parishioner of St Peter's Church, and taught at St Peter's Primary School, Lady Selborne. Chirwa told me that Turnelong was involved in social outreach to the community. The mission addressed the needs of students who could not afford to feed and clothe themselves.

t spoke with Olga Magoai, an alumni of Cholofelong on 21 May 1996. In 1958, St Francis Church, Mamelodi West, sent her to study at Cholofelong. Magoai told me that Father Dick Noburn, a religious education advisor in the Diocese of Pretoria, worked out a programme for the missionary students at the centre. Students were equipped to teach Sunday School and confirmation classes and to do pastoral visits. They reported their findings to the Sisters and to Father Matlapeng, the resident priest. According to Magoai, Saturdays were devoted to sacristy duties and to poor relief at the Mission. The Sisters observed a practice whereby they alternated in prayer at the chapel on an hourly basis.

Cholofelong played a temporary role in the history of Turnelong. Its activities ceased when Lady Selborne was relocated in the early 1960's. The *Minutes of the 55th meeting of Turnelong Governing Body* of 14 March 1962, indicate that an undesignated sum of a 100 pounds was paid to Stanton. Some of the furniture from Cholofelong was donated to Fr Ian Carrick, a priest of the diocese based at Jane Furse Mission, Sekhukhuniland. Several items were donated to St Stephen's, and the rest were put on auction. The bath and kitchen, which were installed on the property by Turnelong, were sold to the incoming tenants.

6. The history of Tumelong with particular reference to the period 1960-1980

6.1 An evaluation of developments at Tumelong Mission during the period 1960-1964

The existence of Tumelong was threatened in the early 1960's by the relocation of Lady

Selborne. Bishop Edward Knapp-Fisher, in a foreword to the 1959-1960 *Tumelong Report*, reiterated the anxiety experienced by residents as a result of the proposed demolition of the township under the Group Areas Act. He wrote that for Tumelong, as for Africa at large, the year 1960 had been a tumultuous one. Knapp-Fisher acknowledged that when he came out from England early in June of 1960, he wondered what he should find at Lady Selborne. However, his first visit on the second Sunday after his enthronement as Bishop of Pretoria brought immediate reassurance. The trials which the Mission experienced had to do with the continuing difficulties of the time, of which the acute shortage of staff was chiefly responsible.

The uncertainties of the future had done nothing to diminish the spirit of the place. Cecily Paget retired in November 1960 after twelve years of devoted service to Tumelong. Stanton mentions in her contribution to the 1959-60 Tumelong Report, that she had known Paget ever since she became warden of Tumelong in January 1957. She commended her for devotion towards the church sacristy and penitents' class. This was the type of work Stanton believed should be passed on to the African women. Paget's pastoral involvement accorded her the opportunity to express her love for the people, and to pray for them. Through this many came to know more about the love of God.

The work undertaken by Tumelong at Lady Selborne in the early 1960's grew and new people were employed by the Mission. Madge Le May took charge of the Guides, the Anglican Young People's Association (AYPA) and the Play Centre. She bought the necessary equipment for the centre from a gift donated by the Oxford Famine Relief Organisation in England. The equipment consisted of trestle tables, benches for

handicraft work and the required materials. This was a project which would enable the Mission to open a play centre in a new township as had been done at Langa in the Cape (*Minutes of the Governors Meeting of 15 February 1961*). It was also necessary to train an African woman to take charge of the play centre. Joan Bradley cared for the Training Centre, and lectured at Cholofelong. On 14 March 1962, Stanton asked Funnel to serve on Turnelong's Governing Body. She replaced Mrs Shell, formerly a missionary at Khaiso Centre, Pietersburg.

Knapp-Fisher wrote to the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in 1963 informing them about the situation at Lady Selborne. He mentioned in his letter that although houses continued to be demolished in the township, it was difficult to say whether the population was substantially reduced during 1962. Houses which remained were more overcrowded than before. The moral, sociological, family, and medical problems which Turnelong staff had to cope with were phenomenal. The work was hampered by lack of funds and the financial situation of the Mission remained acute during 1963. This was largely attributed to the fact that the work had virtually doubled from what it previously had been. Although the witness of Turnelong remained undiminished at Lady Selborne, the staff had to prepare the mission to carry on its work and witness in the huge township of Ga-Rankuwa. The majority of the people of Lady Selborne were compelled to move to the township. Sites for the new church, priest's house and nursery school had already been acquired in the township, and a stipendiary catechist went to reside there during 1964.

1964 was a turbulent year in the life of Tumelong since the mission had to cope with the demolition of Lady Selborne, and the relocation of the community to Ga-Rankuwa. The Mission also had to deal with a change in leadership. Mrs Lyzell, who had been chairperson of Tumelong, resigned during the year. She nevertheless remained on the committee as a representative of the Cathedral parish. A founding member of the committee, Mrs Alec Cook, returned to Pretoria in 1964 and agreed to be chairperson of Tumelong for a year. However, Cook left Pretoria in July and found Mrs Schiff to act as

time. She raised funds for the Mission and provided the marley tiles for the entire flooring of the nursery by selling fudge and cakes. The Mission was also faced with declining financial resources during 1964. It's finances for the eight months ending 31 December 1964 showed a deficit. Consequently, staff wages were not budgeted to meet the rising rate of inflation. The finances of Tumelong were further strained by the provision for maintenance, damage to property, thefts, and repairs. As Lady Selborne deteriorated, the Mission reduced the number of staff at the clinic, thus limiting the number of casualties who could be treated. Moreover, the increase in the number of poverty stricken people at the time put a strain on the Mission's ability to distribute poor relief.

Tumelong applied unsuccessfully for additional funding from the Bantu Administration Board. This would be used to cover the costs incurred by fifty children and three staff members. Several inspectors had been to the nursery and expressed themselves satisfied with the way the school was run. At a Governors' meeting on 14 March 1962, Funnel proposed that a bonus be approved for four teachers, the head cook and laundress as it was realised that no increase in salaries could be considered until the increased subsidy was received. However, were a staff member to resign suddenly due to the relocation of Lady Selborne, then a small bonus would be given for each year of service completed. Tumelong also requested the City Council of Pretoria to consider an increased grant for St Michael's Creche. Tumelong had over the years kept its costs as low as possible, but in 1964 the organisation experienced a number of burglaries as well as damage to property.

Jocelyn Schwabe joined Tumelong sometime during 1960-1961, and there is conflicting evidence as to when she left the Mission²¹. She completed her term as warden in April 1964, and left for England on retirement in 1965. Knapp-Fisher decided in view of the impending relocation of Lady Selborne, that the church and Mission would both be

21

Both Mary White and Sheila Reynard in their unpublished *Histories of Tumelong*, cite 1965 as being the date of Schwabe's departure from Tumelong. However, evidence gathered from Bishop Knapp-Fisher's correspondence to Clare Lawrence, and Tumelong Report for 1964-1965, suggest 1964 as being the date when she left the Mission.

demolished and only the land sold off. He also wished to appoint a woman worker for Ga-Rankuwa. Knapp-Fisher appealed to the Friends of Tumelong in England to increase their support for the work of the Mission. Mary White and Madge le May temporarily managed the affairs of the Mission until 1964. Le May took over from Schwabe as director of Tumelong in April 1964. Prior to this, she was employed as a nursery school teacher in Somerset West. This was a critical time in the life of the Mission. The nursery was faced with a gradual decline in the number of pupils that attended. The problem was compounded by the resignation in 1964 of half the number of staff at the creche. Le May supervised the relocation of Tumelong Nursery to its new complex at Ga-Rankuwa. She also took charge of the Guides and ran the Sunday School in Ga-Rankuwa. Le May spent four months on leave in England and returned for the opening of Tumelo-Katlegong on 17 October 1965.

White had as a result of the shortage of staff at Tumelong, acted as a housekeeper for the Mission. She also trained St Peter's choir for the 1964 Christmas Play, for the opening of Tumelo Katlegong Nursery, and for church services in 1965. However, White's stay at Lady Selborne was overshadowed by the uprooting and removal of the township's residents. Tumelong was, as a result, called upon to deal with social problems and crises. The Mission celebrated its silver anniversary on 7 August 1964. The occasion was attended by the Revd Mother Esme, CSMV, and Sister Dorothy Raphael who had initiated mission and social work at Sophiatown in 1927. She also supervised Clare Lawrence when the latter served an apprenticeship at Ekutuleni. Lawrence in tum pioneered the work of Tumelong at Lady Selborne in 1939. The Mission now sought to appoint an African to supervise the work of the Mission at Ga-Rankuwa as white people were not allowed to live in the townships.

Rebecca Morake came from the hospital to live at the Mission and learn about its work.

She was a trained nurse and worked as a midwife. Morake proved invaluable to the

Mission's staff who were called upon daily to deal with severe stab wounds. She was also involved with house visits, poor relief, and interpreted for people who came to

Tumelong for help. Morake took up Sunday School work for sixty children at the local High School. This was in addition to her other responsibilities for confirmation classes and chapel duties. However, Morake did not receive adequate training from the mission's staff due to the shortage of staff at Tumelong in 1964. The Mission relied at the time on the services of associates to serve the community during White's and Le May's leave. For months White was occupied in building the nursery school in Ga-Rankuwa, and was constantly away from the Mission (*Tumelong Report for 1964-1965*, 1965:7).

In 1964, Knapp-Fisher recalled Lawrence from retirement in England. He asked her to help with the removal of Turnelong from Lady Selborne, and to re-establish the Mission in Mabopane and Ga-Rankuwa. The Mission was given a small site which was not freehold. A building with a large hall that could be divided into classrooms was built. Rebecca Mamabolo was eligible for a house in Ga-Rankuwa, and went there as principal of the new Turnelo-Katlegong Nursery School. Pauline Metlai who had been with the Mission for twenty years acted as supervisor of the creche. However, the staff of the Mission were faced with the non-arrival of equipment and shortage of water at Ga-Rankuwa. They cleared up the classrooms and closed down the Nursery School at Lady Selborne. The closure of St Michael's Creche signalled the end of an era which began with the arrival of Clare Lawrence at Lady Selborne in 1939.

6.2 An evaluation of developments at Tumelong Mission during the period 1964-1969

The year 1964 marked the end of an era in the history for Tumelong. During that year the Mission at Lady Selborne ceased operation and relocated to Ga-Rankuwa. In a letter dated 18 October 1963, Clare Lawrence, accepted Bishop Knapp-Fisher's invitation to take up a second term as warden of the Mission. She arrived from England in 1965 and took a year's appointment at Tumelong. Lawrence wanted to work with Jocelyn Schwabe, the outgoing director, for at least a month before she took over from her. She hoped Tumelong might get work going in Ga-Rankuwa by Easter of 1965. Lawrence suggested to Knapp-Fisher that she pay her own passage to South Africa. The arrangement would enable her to come as a visitor, and save her the trouble of having

to apply for a permit which might possibly be held back or refused.

However, due to poor health, Lewrence had to consult a doctor before she travelled to South Africa. The SPG arranged for this to be done as she was an associate member of the Mission. The Society also saw to it that her house was rented out during her absence overseas. Lawrence informed Knapp-Fisher about proceedings at the previous Africa Committee meeting held by the SPG at which she had inquired whether the grant for a woman worker which the SPG refused to transfer to clergy stipends could be given to Turnelong. It would make a huge difference if the mission did not have to raise all the money for salaries. Lawrence was of the opinion that after the European missionaries left, the money could be used to help African workers in the parishes. She informed Knapp-Fisher that the Friends of Turnelong were finding it difficult to raise all the money they had previously raised for the organisation in England. A changing Mission no longer enjoyed the appeal it previously had had (Clare Lawrence's letter to Knapp-Fisher 18 October 1963).

According to White in her unpublished and undated History of Tumelong Mission, demolitions had already started when she arrived at Lady Selborne in February 1963. She furthermore states that both she and Le May wished to carry on with the Mission as Lady Selborne people were being moved to Ga-Rankuwa and Mabopane. Tumelong had been offered a small site in Ga-Rankuwa which was not freehold. The Mission had to build accordingly, economising as much as possible. Lawrence built a new nursery at Ga-Rankuwa, not far from St Peter's Church. Tumelong staff used to go out frequently to see how the building progressed. The new Tumelong complex consisted of a large hall which was later divided into classrooms. Tumelong buildings at Lady Selborne were demolished in 1966. The Mission acquired a house at 129 General Beyers Street, Pretoria North, for the use of Le Madge and White. The Sisters wished to be as close as possible to Ga-Rankuwa, in order to keep an eye on the work there as well as at Boekenhout. However, this undertaking was not a success as people did not feel free to visit the Sisters in Pretoria North. There was also a huge garden on the property which

proved too much work to maintain. In 1968, Knapp-Fisher decided that one white worker, Winnifred Funnel, should remain at Tumelong. The second worker was taken on by the Diocesan Office (White, unpublished and undated *History of Tumelong Mission*).

Lawrence, commented on the opening of the new nursery school in Ga-Rankuwa in a foreword to the 1964-1965 Tumelong Report. She likened the event to the truth of the Resurrection, which lies at the heart of the Gospel. Lawrence returned to England in 1965 with the assurance that the great work she had begun would continue to go forward. Turnelong had provided the Church of St Peter's for the use of congregations in Ga-Rankuwa, and in Boekenhoutfontein. This was in spite of the dark times of Lady Selbome's gradual removal, and the demolition of the Mission, as well as much of what Tumelong had built there. Moreover, Tumelong managed to keep two African and European workers during this period of relocation and re-establishment. Lawrence further stated in the foreword to the Report, that the work of God could never be destroyed. though it often suffered temporary setbacks and changes. This was because the grace of God found new channels in which to pour out its blessings. Lawrence rejoiced that Tumelo-Katlegong, incorrectly translated in the report as "Faith which is blessed" would be there for the use of Africans. It would be used by God for His glory. Patrons of Tumelong could be assured of this fact because the Mission was built by the love and faithful prayers of so many of His children.

From 1966, Tumelong ceased to be part of the organisation of Tumelo-Katlegong. The Bantu Administration required that the nursery be supervised by African people as Ga-Rankuwa was not a freehold township. The land and buildings were dorated by the mission to the community of Ga-Rankuwa, and the management of Tumelo-Katlegong was taken over by a committee under the leadership of Caron George Matlapeng. This step marked an end to a relationship between the Mission and the community which dated back to 1941 (*Minutes of the 72nd Meeting of Tumelong Governing Body*, February 1966). One of the highlights in the history of Tumelo-Katlegong Creche was the visit of two English Archbishops during 1970. The Most Revd Donald Coggan,

Archbishop of York, and his wife paid the creche a visit during March. This was followed by a visit from the Archbishop of Canterbury. He celebrated holy communion at St Peter's Church on the 28 November 1970 and he and his wife had breakfast in the nursery school.

Reynard records in her *History of Tumelong Mission*, that it was government policy to move those families who had jobs, and who could thus afford rents, to Ga-Rankuwa. The poor, single mothers, the handicapped and the elderly were sent to Mabopane. Although buses were provided to take people into Pretoria, the township lacked conveniences such as shops, churches, clinics, and cemeteries. There was just one office manned by the superintendent in charge of the township. For several months he paid a midwife's salary as ambulances could not travel into Mabopane from Pretoria. Living conditions in the township improved as houses were built. The church of St Barnabas and its rectory were also built in Mabopane at the time. Tumelong erected a single room near the church from material brought from Lady Selbome (Reynard's undated and unpublished *History of Tumelong Mission*).

A tiny clinic, manned by a midwife was started with a single maternity room in Mabopane. This was replaced by a well equipped facility staffed by nurses and doctors. The clinic at Mabopane was served by a number of doctors in the early 1970's. Notable among these was May Hansen who offered her services one moming a week. Reynard states in her *History of Tumelong*, that the Mission has throughout its history offered poor relief in townships where it operated. This included serving refreshments to the elderly as they waited to receive their pensions every month.

Joan Cheadle started sewing classes from Thabitha Mthethwa's (d.1966) house in the welfare section. These were a new venture supported by the National Council of Women in re-settlement areas. Such projects were intended to teach women to make clothes for their families and to improve their economic circumstances. The NCW raised funds for the sewing materials and found a market for the finished products. In Makau, the Chief's

wife ran one of the first sewing clubs which was a successful venture. Clubs were started in Ramogodi during 1970 and more were established in other areas. These produced bed covers, dresses, skirts and blouses using old sewing machines which were donated and overhauled (*Tumelong Mission Report for 1970*). Sewing clubs drew people from divergent religious groupings together. These were open to anyone who wanted to join. The wife of a traditional heater joined one of the clubs, and in another group there was the wife of a local Imam, that is, a Muslim priest. She eventually set up her own sewing club (*White's undated and unpublished History of Tumelong Mission*).

During this time, Kitty MacLea (d.1996), organised rug making among the disabled. She was a former nurse and a member of St Wilfrid's Anglican Church, Hillcrest, Pretoria. MacLea was a devoted Christian and a member of the Pretoria branch of the Liberal Party. She was highly committed to issues of social justice. Her primary contribution to the work of Tumelong was to take Christian values into the chaotic conditions of marginalised people in Pretoria. MacLea cared for the people who were resettled in Mamelodi township. These were removed by the government from Highlands, now Garsfontein, and Newlands. MacLea operated from a tiny hut in the veld and worked for proper housing for the homeless people in the area. She often travelled with Joan Watson, the director of Tumelong (Joint Citation for the Order of St Alban the Martyr in respect of Ken and Kitty MacLea. 1994).

White records in (*History of Tumelong Mission*), that MacLea was involved with the Dean, the late Mark Nye, in the foundation of the African School Feeding Scheme. She ran sewing classes in the townships and recruited candidates for community work. Maclea played a role in the establishment of the Mamelodi and Odi (Ga-Rankuwa) Associations for the Physically Disabled, the first welfare organisation to be registered by the former Bophuthatswana Government. The Association exported rugs manufactured by the physically disabled. MacLea helped White start a new feeding scheme at Maboloka, a large settlement on the way to Jericho in the North West Province. A teacher from the school had approached Winnie Nkomo to ask that a feeding scheme be

introduced in her area. This remained a success while she was still alive but the scheme came to an end when the teacher died. Other schemes were started but collapsed as they depended heavily on the support of teachers.

6.3 An evaluation of discussion on developments at Tumelong during the period 1969-

The future of Tumelong became a matter of concern after Christmas 1968. Winnifred Funnel informed Bishop Knapp-Fisher that the time had come for her to resign her position as director of Tumelong. She wanted to be relieved of her responsibility after Easter of 1969. Knapp-Fisher asked Funnel to postpone her departure for several months until the end of 1969. He detailed plans for the future of Tumelong in a letter to Lawrence dated 1 October 1969. The Mission owed its existence to her vision and its welfare was very close to her heart. A decision was taken on 31 September 1969, that Sister Grace Mary should continue to work with Funnel for three months and she would relinquish her position at the end of December.

Sister Grace Mary was appointed director in her place²². Both Knapp-Fisher and Mother Joan hoped another Sister would shortly be appointed to work with Sister Grace Mary. The work of Tumelong was continued through the help of the Community of St Mary the Virgin. White worked at the Diocesan office during the week, and continued with Tumelong's work at the request of Knapp-Fisher. However, she felt drawn to the work in Lesotho and wanted to work there. Joan Watson took over from Funnel as director of Tumelong in 1970. She had served as Moral Welfare Organiser in the London Diocese and started a number of projects in her two years at Tumelong. These consisted of sewing clubs, self-supporting school feeding schemes and a selling scheme for high protein foods at Mabopane. During Watson's time, Tumelong work extended to the

Whereas White in her undated and unpublished *History of Tumelong Mission* records December 1969 as being the date when Funnel retired from Tumelong, this event is cited in *Pretoria Diocesan Centenary* 1878-1978, 1978:20 as having taken place in April 1970. Whereas White claims in her *History of Tumelong Mission* that Sister Grace Mary took over from Funnel in December, 1970, it is claimed in the *Diocesan Centenary* 1878-1978, 1978:20, that this arrangement fell through at the last moment.

Hammanskraal area (*Pretoria Diocesan Centenary 1878-1978 Souvenir Album.* 1978:20). Dorothy Mosue was appointed a part-time worker for the mission at Mabopane in 1970.

6.4 Details of an interview conducted with Lilias Graham on 26 March 1996

I talked with Lilias Graham (b.1917), about Tumelong on 26 March 1996. She had come to visit South Africa, and had on that day, accompanied the mission workers on their weekly visit to Mabopane and surrounding areas. Graham informed me that she initially came to South Africa in 1973. The intention of the visit was to take over as director of Tumelong from Mary White. White was due to go to England for a long holiday. Graham informed me that the activities of Tumelong included work in creches which she visited. She was amazed by the things done at these creches with the minimal of resources. Graham tried to get more resources. This was all part of the job she was doing for various people, not just for little children. She observed that most of the creches were run only by two people. This figure remained the same irrespective of the size of the creche. The ladies in charge of the creches did a great job, but no one had really told them what their job was all about.

Graham arrived in February 1973, and concluded that a training programme was essential. The teachers agreed with enthusiasm, and Graham arranged a training programme at Temba. She thought it was a pity that the medium of communication on that course was English rather than one of the indigenous languages. The participants said they would not be able to understand the course conducted in vernacular. The course was a success (*Interview with Lilias Graham, 26 March 1996*).

Graham was also involved in feeding schemes, selling high protein food. Turnelong was engaged in the selling of high protein food because the food which people bought was often inadequate. The diet lacked the protein gained from eggs, milk and cheese. However, the Mission did not provide milk in the 1970's. Graham could not remember during our interview whether the people buying from Turnelong at the time managed to

buy beans, which are full of protein and provide good nourishment. She discovered a firm called Khupugani which sold various kinds of food, flowers, and vegetables. Graham would buy whatever she needed, put up a stall and sell. The Mission had the responsibility of providing food for forty poverty stricken families in Ga-Rankuwa and Mabopane. These were provided with rations consisting of 10 lbs. of mealie meal, 4 lbs. of sugar and some form of protein or marganine, a tin of pilchards, tinned or powdered milk, beans, etc. The Cathedral and other city parishes had a basket at their morning service for contributions of food. This food was used by Tumelong to supplement the R7 bi-monthly grants received by most pensioners.

Graham is a trained social worker and still does voluntary work at the age of seventy nine. She also has a theological background, having studied for two years at the William Temple Theological College in England. She comes from Scotland where as a youth worker she was involved with young people during the school term but had never done any actual children's work. However, a little boy came to her and said he used to be in a gang. He was tired of being in bad company and wanted to be good. The boy asked if Graham could come and run a gang for being good. She declined because she had no spare time. In the end Graham decided to be involved with the group of boys on Friday evenings. The group had few rules but one of these was that their meetings would end in prayer.

When Graham arrived in South Africa in February of 1973 and she was to have left towards the end of December of the same year. Tumelong hosted a lot of Christmas parties for creches and Graham wanted to be part of them. During her stay at Tumelong Graham used to commute between Mabopane, Ga-Rankuwa, Temba and Hebron Teacher Training College. She continued lecturing to the girls at the college as this had been one of White's responsibilities. Graham informed me that Tumelong did a lot of good work in the community. She hoped however, that the Mission would empower communities to develop themselves, and that communities would co-operate with Tumelong.

According to Graham, Turnelong worked in close co-operation with other charitable bodies such as Cripple Care, the Institute for the Blind and the National Council of Women. The Mission, assisted by Mrs Chueou a resident social worker for Ga-Rankuwa, discovered cases in need of poor relief. This consisted of a food parcel every two weeks, clothes and coal for the winter. The Mission helped the poor to get medical help or an old age pension. Graham worked with Winnie Nkomo during her stay at Turnelong. Nkomo, a trained nurse and the widow of an Anglican minister, was appointed to be the Mission's full-time African social worker in 1968. She cared for two orphans in addition to her own ten children. Nkomo's daughter, Grace, was also employed by Turnelong in the 1970 s (*Pretoria Diocesan Centenary 1878-1978. Souvenir Album*, 1978:20).

Sewing clubs were started by Joan Watson at Stinkwater and Eersterus, also in the Hammanskraal area. However, these projects soon collapsed without sewing teachers. White mentions in her unpublished article on Tumelong Mission that creche teachers were poorly trained. She organised annual training courses for creche teachers with the help of the Bantu Affairs Department. White was for several years greatly indebted to a trainer who ran a course at Jabulani Training College, Soweto. The trainer came over on a number of occasions and helped with the training of creche teachers.

The experiment was made in 1974 of appointing an African Assistant Director. Graham made friends with Dorah Mashiane (d.1991), a nursing sister at Jubilee Hospital at Hammanskraal. She believed Mashiane would make a good assistant director of Tumelong. Mashiane was appointed but seemed to be lost without the hospital framework. Her work came to an abrupt end when, returning to Hammanskraal from Knapp-Fisher's farewell party on a Sunday night in May 1975, her car was pushed off the bridge into Temba by a drunken driver. Mashiane was in hospital for many months. Mrs Lebelo, a sewing teacher who was with her at the time of the accident, died in June of the same year. Mashiane was obliged to retire and her place was taken by Grace Nkomo at the end of 1977. Her appointment was necessitated by the escalation at this time of the need for bursaries and the need to work among young people in the townships (Interview)

with Lilias Graham, 26 March 1996).

One of Graham's pre-occupations was Sunday Schools. Tumelong sponsored teacher training meetings at Ga-Rankuwa for the five Sunday Schools in different parts of the parish. These comprised Makau, Ramogodi, Mabopane, and other outlying stations. Sunday School work was regarded by Tumelong as being crucial to the building up of parish life. It was decided after 1976 that training courses should be held at the Cathedral every two months as the yenue was ideally situated. White failed to find a course of lessons which she could adapt to teach with confidence. Eventually Michael Nuttal, Bishop of Pretona (1975-1982), suggested that she should write the courses in collaboration with Sam Motebe of the Diocese's Education Department. However, White ended up doing the courses herself. It was Turnelong's custom to host Sunday School parties before Christmas each year. As the organisation got involved in more and more places, the parties multiplied until there were about twelve. The Friends of Tumelong Committee had an enormous amount of work making sugar cakes. White diluted many gallons of orange squash and washed innumerable yoghurt cups in between parties. Toys were either given or bought with donations given by some parishes in the diocese. Bertha MacKay, an elderly worker, repaired soft toys and made rag dolls. Some Sunday School parties were pleasant affairs held under trees in private gardens, and others were extremely hot in silent classrooms or tin churches.

One of White's unofficial jobs was visiting the Hebron Teacher Training College once a month on a Sunday morning. Father George Matlapeng, then priest in charge of St Peter's, asked White to go and talk to Anglican students at the service which was organised by the students. Sometimes Matlapeng attended or a catechist took the service. White was involved with the students until she retired in 1980. Infrequently the Sisters invited students to their Sunday evening services at the Cathedral. White also adjudicated at school singing competitions because she was one of the few people who could read both staff notation and tonic sol-fa. She adjudicated the English or Afrikaans songs and one of the African musicians did the vemacular. White turned sixty five in May

1977 and offered to retire. However, Bishop Nuttal asked her to continue until the end of 1980. During this period Dorothy Wilson worked for Tumelong on a part time basis doing office work. White took leave and went to England for two and a half months during 1978. Wilson looked after her flat and when White returned, she shared the flat with her as Wilson had no transport of her own. Wilson acted as treasurer of the mission in the last few months she spent at Tumelong. The mission's treasurer, Ethel de Waal, had died from lung cancer (Interview with Lilias Graham, 26 March 1996).

It was decided that there should be an African director when White retired. A Methodist, David Malete was appointed for the task. He was highly recommended but was not a success. He assisted White in one of the residential Sunday School teacher's weekends. This was organised at Boithutong Training Centre at Soshanguve. Boithutong, which trained church workers, was built in the 1970's.

Graham gave me her impressions about the work of Tumelong, and about the person of White. She believes that Tumelong is motivated by the Christian belief of being concerned for people in their various kinds of need, sorrow, or any kind of adversity (Book of Common Prayer 1982:234). The work of the Mission is funded by churches who offer collections for charity. Graham further stated during the interview that the condition of the poor remains the same, and in that sense the work of Turnelong remains indispensable to some communities. She told me that Mary White is a lay person and that she influenced people by her sincere Christianity. White and her assistant, Dorothy Wilson, did Sunday School training during the ten years she spent in South Africa. Like many of her contemporaries White had a privileged background, and wanted to serve people less privileged than herself. She was awarded an MBE, as well as the Order of St Alban's, in recognition of her contribution to the work of Turnelong. White retired to St Katharine's Home, Wantage, in England. She is a spiritually disciplined person, strong and faithful in saying the Daily Offices, and in intercession. When not involved elsewhere in the Diocese of Pretoria, White was a faithful worshipper at the Cathedral where she was involved in the choir. She was for many years a loving presence in the Cathedral Close where she resided. White finished her work at Turnelong on 31 December 1980, and travelled to England in April 1981.

7. The history of Turnelong Mission in the period post-1980

7.1 A discussion on an article on Tumelong by Lannie Motale in Pretoria News of 5 April

Lannie Motale, in an article published by the *Pretoria News* on 5 April 1995, describes the Mission in terms of its being a place of hope, where marginalised communities can learn to empower themselves. Turnelong focuses its work in Winterveld and is a place of hope and recovery for disadvantaged communities north of Pretoria. The Mission is a nongovernmental organisation attached to the Anglican Diocese of Pretoria's Mission for community development. Although a Mission of the Pretoria Diocese, Turnelong gets no funding from the church, and the staff are not paid by the Diocese. By 1995, the Mission had seven projects in the Winterveld, Temba, Mabopane, Ga-Rankuwa and surrounding areas. The centre in Winterveld consists of a pre-school, primary school, skills training centre, literacy centre, church and clinic. The Church of St Joseph's, is located on the Anglican plot and had its steel frame constructed during 1985. The structure was completed in 1991 by local builders, and dedicated in 1993 by Bishop Richard Austin Kraft (b.1936).

Turnelong has always been a Mission which cared for disadvantaged people in the communities where it works. Since 1991 there has been great expansion of Turnelong with the Care and Relief Department which formed a part of five other projects. Care and relief forms the core of the Mission's ministry to the underprivileged. By 1996, eighty families were being cared for by the field workers with the supply of food collected under the Fill a Bag, Feed a Family Scheme. This is a project whereby individuals commit themselves to purchase certain food items to fill a paper bag every month. The contents were decided on by nutritionists and feed a family for ten days. The value of these 100 bags a month is a donation of R43 000 per annum. The parish of St Francis, Waterkloof, is a regular participant in Turnelong's Care and Relief Programme.

When the *Pretoria News* gave up their blanket distribution, the Mission took up the challenge and has distributed blankets to the poor in areas served by Tumelong. The Mission collects about R10, 000 per annum for this purpose and relies on donations for the blankets which are distributed during winter. In addition, jerseys knitted by students from Pretoria Girls' High, St Mary's Diocesan School for Girls and from craft groups and individuals, are distributed to deserving cases by Tumelong. Bursaries for about three hundred and fifty pupils are granted annually in the form of paying school fees for children from grade one to matriculation. These scholars could otherwise not attend school. A combined project of the Tumelong departments is encouragement to grow a vegetable garden. There are now gardens in schools, pre-schools, nutrition centres and private yards. The big rains which came during 1996 retarded the progress of this project as several gardens were washed out.

Tumelong raises funds to run the Mission's departments and received donations from sources such as the South African Council of Churches, various Embassies, ITHUBA, and big businesses. Nevertheless, Tumelong is helping people whose numbers are far in excess of what one would expect from such a small number of paid workers. Seven teachers are paid by the Education Department of the North West Province, and one clinic is supported by the health department of the North West Province. Donations are made in kind by companies and individuals. If these were taken into consideration the budget in 1996 reached nearly R1 million. However, the bulk of the money comes through the generosity of people in Pretonia. Tumelong has since its inception survived on the belief that the organisation is working to expand God's Kingdom in this part of the world. The faith of Tumelong workers has resulted in the organisation being able to continue with all they had to do without running out of money.

The Ntlhomogelepelo (Have Mercy upon Me) pre-school was built in 1991. It is run by the Catholic Sisters of Mercy with the assistance of two teachers and helpers. The pre-school provides care, education and a daily meal for seventy children. Ntlhomogelepelo is equipped with two classrooms, but had no running water in 1995 although there were

good facilities. The pre-school has a daily programme of discussions, story telling, music and rhymes. The skills of children are developed through drawing, cutting and pasting, painting and solving puzzles. Agnes Mahlangu, a teacher at the centre, stated in an article published by the *Pretoria News* on 5 April 1995, that the school's policy was; "never do for a child what he can do for himself".

The Thusong (Place of help) Woman and Child Project which serves as a clinic was built in 1992, and previously operated from the incomplete St Joseph's Church building. The project consists of two clinics, one Thusong, dealing with Aids treatment and education, as well as other sexually transmitted diseases, care of the terminally ill, and a general clinic which is in Winterveld. Tumelong Nutrition Centres also come under Thusong, with their accompanying small businesses. Thusong clinic is manned by Catholic staff, and renders preventive as well as curative care to the local community. The Catholic Sisters operate from the Anglican health centre in a programme supported by both. Thusong strives to serve the medical and social needs of the Winterveld community. Thusong is a favourite among the women in the area as it provides counselling, health discussions, voter education, health promotions, the weighing of babies, immunisation and the preparation of candidates for leamer drivers' licences.

Lekgema Clinic is situated in Madidi and operates as a Primary Health Clinic to which is attached to Rantoni Community Centre. The centre houses a Montessori Pre-School, as well as a nutrition centre and Community Based Rehabilitation Centres for handicapped adults and children. Tumelong is also home to the Itsoseng sewing classes. These were initiated in 1992, and the project was at its inception managed by Margaret Moima with the assistance of Japhtaline Malatji. The project offered twenty students a one year sewing course accredited by the Education Department. Khulani School was started in 1990 to cater for children in Winterveld who had no opportunity to go to school. Originally these children were mainly Shangaan speaking Mozambican refugees. There are now four hundred and fifty students who are still taught in Shangaan, but in other languages as well. Adult literacy is taught in the afternoons and there is a dressmaking school

operating from the church property. Parents, teachers and pupils helped to build the Winterveld Community Centre, and the Khupugani Primary School came into being in April 1992, with forty pupils and two teachers. By 1995, Khulani boasted seven teachers who served more than two hundred children from disadvantaged families. The schools offer classes to standard four, with pupils ranging in age from six to fourteen years.

The deputy principal of Khulani and a standard two teacher, Donald Ngonyama, stated in an interview published in the *Pretoria News* of 5 April 1995, that all the teachers were unqualified. However, they had enrolled for a teacher's diploma with a correspondence college in Pretoria. Ngonyama said also that the school did not have a full-time principal who could guide and give the staff the required training. The school depended on donors for funding until the government could step in to help the community of Winterveld. According to Ngonyama, the local community has already shown that they are prepared to help themselves. He appealed to the government and the public to join hands with the Khupugani School and turn the project into a success story.

One of the Mission's projects is the Lerato la Bana (The Love of children) embroidery centre. The centre is a home industry which was developed from the Winterveld Nutrition Centres. As mothers waited to feed their malnourished children, they were taught to embroider T-shirts, sew waistcoats, dresses, tablecloths, cushion covers, embroidering tackies, and other items. These are sold at flea markets, shops, churches and craft markets. Lerato la Bana employs a hundred women. After the children reached an acceptable weight, the mothers decided to use their sewing skills to support themselves. The programme included child care, nutrition training, adult literacy, family planning and vegetable gardening.

Mantwa Baloyi, co-ordinator of the embroidery project, said the aim of the whole exercise was to make the one hundred women self-sufficient so that they could in turn train others.

According to Baloyi a self-sufficient woman is capable of empowering a big portion of the community. Tumelong, which means "Place of Faith", is living up to its name as it brings

faith and hope to people who had no place in today's challenging world.

Mary White wrote in a letter to the Friends of Tumelong dated 24 June 1996, that Fr Norton Taylor told her in a letter dated 4 June 1996, that the Revd John Burrel would replace him as Chairperson of Tumelong. Burrel is rector of Trinity Church, Lynnwood, Pretoria, a parish which has been involved for a long time with the mission. It was Fr Taylor who started the Winterveld project which included the building of St Joseph's Church, Khulani School for Mozambican refugee children, the clinic and various self-help projects. Taylor hoped that Burrel would be able to consolidate these and help to establish the small business which was struggling. In May 1996, Khulani received a grant from the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund. Ngonyama persuaded the North West Provincial Government to pay the teachers' salaries. The bulk of Khulani's teaching staff is made up of Winterveld people. Taylor wrote to Mary White that the teachers had grown with the school, and that their loyalty had been tested in the fire. With the salaries paid, it became easy to raise funds for general maintenance. There were eight classes in 1996.

Taylor told White (letter 4 June 1996), that Khulani School had a roll of four hundred and thirty and adult literacy classes were held in the afternoon. The second clinic, larger than the first, was opened on 7 June 1996. It includes a centre where disabled people can do various jobs. The Co-ordinators of the various projects meet every month "to fill in for the missing Director" (letter 4 June 1996). This way of working has brought the leadership into closer co-operation than previously. Taylor wrote that the Mission encouraged the Diocese to provide a Stipendiary Deacon to oversee the projects, but would view this as a more advisory and developmental role than it was in the recent past. With regard to funding, Taylor estimated that Tumelong cost up to R500 000 per annum to run. He added that White could assure The Friends of Tumelong in England that the money they contributed to Tumelong was well spent.

7.2 Conclusion

Chapter 7 discussed the contribution of Tumelong to the educational, economic and health needs of the community of Winterveld in the period after 1980. The task was achieved through an evaluation of an article on the Mission published by the *Pretoria News* on 5 April 1995. It may thus be concluded that the work of the Tumelong Mission which was established by Clare Lawrence at Lady Selbome in 1939, continues through the operations of Tumelong in Winterveld.

CHAPTER 8

8. Other Missionary organisations in the Diocese of Pretoria

Introduction

This chapter highlights the contribution of missions in the outreach of the Anglican Church in Pretoria. The oppressive nature of political and economic forces in South Africa during the latter half of the twentieth century prompted the Anglican Church in Pretoria to undertake mission and social work within disadvantaged communities of the Diocese. Turnelong's contribution in this regard has already been documented elsewhere²³. However, this should not be viewed in isolation. Four other missions operated in the Diocese of Pretoria prior to 1939. Missions such as Khaiso, the Jane Furse Memorial Hospital and the Sekhukhuniland Mission, the Pretoria Native Mission, and the Mission of The Good Shepherd were established by the Anglican Church to empower marginalised communities in the Diocese of Pretoria. Khaiso operated from Pietersburg and served as an extension of Turnelong in the far northern part of the Diocese. The Jane Furse Memorial Hospital was established in 1921 as a centre for the medical mission in Sekhukhuniland. In 1905, the Good Shepherd Mission was established with the purpose of serving the Coloured community of Pretoria.

8.1 The role of the Anglican Church in the sphere of mission education in South Africa in the period 1825-1953

The church in South Africa has played a prominent role in the provision of education for the African communities since the first half of the seventeenth century. In many districts there would have been no schools at all if the church had not taken the lead (*The Church Militant* 1936:47). By 1825 churches everywhere began gradually to establish mission schools, and each mission station had a primary school attached to it. Missions erected buildings, paid teachers, and supervised schools. These gave Africans an educational system based upon the Christian faith and upon and the traditions of Christian culture and

civilisation. Pioneer missionary work in African education was still being undertaken in the period 1930-1940. From 1925 grants in aid were given to mission schools and a system developed whereby the four Provinces became responsible for the supervision of African education. However, grants allocated to mission schools were utilised mainly for teachers' salaries and equipment. By 1934 it was still impossible to secure any increase in grants for additional teachers from the Education Department, or for new schools. The result was that many African schools were understaffed and many applications for new schools had to be declined (Stanton 1961:125).

During the 1920's, elementary education had been at a standstill with no hope of expansion. The Revd DF Stowell was superintendent of twelve schools which were scattered over the wide district of the Diocese of Pretoria. He headed a school with a roll of 1225 children and these were taught by twenty seven teachers and two carpentry instructors. However, the government only paid for eighteen teachers. The salaries of the rest came from the children's school fees and from private sources. School fees were charged at the rate of 6 pence a month, but this income was spent on equipment. The demand for schools was unceasing, and within four months urgent appeals for new schools came from four different centres (*The Eternal Purpose* 1934). However, the government would not pay for more teachers. This meant Stowell had to pay the salaries out of his own pocket, or refuse to employ more teachers. Canon Jenkins, in his capacity as director of African missions in the Diocese of Pretoria informed the SPG how keen Africans had been to build schools.

A publication of the SPG, *The SPG and Lambeth* (1948:68), reported that tiny "bush" schools were scattered over the country. These taught the elements of education. However, primary and secondary schools which led to training colleges for teachers were to be found at bigger centres. Thousands of African pupils in need of tuition could not be accommodated in existing mission schools. There were at least ten thousand children for whom there was no place at school in Orlando, Johannesburg, during 1940 (*The Church Undaunted* 1940:112). Most mission schools were staffed entirely by Africans.

Some of these were staffed by a single teacher and struggled with the minimum of equipment and the maximum of enthusiasm. Both children and their parents appreciated the service rendered by church schools. Children often left home by 07:00 in the moming, or earlier, and walked eight miles across the veld to school. They would be at school until 14:30, then walk the eight miles back home again. Some of these pupils would spend the whole day at school without food, and others depended on whatever food they brought with them. All African members of the Anglican Church in Pretoria were eager for education. However, the cost of obtaining such education was thrown upon their own shoulders. Moreover, though government grants were made, they were not on a scale adequate for the needs of African schools. As a consequence the church and the people themselves had to make great sacrifices in order to make up for the lack of government assistance (*The Eternal Purpose* 1934:71).

Even though the government took a greater part in building schools, and in the provision of grants, ninety percent of all schools were founded and owned by missions (*The SPG and Lambeth* 1948:68). Missions administered schools and by 1936, the call for the reform of African education led to the appointment of a commission by the Minister of Education. This was made up of the inspectors of African schools in the four Provinces. One of the far-reaching recommendations made by the Commission was that African Education be placed under the control of a Central Authority for the whole of the Union, instead of each province being responsible for its own administration (*The Church Militant* 1936:48). Mission schools hoped to benefit financially from the proposed restructuring of education. Theodore Gibson, Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman (1928-1943), commented as follows on the report of the commission:

If this step is taken and further recommendation generously put into practice, vis. the increase of funds, the step will be in the right direction. If, however, the financial recommendations are not carried out, the step may bring very great anxieties to Native education in the Province (in The Church Militant 1936:48).

During the 1930's there were disparities in the way the government financed education for the various race groups in South Africa. Whereas European education was compulsory and free, Africans were not compelled to send their children to school. Schools were out of reach for the great majority of the children, and about eighty percent of the African population was illiterate in 1948 (*The SPG and Lambeth* 1948:68). Conditions under which the educational work of the church was conducted varied with the attitude of the Education Authorities in the four Provinces of the Union. In St John's Diocese which had over two hundred and sixty church schools, the policy of the government was negative, and at first grants to rural secondary schools were refused. This situation changed for the better, to the extent that Gibson stated that school buildings were always in a state of being renewed, put up or enlarged (*ibid*).

The Provincial government paid teachers and the church provided the buildings. As Bishop of St John's (1943-1951), Theodore Gibson, lamented that the manager, often the priest in charge of the mission, could not appoint or remove teachers, but could only recommend to the Department that a teacher be appointed or dismissed. The local Education Department in the diocese of Pretoria aimed at better schools by means of grants and loans. The church had in response to an offer made by the government, applied for grants which could be used to provide more schools and classrooms. It had also been the wish of Africans in the Diocese of Pretona that the church should take over the care of mission schools. However, the failure on part of the government to provide adequate financial backing for African education resulted in a large number of unqualified teachers not qualifying for grants.

Trevor Huddleston (b.1913), (1955:162); writing on the subject of church schools, states that by 1955 there were 4360 mission schools as opposed to only 230 government schools in 1945. Of the 230 government schools, four fifths had been built during the previous twenty years. By 1949, the country's 4500 African mission schools were in the process of being taken over by the Nationalist government. Until the 1950's, almost the whole of African education had been left to voluntary missionary bodies. The church's

involvement in African education was threatened by the introduction of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. African education would in terms of the Act be placed under state control (Huddleston 1955:162). Authorities had, moreover, announced that by 1940 primary education would be free for Africans. Mission schools had prior to such announcement required the payment of fees from parents.

However, the amount provided by the government for African education was still inadequate. Only a minority of the children could afford even an elementary education. Very few Africans ever reached positions as skilled craftsmen or entered the liberal professions. This was because of job reservation for whites. Christian bodies did all they could to provide schools, but their financial means were severely limited (*Onward* 1940:77). African Anglican school teachers were trained at either Grace Dieu, Rosettenville, Khaiso, Penhalonga, or Umtata. These institutions overcame difficulties and made opportunities, and the teachers themselves struggled to live on meagre salaries. School grants were too small and buildings in desperate need of repair. The majority of pupils at church schools were always underfed and ill-protected against the rain and cold. However, the church did provide further opportunities of education for the few fortunate ones.

3.2 The contribution of Grace Dieu to the training of student teachers in the Transvaal Grace Dieu was an Anglican Teacher Training College at Pietersburg headed by Canon Percy Woodfield in the period 1923-1939. He retired in 1939 in order to take charge of the Pretoria Native Mission. Woodfield was succeeded as principal by the Revd C.M. Jones (*The SPG Story Told To 1939*). The Revd Moses Chirwa told me on 29 May 1996, that teachers at most church schools were trained at mission colleges. Attendance at a mission institution was imperative for securing a teaching post in mission schools. Grace Dieu trained teachers in the Dioceses of Pretoria and Johannesburg. Besides teacher training, the college specialised in preparing students in domestic science. Grace Dieu raised the understanding of Christianity in African homes as the influence of the church on mission schools was phenomenal. This arose from services held daily at the college

chapel. This reflected on the lives of students either during their stay at Grace Dieu, or after they had left the college. Parents appreciated the moral and religious influence imparted to their children by teachers trained at mission colleges. According to Chirwa, three quarters of the activities at Grace Dieu were fashioned along Christian lines and the college intended making Christians out of students rather than convert them to Anglicanism.

A student who sought admission to the Anglican Church in 1935 reiterated Chirwa's observation regarding the influence of Grace Dieu on its students. On being asked why he sought confirmation in the church the student responded that it was difficult not to follow the right religion when he saw it. The Bishop of Pretoria, Wilfrid Parker, wrote on the spiritual influence Grace Dieu had on its students. He said that there was no pressure put on non-Anglican students at the college to become Anglicans, but that they could join the church if they wished (*The Church Militant* 1935:50). Grace Dieu had a unique gift for awakening *espirit de corps*, that is, a spirit which lived in the hearts of students and staff long after they left. Former students applied for admission on behalf of their best pupils and school inspectors told of the zeal for social service shown by teachers trained at Grace Dieu.

Grace Dieu was a protagonist of the Pathfinder movement, an affiliate of the Boy Scouts Association. The movement had a positive influence on the moral and spiritual life of the college's students. Grace Dieu also had a reputation for excellence in education, and produced good results in candidate teachers' examinations. Wood carving was one of the subjects taught at the college in the 1930's, and Grace Dieu maintained high standards in artistic work. Among the achievers at Grace Dieu was Ernest Mancoba the first African sculptor in wood to have been trained at the college (*The SPG Story Told to 1939:51*).

Grace Dieu participated in the Anglican Church's missionary outreach to the African communities of the northern Transvaal. in 1925, the Revd Evelyn Dlepu (d.1966), was

released from the teaching staff of the college and offered full-time work in the college's mission district which comprised of 1 000 sq. miles. As a result of the college's initiative in mission work one heathen chief sent his seventeen wives to the hearers' class. Another, who had been a great opponent of Christianity, asked for a service at his kraal on Christmas Day. He stopped the African dances so that his people could hear the gospel. Afterwards the chief asked for instruction in the faith. Two unnamed schismatic congregations joined the college mission in 1925. Churches were built in the Pietersburg area at the time and included one built by a white farmer. African students at Grace Dieu were members of the Student's Christian Movement and held fortnightly meetings in heathen kraals in the district. They brought in various hearers to the classes (*The King's Business, The World Our Field* 1925:88).

Grace Dieu fostered vocations to the sacred ministry and African members of the teaching staff were encouraged to consider entering the ordained ministry. In 1925, seventeen former students of Grace Dieu attended St Peter's Theological College at Rosettenville, a college run by the Community of the Resurrection (Mirfield Fathers) (The King's Business, The World Our Field 1925:89). A grant of a hundred and fifty pounds was allocated by the SPG to Grace Dieu in 1935. This was used for the renewal of scholarships to the college, and to assist with the purchase of two adjoining farms. The number of students in training in 1935 was the highest ever in the college's thirty years's of existence. By 1937 Grace Dieu had an enrolment of 414 students in the college, and schools, and 217 of these were boarders (In Other Lands 1937:33). The SPCK made an annual grant of 300 pounds to the college in 1939. This provided bursaries for 35 needy students who received variable grants which were determined according to individual needs. Woodfield indicated in a report to the SPCK in 1939, that the Society's bursaries were appreciated by the students and these gave the college an opportunity to receive students who would otherwise have been unable to meet the expenses of a college course (The SPG Story Told to 1939).

8.3 The role of Khaiso Mission in the missionary outreach of the Diocese of Pretoria

The Anglican Church in Pretoria had in the period prior to 1953, met the educational needs of African people through its mission schools. This section investigates the role of Khaiso Mission, Pietersburg, in the church's involvement in the area of African education. The Mission was established by Bishop Latimer Fuller, funded by the SPG, and run through the labours of Christian workers. Khaiso initially catered for babies from kindergarten through to standard six. By 1940, however, the mission operated a secondary school with a technical department for girls which turned to be one of the church's best educational institutions in South Africa (*The Church Undaunted* 1940:113). The SPG sponsored bursanes worth three pounds each for eight children who studied at Khaiso Secondary School. By 1939, the number of pupils at the school stood at 5000. At Khaiso, there were a number of boarders, a medical department with several clinics, and a maternity home (*In Other Lands*, 1939).

8.4 The history of the Good Shepherd Mission during the period 1905-1978

Little has been written about the history of the Mission of The Good Shepherd, Pretoria. This also applies to the Pretoria Native Mission which operated in the Pretoria during the first half of the twentieth century. For that reason the histories of both missions are treated as a unit in this chapter. The Mission of the Good Shepherd was established in 1905, on the grounds of St Mark's Mission, at what was known as the Cape Reserve, Pretoria. A church, a school and a house formed part of the original mission complex. Prior to 1905, panishioners assembled for worship in homes all over Pretoria with Fr Hanford as the first priest. He helped to establish the Chapel of Ease in Joubert Lane near Prinsloo Street. A school was erected at the Native Mission and the complex moved to Bloed Street in 1919. St Mark's was changed to The Good Shepherd Mission, and a school was started by Sister Rose, Nancy Thumbran and Rose Apples, the first women to teach at the Mission.

In 1936, Margaret Warries taught at the Mission School, Bloed Street, Cape Reserve. She was described in her citation for the Order of St Alban the Martyr, as a pillar of the church and as a dedicated servant of God. Her ministry to and her love of children continued work through the years. She worked in the creche in Eersterus, Pretoria, for twenty-four years. She is affectionately referred to as "teacher Margie" by the community. Warries received the Freedom of Eersterus in recognition of her work in the community when she turned eighty. She plays the piano at the Centre for the Mentally Retarded, the Welfare Centre, and Masada Creche. Warries's still acts as organist to the Good Shepherd parish, and regularly visits the ill and housebound. She demonstrates her love for God through service to others (*Citation for the Order of St Alban the Martyr in respect of Margaret Warries*. 1996).

Canon Farmer was appointed the first rector of the parish of the Good Shepherd and in 1907 Sister Rose started the Mother's Union. St Anne's Church, built for the use of "coloured people" by Miss Ida Marten at Claremont, Pretoria, was sold in 1935. Marten, whose brother was Provost of Eton College in England, joined the parish in 1920. In 1935, she was the main donor for the building of St Andrews Church, Highlands, which is now part of Eersterus, in Pretoria East. The government insisted on The Good Shepherd Mission School becoming an Afrikaans medium school, and it closed in 1951 (*Pretoria Diocesan Centenary 1878-1978. Souvenir Album* 1978:26).

8.5 The history of the Pretoria Native Mission

It is not known exactly how the Pretoria Native Mission was established. The Mission operated among the poor communities within the Pretoria City area. It was composed of St Cuthbert's and St Augustine's churches in Pretoria, and thirty other congregations in the mission district. The SPG financed the building of churches in urban areas, as well as the stipends of the European staff of the Pretoria Native Mission. It was the aim of the Mission to grapple with the effects of urban life on detribalised African workers in the city. In a report to the SPG during 1923, Michael Furse, Bishop of Pretoria (1909-1920), outlined difficulties experienced in mission work among Africans in urban areas of the Transvaal. He mentioned that the demoralisation of African life resulted from the wholesale corruption of domestic workers. The Anglican Church in Pretoria established

a hostel for African women in an attempt to alleviate the problem. The hostel was under the supervision of Miss Bridge, a SPG worker. In 1922, Bridge was joined in her work by Miss Walters, another SPG worker (*A Goodly Fellowship* 1923:77).

The Revd. C J Tapsfield was involved with the Pretoria Native Mission until 1926. He was replaced by the Revd. A M Jenkin, formerly of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, and at one time vicar of Rustenburg (*Reveille* 1926:91). By 1929, there was one European priest on the staff of the Pretoria Native Mission, and the SPG provided 300 pounds per annum which was used to provide the stipend of an additional priest (*Next Steps* 1929:91). According to a report in the publication of the SPG, *Salute to Adventurers*, (1931:93), the Pretoria Native Mission had in addition to its work among workers, also cared for patients at the Westfort Leper Colony. The latter was a government sponsored leper asylum in Pretoria West in 1914. The Mission also administered the Grace Dieu College at Pietersburg.

The Westfort Leper Colony was home during the 1920's to about one thousand patients of all races. An unnamed leper asylum was closed during the period prior to 1935, and this added to the number of patients at Westfort. As a result, the church building at the asylum was extended at a cost of 300 pounds. Here church services were conducted each Friday by a Mission worker who came from Pretoria (*World-Wide Witness* 1922:73), (*Here, There, And Everywhere* 1935:33).

A number of workers emerged at Westfort at the time. A certain Josh acted as a catechist in 1932. Archdeacon Parker was impressed by his work when he visited the asylum. In 1932, Parker wrote in a report to the SPG of Josh's pastoral work at Westfort. This included the preparation of candidates for baptism and confirmation (*The Church Undaunted* 1932:95).

Sister Caroline Rogers (d.1948) pioneered the work of Westfort in 1912. In 1914 the training of leper teachers was started at the institution and from 1915 Rogers visited the

patients Westfort. She wrote to the SPG in 1932 that her work at the institution radiated from the Church of the Transfiguration at Westfort (*The Church Undaunted* 1932:95).

Ada Whiteman (d.1929) was matron at Westfort during the period 1900-1929. Fr Jenkins, who later became an Archdeacon, is the first priest to have worked at Westfort. His first entry in the records of the Pretoria Native Mission, is for 27 August 1929. Nelville Talbot, Bishop of Pretoria, 1920-1933, confirmed 31 candidates on 4 January 1928. Frs D Stowell and Benedict Pitso succeeded Jenkins as priests at Westfort. The new cemetery was consecrated on 24 July 1933 by Bishop Wilfrid Parker.

Fr Percy Woodfield, the longest serving priest at Westfort, commenced ministry at the asylum in 1938, where he was assisted by John Matlejoane (*Pretoria Diocesan Centenary 1878-1978*, 1978:21). In 1941, Matlejoane resigned and took charge of St Bernard the Martyr Parish, Atteridgeville. From 1942, Ishmael Semenya succeeded Matlejoane as priest at Atteridgeville and assisted Woodfield at Westfort. Fr Donald Arden, an assistant to Woodfield, recorded a substantial number of visits to Westfort. He was appointed Bishop of Malawi and later Archbishop of Central Africa.

Sister Ann Glendinnen, Mrs Margaret Warries and Miss Thelleman are the women workers who worked at Westfort. Johannes Manaswe, a catechist at St Bernard, is one of the missionaries who worked at Westfort. In 1978, the Mission staff at Westfort was made up of Yvonne van Musschenbroek, Sister Winifred Mary CSMV, Johanna Maponya and Fr John Tsebe (*Pretoria Diocesan Centenary 1878-1978. Souvenir Album: 21*).

8.6 The role of Sekhukhuniland Mission in the history of the Diocese of Pretoria during the period 1921-1976

The Jane Furse Memorial Hospital was established by the Anglican Church in 1921 as a medical mission for Sekhukhuniland. The church addressed the medical needs of the community through the services rendered by the hospital. Pioneer Anglican missionaries

established their centre at Ga-Marishane (Mooifontein). Here, a chief had on his deathbed banished *the Dingaka*²³ from his village. The impetus to start the hospital arose from the life of Jane Furse, the only child of Michael the Bishop of Pretoria (1909-1920) and Frances Furse. Jane Furse who had made up her mind to be a medical doctor, died of scarlet fever on 3 August 1918 a few days before her fourteenth birthday. The hospital was built in her memory, and served the community in the following areas: evangelism, education and medicine. The medical complex which comprised a hundred acres was erected on the edge of the Sekhukhuniland reserve. It cost about 4000 pounds and the first patients were admitted in August 1921 (*Pretoria Diocesan Centenary 1878-1978.*Souvenir Album, 1978:63).

The Jane Furse Memorial Hospital was dedicated on 17 January 1922 with Dr McMurtrie as superintendent. It trained African women for medical mission work. They were sent to the Johannesburg General Hospital for further training and registration by the South African Nursing Council (*World-Wide-Witness* 1922:71). The Jane Furse hospital had an out-patients department which served an area of two to three hundred miles. There was noticeable increase in the number of patients treated at the hospital in the period 1923-24. In 1925, Dr S.E. Smith informed the SPG that there had been 1 441 new patients on the out-patient register. A new out-patient building was erected in 1925 and comprised a surgery, dispensary and a tiny waiting room for white patients. A contribution towards the upkeep of the hospital was made by confirmands in the Diocese of St Alban's, England (*The King's Business, The World our Field* 1925:86).

Since 1925, nursing Sister Wells did mission work in Manganeng where she started a class for women and girls. Canon Augustine Moeka, an Anglican missionary, worked in Sekhukhuniland for twenty years. The Revd King, a priest-doctor at Jane Furse informed the SPG in 1924, that Chief Sekhukhuni had attended a service in his own kraal and that the wife of another chief had converted to Christianity (*The Threefold Chord* 1924:83).

23

Chapters 5,6,& 7 are dedicated to the study of the role of Tumelong in the history of the Anglican Church's involvement with disadvantaged communities of Pretoria since 1939.

In 1934, Moeka founded the African religious Community of the Daughters of Mary. The probationer nuns were "mothered" by Sister Josephine of the Community of the Resurrection (CR). The community undertook intercessory prayer and evangelistic work among women and children (*The Eternal Purpose* 1934:79). However, members of the Community came from hostile villages in which they were antagonised. The case of Manche Masemola, a young catechumen, illustrates the intense persecution encountered by villagers who converted to the Christian religion in Sekhukhuniland. Masemola was martyred by her heathen parents as punishment for having attended a catechumen's class (*The Church Undaunted 1940*:108-109).

8.7 Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the role played by the network of Missions other than Tumelong in the work of the Anglican Church's outreach to disadvantaged communities of the Diocese of Pretoria in the first half of the twentieth century. Missions such as The Good Shepherd, the Pretoria Native Mission, Khaiso and the Sekhukhuniland Mission were spread throughout the diocese in the period under review. They addressed the social and economic imbalances in communities served by the church through involvement in the fields of education, medicine and social welfare. The mission of the church continued in spite of the shortage of resources, both human and financial.

8.8 Assessment

This dissertation demonstrated that the Anglican Church met the needs of communities at a time when most Africans in urban areas of South Africa led a life of social and economic deprivation. Mission and community development have since the 1920's constituted the focus of the Anglican Church's outreach to marginalised communities of the Transvaal. During the period under review (1939-1996), the Diocese of Pretona engaged the services of Ekutuleni and Tumelong Mission in meeting the needs of underdeveloped communities. In 1927 Dorothy Maud pioneered the work of Ekutulen at Sophiatown, Johannesburg. She provided the Diocese of Pretona with a model for community service.

In 1939 Clare Lawrence, who had in the 1930's served an apprenticeship under Maud at Ekutuleni, was asked by Bishop Parker to initiate the work of Tumelong at Lady Selborne, Pretoria, on lines similar to the work of the Mission at Sophiatown. Just as Maud built Leseding, a Mission house on the grounds of Ekutuleni at Sophiatown, Lawrence built Tumelong House on the property of St Peter's Church at Lady Selborne. Facilities similar to those provided by Maud for the community of Sophiatown such as a nursery, schools, a clinic and community centre, were erected by Lawrence at Tumelong.

However, both the work of the Ekutuleni and Turnelong was hampered in the period 1950-60. The government uprooted communities under the Group Areas's Act and the resettled these in under-developed areas. Whereas Ekutuleni discontinued its work as a result of the resettlement of the Sophiatown community, Turnelong followed the people into the newly established areas of Ga-Rankuwa-Mabopane and Hammanskraal. However, the Mission has due to the loss of its property at Lady Selborne lost much of its original impact. In the era after 1965 Turnelong ceased being engaged in the work of St Peter's Primary School and creche. In 1965 the Mission handed over the work of Turnelo-Katlegong creche at Ga-Rankuwa to the community.

Whereas prior to 1965 Tumelong formed part of the Lady Selborne community, the post resettlement period was characterised by an itinerant Mission in new areas. The Group Areas Act stipulated that whites could not reside in African locations. As a result most of the missionaries were cut off from the people they were supposed to serve. Tumelong has due to the restrictions imposed by the Act lost the presence at the Mission, of the members of the Community of St Mary the Virgin. Unlike at Lady Selborne where Tumelong owned substantial property, the Mission no longer owns property in the townships. This has greatly compromised Tumelong's ability to render a comprehensive service to the community.

In the early 1980's the Diocese withdrew from the administration of Tumelong and this task became the responsibility of the laity. Although benefitting black communities in areas around Pretona, the Mission is organised and funded by white Anglicans. One of

the major weaknesses associated with the Mission is its failure to generate the support of parishioners in the townships. However, Tumelong has re-established itself in the Winterveld where the Mission operates a creche, school, clinic and other community projects. There remains widespread ignorance on the part of black Anglicans about the role played by Tumelong in the life of the Diocese. The situation remains despite attempts made by the Mission to inform the church in this regard. This has led to the accusation of paternalism and domination being levelled against the whites involved with Tumelong. The inclusion of black Anglicans in the leadership of the Mission will negate the mistaken view that the affairs of Tumelong are managed from Pretona and imposed on churches in the townships.

The restructuring of the Mission for effective service has always been part of Tumelong so that the Mission co-operated rather than duplicated the efforts of other agencies engaged in community development. In Winterveld the Mission joined hands with the Roman Catholic Church in providing medical care to the community.

Although these do not contribute the bulk of the funding required by the Mission, it is imperative that Tumelong constantly re-evaluates its relationship with foreign donors such as TZABA (the Transvaal, Zimbabwe and Botswana Association). The partnership ought to be marked by a spirit of co-operation and mutual respect rather than financial considerations. Training and other forms of empowerment should be the mark of the relationship between Tumelong and any foreign partner.

The development and empowerment of marginalised communities remains the focus of Tumelong Mission in the post 1994 era. Regrettably political freedom did not usher in an era of *utopia* for the people of the Diocese of Pretoria and the plight of the poor has not changed for the better. As South Africa moves towards the dawn of the 21st millennium poverty, hunger and disease remain a threat to the social and economic upliftment of communities. Just as at the turn of 20th century the Anglican Church met the developmental needs of under-developed communities, the Diocese through Tumelong

is called to empower disadvantaged communities during the period 1990's and beyond.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Oral Interviews

Interviews were held with the following individuals on the subject of Tumelong Mission:

Lilias Graham, 26 March 1996

Gwendoline Ditlhakanyane, 17 April 1996

Hansel Mathobela, 2 May 1996

Mrs Sophie Lebogo, 18 May 1996

Mrs Olga Magoai, 21 May 1996

The Revd Solomon Galane, 24 May 1996

The Revd Moses Chirwa, 29 May 1996

Amos and Monica Namise during early 1996

Lucy Motloi, 15 March 1997

Unpublished Material

Monama, C. 1989. Urban Control. Popular Struggles and the Destruction of Lady Selborne.

Unpublished BA hons thesis. Johannesburg:University of the Witwatersrand

Reynard, S. Undated. History of Tumelong Mission. Pretoria: Tumelong Archives.

White, M. Undated. History of Tumelong Mission. Pretoria: Tumelong Archives

Archival Material

Annual reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts:

A Goodly Fellowship. 1923. Being the Report of the year 1923 of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster: SPG

Here, There, And Everywhere. 1935. Being the Report of the year 1935 of The Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster: SPG

In Other Lands. 1939. Being the Report of the year 1939 of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Westminster: SPG

Instant in Prayer. 1930. Being the Report of the year 1930 of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster: SPG

Many Members, One Body in Christ. 1935. Being the Report of the year 1935 of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster: SPG

Next Steps. 1929. Being the Report of the year 1929 of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster: SPG

Onward. 1940. Being the Report of the year 1940 of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster: SPG

Reveille. 1926. Being the Report of the year 1926 of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster: SPG

Salute to Adventurers. 1931. Being the Report of the year 1931 of The Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster: SPG

The Church Militant. 1935. Being the Report of the year 1935 of The Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster: SPG

The Church Undaunted. Being the Report of the year 1932 of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster: SPG

The Eternal Purpose, 1934. Being the Report of the year 1934 of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster: SPG

The King's Business, The World our Field. 1925. Being the Report of the year 1925 of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster: SPG

The SPG and Lambeth. 1948. Being the Report of the year 1948 of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster: SPG

The SPG Story Told To 1939. Being the Report of the year 1939 of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster, SPG

The Threefold Chord. 1924. Being the Report of the year 1924 of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster: SPG

The World Our Field. 1925. Being the Report of the year 1925 of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster: SPG

This Vast Family, 1949. Being a Report of the year 1949 of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster: SPG

250 Years Old. 1948. Being the Report of the year 1948 of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Westminster: SPG

World Wide Witness. 1921. Being the Report of the year 1921 of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Westminster, SPG

Worship in Other Lands. 1939, Being the Report of the year 1939 of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster: SPG

Correspondence, Minutes, Reports, and Constitutions

Diocesan Constitution for Khaiso and Turnelong Missions. Undated, Johannesburg: CPSA Archives, The University of the Witwatersrand

Knapp-Fisher, G E 1963. *Letter to Clare Lawrence* (18 October 1963). Johannesburg: CPSA Archives, The University of the Witwatersrand

Knapp-Fisher, G E 1963. Letter to Clare Lawrence (3 September 1969). Johannesburg: CPSA Archives, The University of the Witwatersrand

Knapp-Fisher, G E 1969. Letter to Joan Watson (22 December 1969). Johannesburg: CPSA Archives, The University of the Witwatersrand

Knapp-Fisher, G E 1963. Letter to the SPG. Johannesburg: CPSA Archives, The University of the Witwatersrand

Minutes of *Khaiso* and *Turnelong Missions*, 28 August 1958. Johannesburg: CPSA Archives, The University of the Witwatersrand

Minutes of the Turnelong and Khaiso African Missions, 15 June 1959. Johannesburg: CPSA Archives, The University of the Witwatersrand

Minutes of the Tumelong Governing Body, 15 February 1961. Johannesburg: CPSA Archives, The University of the Witwatersrand

Minutes of Turnelong Governing Body, 15 March 1962. Johannesburg: CPSA Archives, The University of the Witwatersrand

Minutes of the 72nd Meeting of Tumelong Governing Body, February 1966. Johannesburg: CPSA Archives, The University of the Witwatersrand

Transvaal Archives Bureau, Ps 17/65/05

Tumelong Mission Report for 1959-1960. Johannesburg: CPSA Archives, The University of the Witwatersrand

Turnelong Mission Report for 1964-1965. Johannesburg: CPSA Archives, The University of the Witwatersrand

Tumelong Mission Report for year 1970. Johannesburg: CPSA Archives, The University of the Witwatersrand

Citations for the Order of St Alban the Martyr in respect of the following recipients:

MacLea, Ken and Kitty. 1994. Pretoria: Church of the Province of Southern Africa Warries, Margaret. 1996. Pretoria: Church of the Province of South Africa White, Mary. 1996. Pretoria: Church of the Province of Southern Africa.

Newspaper Articles

The Daily Express, 23 March 1939

The Star, 23 September 1943

The Star, 16 December 1947

The Rand Daily Mail, 17 June 1948

Pretoria News, 19 March 1957

Pretoria News, 23 September 1968

Pretoria News, 5 January 1995

Motale, L. Article on Turnelong Mission in the Pretoria News, 5 April 1995

Ecclesiastical Publications and Correspondences

The Church Chronicle, 7 April and 5 May 1932

Constitutions & Canons of the Church of the Province of South Africa. 1950. Cape Town: English Church House

Constitutions and Canons of the Church of Southern Africa. 1990. Cape Town: The Publishing Committee CPSA.

Kingdom, February, 1940, Hennies: Pretoria.

Pretoria Diocesan Centenary 1878-1978 Souvenir Album. 1978. Diocese of Pretoria: Promedia Printers

Taylor, N. 1996. "Letter to Mary White". Reproduced in Partners. London:TZABA White, M. 1996. "Letter to the Friends of Tumelong". 1996. Reproduced in Partners. London:TZABA

Primary Documents

Carter, G M & Karis, T. (eds). 1977. From Protest to Challenge. A Documentary History of South Africa 1882-1964. Vol.4. Political Profiles 1882-1964. California:Stanford University Press Lewis, C. & Edwards, G E (eds). 1934. Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa. London:SPCK

The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church together with the form and manner of Making, Ordaining and Consecration of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. Set forth for use in the Church of the Province of South Africa. 1982. Johannesburg:E.L.D Trust

Stanton, H. 1961. Go Well. Stay Well. London: Hodder & Stoughton

Obituary for the Funeral Service of the late Mokhali James Motloi. 1994. Pretoria: Benny's Printers

Secondary Sources

Brooks, E.H. & Macaulay, J.B. (eds). 1958. *Civil Liberty in South Africa*. Cape Town:Oxford University Press

Cameron, T. & Spies, S B (eds). 1986. A New Illustrated History of South Africa. Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers Hinchliff, P. 1963. The Anglican Church in South Africa. London: Darton, Longman & Todd

Huddleston. T. 1955. Naught for your Comfort. London: Collins

Lodge, T. 1983. Black Politics in South Africa since 1945. Johannesburg:Ravan

Mosley, N. 1961. The Life of Raymond Raynes. London: The Faith Press

Paton, A. 1973. Apartheid and the Archbishop. Cape Town: David Philip

Oakes, D. et al (eds). 1988. Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa-The Real Story. Cape Town: The Reader's Digest Association (Pty) Limited.