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A MISSION AND FIVE COMMISSIONS :  
A STUDY OF SOME ASPECTS OF THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE  
AMERICAN ZULU MISSION 1835-1910

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Dedicated to my wife Gerda, and Vincent, Abigail,  
Ambronese and Ambrose (junior), pupils of Gelvendale  
High School, and my parents Sarah and Joseph William  
George.

## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the work of the American Zulu Mission in Natal from 1835 to 1910. Of the institutions controlled by this mission, the most famous was that known in the 20th Century as Adams College, named after one of the founders of the Natal work, Dr Newton Adams.

Although other research work has been done on this institution and this mission in general, this thesis attempts to examine the work in the light of the mission's own view of its educational purpose and the expectations of the Colonial Government of what could be expected of missionary education. To meet this purpose particular stress was laid first on the actual development of the mission's educational institutions, especially when reports and letters assessed the aims of the developments and the ways in which these aims were being met. Secondly, the aims of missionary education were explained through five capital Colonial Government Commissions, which looked, in a number of different ways, at the current position and future of the Zulu peoples of Natal. These Commissions reported in 1846, 1852-1853, 1881-1882, 1892 and 1902.

Two major findings emerge from the investigation. The first was lack of clarity, not only on the part of what the mission was trying to do, but also on what the Colonial Government expected it to do. To this absence of clarity must be added the continuous shortage of finance, the reluctance of the Zulu themselves to accept the combination of

education (which they wanted) and conversion (of which they were often suspicious).

In these circumstances, their slow progress of the 75 years from 1835 to 1910 becomes understandable. Had these years been the total extent of the mission's contribution to Natal, there would be little justification for any extended investigation, or any reason behind the high prestige which the mission enjoyed. It is shown, however, that from 1902 onwards a new, more incisive and directional policy, especially on the question of education, came from the mission. This emerged particularly under the leadership of Le Roy, Principal from 1903 to 1925. The last part of this thesis assesses this new direction.

The detailed investigation comes to an end at 1910 when with the creation of Union, an entirely new organisation and dispensation came into being. In the last years of Le Roy's principalship the promise of the period of 1902 to 1920 came to fruition and in the final chapter a brief summary of these developments are given.

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To God all the Glory.

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## PREFACE

The Colony of Natal was annexed by Britain in 1843. It was comparatively small, its northern boundary in those days was the Tugela River.

The British Government in London, the Colonial Administration in Pietermaritzburg and the colonists themselves were always conscious of the overwhelming number of Zulu and the possible threat which they posed toward the safety of the colony. It is therefore not surprising that attention was frequently given to the position, power, occupation, education and civilization of these people. Nor was it surprising that they reacted both positively and negatively to the ideals and practice of the missionary bodies in the Colony of Natal where the largest and most influential one had its headquarters in America - the American Zulu Mission, (which will be abbreviated as A.Z.M. in this study). The colonial concern showed itself particularly clearly in five Commissions appointed to examine and make recommendations on various aspects of policy toward the Zulu. The first of these reported in 1846 and was concerned with locations for the Zulu in the colony. The second one, the Native Commission of 1852-1853, investigated Native policy and land allocation in the colony. In 1882, the third one reported on education in general and Industrial Education in particular, as well as on general Native policy. The fourth was a low-keyed Commission in 1892, on Native Education, which had little background documentation, but whose final report was available. The fifth and final Commission was the Land Commission of 1902 which placed particular emphasis on the A.Z.M.'s responsibilities regarding land and education.

Clearly, missionary activities impinged upon the briefs given to all these Commissions. The missionaries administered some of the land upon which the Zulu lived (either directly or in the position of trustee); if evangelical work could undermine "heathenish" practices, then education work could be used partly to support evangelical conversion and

partly to develop marketable skills in the converts. On the other hand, land held in trust for the Zulu reduced that which was available for the gradually growing number of white colonists. A too powerful educational policy could lead to dangerous competition for jobs, especially if the Zulu were prepared to work for lower wages than the white man. When the potential strength of missionary work was set beside its possible dangers, it is not surprising that an ambivalent attitude could be found in the 19th Century.

The A.Z.M., as has been said, was the strongest of the six missionary bodies working in Natal. It was also the first in the field. For most of its history, its pupils comprised the bulk of the Zulu children in schools, and the Society received the largest allocation of funds by the Colonial Government for education. The land it controlled exceeded that of all the other missions combined. By the time South Africa became a Union, the A.Z.M. had achieved a reputation which extended far beyond the boundaries of the Natal Province. It is not surprising that considerable attention has been given in research studies to the Mission and its work.

Three research studies on the A.Z.M.'s mission work in Natal are available. In all three theses, however, little attention was given to the colonial influence on the educational work of the A.Z.M., particularly at Amanzimtoti Seminary which was later called Adams College. Dinnerstein's study concentrated on African Christianization; Dhloomo gave a chronological study of Amanzimtoti itself; and Switzer concerned himself with the problems of a white American Mission Society in a predominantly African community, and gave particular attention to legal matters, especially those concerned with Land ownership.

When the present study began it was decided to give attention to four other aspects of the A.Z.M.'s missionary work. In the first instance it seemed that consideration should be given to the attempts of the A.Z.M. to articulate and define its educational areas. Secondly, it seemed appro-

priate to examine this educational work in a broader context of the mission's civilizing policy and in particular to see how that policy was defined. Thirdly, it was recognized that although education had evangelical and civilizing purposes, it was also likely to have economic implications. To what extent was a mission's activities expected to provide the economic advantages of its converts? Fourthly, no educational agency can work in isolation, the Society's relationship with the Colonial Government also seemed worth investigating.

In collecting information under these headings, the significance of the five Commissions already mentioned became very clear. It was therefore decided to merge two approaches to the study of the A.Z.M. work. First, was the straight-forward story of a development of a mission, and the second was the place of these Commissions which served in different ways as opportunities to examine, to argue for, and to assess the quality and success of mission work.

In the thesis, therefore, the development of the mission is set against intervening chapters on these five Colonial Commissions. In some cases, A.Z.M. missionaries were members of the Commissions. In others they gave evidence. On occasion they commented in some detail on the recommendations and attitudes which emerge from the reports of the Commissions.

It is hoped that the reader by moving from the account of a Commission to the next stage of missionary development will find it easier to see how policy was articulated and to assess it against contemporary colonial conditions, problems and attitudes.

The thesis is restricted to the period 1835 to 1910. In this latter year, the Union of South Africa was created and a different administrative and educational dispensation was created. It seemed that concentration should be given to the work of the A.Z.M. in the Colonial era.

## CHAPTER 1

THE ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT AND BASIC PHILOSOPHY  
OF THE AMERICAN BOARD MISSION

The "Great Awakening" of 1800 which took place in America was preceded by the Evangelical Revival in England which occurred at the close of the 18th and the opening of the 19th century. This awakening owed its beginning to the hard work of Jonathan Edwards, an English Congregational minister, philosopher and a strong Calvinist. George Whitefield who greatly influenced the Evangelical Movement in England came under the influence of Jonathan Edwards whose doctrinal beliefs he shared (Wing, J., 1980, p. 57). It was through the influence of George Whitefield that Congregationalism received the "fertilizing power" of the Evangelical Revival that spread through the United States at the end of the 18th century (Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 8). Its effect was particularly felt in New England where a deep movement of religious life occurred in the early years of the 19th century, especially in institutions of higher learning (Taylor, J.D., 1936, p. 7).

The students at Williams College and Andover Seminary in New England, in looking for a suitable outlet for their religious enthusiasm, found their model in England. There, the Evangelical Movement which preceded and stimulated the one in America, was followed by the starting of missions in foreign countries (Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 8). In 1792, the Baptist Missionary Society began its work under William Carey, and in 1795 the London Missionary Society was established (George, A.C., 1983, p. 1). Thoroughly informed about the Movement through religious periodicals, the students at Williams and Andover were inspired to take up the ideas of the Movement (Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 8).

At Williams College, Boston, in 1806, five students met to pray and seek out God's guidance for their young lives. They were suddenly caught unawares by a shower at an outdoor

gathering of their group, causing them to take shelter under a hay-stack where they continued their prayer and conference. Here they solemnly pledged themselves to work towards the spreading of the gospel to other countries (Taylor, J.D., 1936, p. 7). In 1808 they formed the Students' Missionary Society for propagating their convictions. Representatives were sent to other colleges to spread their ideas, which resulted in the establishment of a similar society at Andover Seminary (Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 2).

These endeavours and to a certain extent, this "hay-stack meeting" gave rise to the establishment of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.) on 5 September 1810, where a declaration of purpose, framed in the humblest language, but nevertheless presenting a considerable challenge to the churches, was presented under the signatures of four of these young enthusiasts to the General Association of Massachusetts (an organisation of Congregational ministers of the old Calvinistic school) (Taylor, J.D., 1936, pp. 7-8).

The newly-formed American Board, as it was commonly known, decided to seek the assistance of the older London Missionary Society by sending Adoniram Judson to London to consult with the Directors in order to work out a relationship between the two Boards. The L.M.S. showed its willingness to accept missionaries of the American Board, but decided that a missionary society which was jointly controlled from London and Boston would be difficult to implement. The American Board remained a separate society, but it always retained close contact with the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) (Wing, J., 1980, p. 58).

It is significant that both the L.M.S. and the A.B.M. "were ecumenical in spirit and Calvinist in theology from the start" (Wing, J., 1980, p. 58). Many of the first missionaries of the L.M.S. either came from the Reformed Churches of Northern Europe or the Calvinist Churches of Scotland, while the A.B.M. missionaries had originated from the evangelical Calvinism of New England. Two important

facets of their Christian witness testify to their Calvinistic background:

- (i) their emphasis on the supremacy of the Bible in matters of faith and order, expressed in the fundamental principle of the L.M.S., 'it shall be left to those whom God shall call into the fellowship of his Son ... to assume ... such form of Church government as to them shall appear most agreeable to the Word of God'.
- (ii) their belief in the dignity and worth of all men created by God and for whom Christ died.  
(Wing, J., 1980, pp. 58-59).

These emphases developed into three main lines of missionary activity. The first was the importance of the translation of the Scriptures into the languages of the indigenous congregations as an important aid to the development of faith and devotion. The second was the starting of local churches, and the third, the supporting of the struggle for the rights of the indigenous people (Wing, J., 1930, p. 59).

From its inception the Board stood under the protection of the General Association of Massachusetts by which it was bound "to devise ways and means, and (to) adopt measures for promoting the spread of the Gospel in heathen lands" (Missionary Herald, January, 1834, p. 30, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 3).

The American Board was soon joined in the missionary field by other independent organisations which had their own funds and appointed their own missionaries. It was, however, soon realized that more harm than good would be done in the missionary field by such a large variety of organisations and it would be more effective if they could be consolidated into one central body (cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 28). This feeling resulted in 1831 in the unification of the United Foreign Missionary Society and the American Board when it was unanimously recorded:

that there should be one society in this country for the management of foreign missions in (sic) behalf of those who agree in doctrine and ecclesiastical order, as do the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Reformed Dutch denominations, until the concern shall become too extensive and complicated, if that shall ever be, to be managed by one institution (Missionary Herald, January, 1934, pp. 28-29, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 4).

The new body would be unified, national in character, but with a broad outlook, and international in spirit and in its goals. The American Board now represented no specific church, but was a council of commissioners, and a channel through which different churches could act together. The Board could thus send out missionaries from different churches, each one retaining his own denominational identity and still being responsible to the church of which he was member (Missionary Herald, January, 1834, p. 32, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 4).

This consolidation did not result in existing missionary organizations ceasing to exist; they indeed continued to operate as separate bodies. The Foreign Missionary Society of the Western Reserve, the Foreign Missionary Society of the Valley of Mississippi and similar organisations retained their separate identity but made their workers and funds available to the Board (Missionary Herald, January, 1835, pp. 2-3, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 4). This interdenominational nature of the American Board is clearly illustrated by the fact that of the 40 congregations which were brought into existence by the missionaries of the Board towards 1833, 18 were established on Presbyterian, 17 on Congregational and 5 on consociational lines. In November 1833, the Board had 93 ordained missionaries in its service. Of this number, 50 were Presbyterian, 41 were Congregationalist, and 2 were members of the Reformed Dutch Church (Missionary Herald, January, 1834, pp. 32-33, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 4). At this stage the Board was using workers from almost all the States of the Republic. Its

strongest support however still came from New England (Missionary Herald, January 1936, p. 1, cited by Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 4).

From a small body with hardly the means to send out two missionaries in 1812, the Board had grown within the period of 25 years to be the most comprehensive missionary body in the United States. But just as extensive was the task that confronted it, as is stated in the words of one of its advocates:

To take the story of the Love of God to all mankind until that love surrounds the earth, binding the native races and classes into a community of sympathy for one another, undergirded by faith in Christ (The American Board Year Book 1946, p. 33, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 5).

This task the Board would attempt to fulfil with the assistance of other missionary societies in Europe (Missionary Herald, June 1837, p. 28, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 5).

The members of the Board not only came from the United States, but also from England, Scotland, France, Ceylon, India and China. It was thus no longer a purely American body concerned with national interests, but had developed into a world organisation. Of significance was the fact that the Board had its headquarters at Boston, Massachusetts, an important harbour which was for a long time the centre of regular trade with many parts of the world. Here merchants had filled warehouses with merchandise from India and Levant, from Africa and the Sandwich Islands, from the Persian Gulf and the Malay Peninsula. From there (Boston) it was a comparatively easy task to find contacts with new mission fields, and the Board could also keep a watchful brief on most of its missionaries, and could send assistance and additional workers along established world routes (Missionary Herald, January, 1834, p. 34, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 5).

The years after the Board's establishment in 1810 saw its development into a large body numbering 2 000 members by 1837, which made it impossible to meet often and to function as a whole in an executive capacity. In 1835, it was therefore resolved to hold a general meeting annually in October, while a small executive was appointed to see to the day-to-day functioning of the Board. In 1836, this executive consisted of a president, a vice-president, a recording secretary, an assistant recording secretary and a Prudential Committee which consisted of six members. Later it expanded to three secretaries for correspondence, a treasurer and two auditors. Even this body, however, rarely met as a fully constituted whole, since the Prudential Committee made use of its right to act as a duly constituted executive committee. It was regarded as a standing committee which met at least once a week, made recommendations about important correspondence, appointed and dismissed missionaries, controlled the finances and drew up an annual report which it submitted to the Board (Missionary Herald, January, 1834, p. 4, cited by Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 6). The secretaries for correspondence concerned themselves with ordinary correspondence. They also collected information that could result in the establishment of new missions, "canvassed missionaries, edited the publications of the Board and forwarded the instructions issued by the Prudential Committee to the missionaries" (American Board Year Book 1946, p. 32, cited by Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 6).

The Board employed no full-time fundraisers, but was entirely dependent for its revenue, on donations from various churches and private individuals, as well as on interest from investments and legacies (American Board Year Book 1946, p. 37, cited by Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 6).

The most important publication of the Board was the Missionary Herald. It is the oldest publication in the United States with an unbroken history. It first appeared in 1803 as the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine and, similar to another religious publication, The Panoplist (1805),

contributed some of its profits to mission work. These two magazines amalgamated in 1808, appearing as *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine*, only to change in 1818 to the *Missionary Herald*, when it became the official organ of the American Board.

In 1823 the magazine was considerably enlarged by the inclusion of *Light and Life for Women*, *Missionary Studies*, and the *Monthly Bulletin*. At this stage it was published on a monthly basis of 30 to 40 pages in size (American Board Year Book 1946, pp. 33 and 50, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 6).

The *Missionary Herald*, as with other publications of the Board, had a two-fold purpose. The first and foremost purpose was to keep those with missionary interests informed of the activity of the Board all over the world; the work of its missionaries and their rewards to inspire young people with a missionary spirit. Letters from missionaries were often published, as well as extracts from their journals kept on the instructions of the Prudential Committee. The second purpose was to make appeals for further funds and new missionaries (*Missionary Herald*, January, 1835, p. 2, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 6).

The American Board, being interdenominational in its aim and organisation, expected its missionaries to have a cordial relationship with workers belonging to different societies but working in the same country. They were expected to be tolerant and to live in peace with the governments of the countries they were working in, and were expected to be willing bearers of the good name of their country (Annual Report of the Board, 1834, pp. 145-148, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 7).

In their daily missionary labour the emphasis had to be on the spreading of the gospel, but education was not to be neglected. In fact it had to be considered as a prominent feature of missionary work. It was especially impressed on them that the printing press could be regarded as a very powerful agent in enhancing the spread of education. They

were also expected to teach the indigenous people to be industrious, and had to assist them in social upliftment. Their knowledge of medical science could be used as a means of drawing the people to them (American Board Year Book 1945, p. 11, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 7).

Since every mission was expected to start on a very small scale, a lot was expected of each missionary who had to be acquainted with all the facets of work in a mission station, and therefore he had to prepare himself effectively in all possible skills. The Prudential Committee recognized that:

the general missionary has no specific task assigned but rather is all things to all men. He mutually focuses upon church work. He majors in religious education or in evangelistic touring, or in the superintending of a group of chapels and churches, in conference with leaders, in interviews and other personal contacts; in short in anything and everything that he can do for building up the distinctively religious side of the work of the Church in the field (American Board Year Book 1946, p. 11, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 7).

From the very onset a missionary was expected to lighten his own task by training natives of piety and promising talents, and in this way making every station completely self-supporting. This was seen as a means of lightening the financial burden of the Board considerably, and would spread its influence over an extensive area in the shortest possible time (Missionary Herald, January, 1837, p. 31, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 8).

By 1825 the Board had already established mission stations in Western Turkey, Sayana, Palestine, Malta, Syria, India and Hawaii. It is by relating information on their missionary endeavour to Hawaii that further insight is obtained into the modus operandi of the Board.

In Hawaii a great deal of their success could be contributed to conversions which resulted from working directly through the ruling elite (Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 14). The

missionary work of the Board in Hawaii had progressed so well that by 1830 rather prematurely the missionaries of the Board proclaimed that Hawaii had become a true Christian nation (Phillips, C.T., 1969, p. 96, cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 14).

The mission to Hawaii is important since for all American Board missionaries, including those who came to South Africa, it was regarded as the model of an ideal mission (Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 14). The missionaries of the American Board arrived in Hawaii at a very opportune time. They had arrived in 1819, a year before the death of an old King, Kamehameha I, who had many years previously united all the islands under his rule. His son who was his successor changed the old religion of the Hawaiians which had for many years strongly influenced the social and political outlook of rulers and subjects alike (Wright, L.B. & Fry, M.I., 1936, p. 27, cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 14). The religious vacuum which had resulted made the Hawaiians receptive to a new religion. Wright and Fry noted, "since the essential quality of Puritanism was a series of prohibitions, not unlike the tabus of the Hawaiians, the islanders grasped at once the external elements of the belief preached" (Wright, L.B. & Fry, M.I., 1936, p. 279, cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971, pp. 14-15).

Although the King and his counsellors were at the outset reluctant to allow the missionaries to stay, they agreed to give them a year's trial. The missionaries, realizing the extensive authority of the chiefs, attempted to convert them first and in a relatively short time succeeded in gaining their confidence (Wright, L.B., & Fry, M.I., 1936, p. 235, cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 15). These chiefs had great admiration for the missionaries and anxiously sought to attain some of their living standards. One way in which they could accomplish this goal was by attending the mission schools (Bradley, H.W., 1942, p. 166, cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 15). Initially the chiefs were the main students in the mission schools and their support was to a

great extent responsible for the success of the schools. When the American missionaries had drawn up an Hawaiian alphabet and printed the first book in 1822, the King was emphatic that he should be the first one to learn it (Bradley, H.W., 1942, p. 135, cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 15).

The peak of missionary influence was felt in 1824 after the death of King Liholiho and the accession of two very powerful chiefs, Kalarimoku and Kaahamanu, who acted as advisors to the new 11-year-old King. Kaahamanu, the main wife of an old King, Kamehameha I, ruled from 1824 to 1832, almost as an absolute monarch. She formed the church of the American Board in 1825 and throughout her reign she was inspired both in her religious beliefs and political activities by the American missionaries. Rufus Anderson, the prominent Foreign Secretary of the American Board, compared the situation to "what existed in the palmy days of the Israelite nation and in the Puritan age of New England" (Philips, C.T., 1969, p. 166, cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 15).

Kaahumanu emphatically stated that she would follow the laws of the missionaries such as observing the Sabbath, and influenced her people to accept the Christian religion (Wright, L.B., 1936, p. 285, cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 15). With such a strong message from their powerful ruler, other chiefs were quick to follow her example. In a number of social laws, Kaahumanu and the missionaries together brought about reforms which were aimed at implementing a rigid moral code by decrying murder, thieving and adultery (Dinnerstein, M., 1950, p. 15).

The chiefs gave their whole-hearted support to the missionaries; new congregations were established; there was a great increase in school attendance; and for the first time the idea of monogamous marriage took hold. To certain members of the population, such as disapproving merchants, it seemed as if the missionaries had virtually united church and state (Bradley, H.W., 1942, p. 74, cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 16).

After the death of Kaahumanu, the 1830's saw a decline in the influence of the missionaries. Nevertheless, they had been successful in establishing schools which were attended by 40% of the population; in getting laws passed to increase the moral fibre of society; and in receiving financial assistance for their religious endeavours. These factors convinced the American Board of the significance of getting the support of a ruling elite and involving them in missionary work whenever it was possible (Bradley, H.W., 1942, p. 149).

The experience of the missionaries of the American Board with the American Indians, among whom they had begun work in 1817, differed markedly from the situation they had encountered in Hawaii. Since the Indians did not have a strong ruling elite, the Board started large secular establishments and attempted to obtain the interest of the surrounding Indians in joining missions (Philips, C.T., 1969, p. 63, cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 17). But the Board soon concluded that the results did not justify the large expenses the mission had incurred. This failure made the Board drop the idea of secular establishments and they then decided to place more emphasis on evangelization (Philips, C.T., 1969, p. 98, cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 18).

The Board did, however, have some success with one Indian group, the Cherokee. This undertaking of the Board again emphasized the possibilities of success when mission work was done with the approval and full co-operation of leaders, who were of mixed origin. The Cherokee went to the extent of writing a constitution in which missionary influence was apparent. It stipulated that one of the prerequisites for holding state office was a belief in God as seen from the Christian point of view (Missionary Herald, XXIV, 1828, pp. 193-194, cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 18). The success of the American Board among the Cherokee was unfortunately of short duration since the tribe was forced by European expansionism to leave and move out westwards.

It is clear up to this stage that the American Board's missionary depended to a great extent on working with the traditional leadership rather than establishing isolated missionary stations. This approach will become clearer when the establishment of a mission in South Africa is discussed.

By 1833 Africa was the only continent on which the American Board had no missions. Yet there were specific reasons why an American Missionary Society wanted to begin a missionary campaign in Africa.

Round about 1834, approximately a million and a half of the total population of the United States, that is about one-fifth of the population, were of African origin. For almost 150 years "the manhood and womanhood of Africa were drained to supply slave labour to England's colonies north and south of Potomac" (Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 46). Immense wealth was built up from the degradation of the Negroes. Many years before the American Revolution, Americans, both black and white, had revolted against this "trade of great inhumanity", and "this pernicious commerce" (Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 46). Although the Declaration of Independence decried the inconsistency of the slave trade, it continued year after year:

We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness - this inconsistency, this anomaly, burned its way into the conscience of the American people (Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 47).

However, the transatlantic slave traffic went on. It was only in 1807, after a long and bitter struggle, that the British Parliament declared slave trade to be illegal. The constitution of the United States made provision for slave trade to be abolished by 1808. However, Congress, unlike the British Parliament, did not implement immediate steps to end slave traffic, and for many years it went on unabated under

the American flag. In 1844 an American minister could still report to his government at the court of Brazil that:

I regret to say this, but it is a fact not to be disguised or denied, that slave-trade is almost entirely carried out under our flag, in American-built vessels, sold to slave-traders here ... And indeed the scandalous traffic could not be carried on to any extent were it not for the use made of our flag and the facilities given for the chartering of American vessels, to carry to the coast of Africa the outfit for the trade and the material for purchasing slaves (Foote, E.H., 1854, p. 221, cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 47).

In 1854 Commander Foote of the U.S. Navy, in concluding his book, wrote:

The reduction or annihilation of the slave-trade is opening the whole of these vast regions to science and legal commerce. Let America take her right share in them. It is throwing wide the portals of the continent for the entrance of Christian civilization. Let our country exert its full proportion of this influence, and thus recompense to Africa the wrongs inflicted upon her people, in which hitherto all nations have participated (Foote, E.H., 1854, pp. 389-390, cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 48).

This ideal of recompense had been taught and put into practice many years before Commander Foote wrote his book. It was this campaign to get rid of slaves which had led to the formation of free Negro colonies on the West Coast of Africa. The American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour in the United States had, as its chief function, the "repatriation" of free blacks to Africa. Round about 1837, four isolated and independent colonies were established and were later amalgamated into the Republic of Liberia (Smith, W.E., 1949, p. 48).

The same ideal of recompense featured prominently in the projects of the American Board to Africa and was one of the most powerful incentives through which they had enlisted

the support of churches. "We owe an immense debt to Africa", they pronounced in 1833, "and nothing short of the blessings of the Gospel will pay it" (Smith, W.E., 1946, p. 49).

The interest of the American Board in mission work in South Africa was prompted in 1812 by a letter written by a student at Princeton Theological School, New Jersey, John B. Purney, to Dr Philip, "the catholic and statesmanlike superintendent of the London Missionary Society at once the most hated and most influential of missionary leaders in that country". In this letter Purney expressed a burning desire to obtain more knowledge concerning the conditions for missionary work in Southern Africa.

In the letter Dr Philip was further informed of the Society of Inquiry on the Subject of Missions that had been in existence for many years at the Princeton School, and which had been founded:

for the express purpose of collecting information from all parts of the world relative to the condition, habits, (and) manners of unchristianized nations and particularly concerning the extent and the success of missionary operations in all parts and of every name. Not as a matter of mere speculation or to gratify curiosity but for our own use to enable us to judge the wants of the world, and also to spread it before the public by means of the Press and thus awaken an interest in the subject in all the friends of Zion (letter from Purney, J.B. to Dr J. Philip, 16 March, 1832, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 21).

Purney explained that the fervour for mission work was growing. Such was the interest that:

between thirty and forty from the one hundred and twenty candidates for the ministry collected here (Princeton) ... are honestly inquiring on the subject of personal duty and thirteen have decided to become missionaries, and the question with them is, 'where shall we go? What field shall we enter?' (letter from Purney, J.B. to Dr J. Philip, 16 March, 1932, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 22).

The students wanted answers from Philip on these questions. They were particularly interested in Africa anticipating the arguments used by Foote in his book in 1854 on the "peculiar and great" debt which America owed to Africa.

We live under a government which has long sanctioned slavery. We, by the earnings of their hard toil, have been supported and enriched. Our forefathers and countrymen have stolen thousands from their native land, and we are partakers of the guilt unless some adequate return is made. Nothing suitable to such complicated wrongs can be done but to send healing streams of salvation to all her numerous tribes (letter from Purney, J.B. to Dr J. Philip, 16 March, 1832, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 23).

The students requested Philip to send them a detailed reply "such as you could address to your own son to prepare him for that field of labour" (letter from Purney, J.B. to Dr J. Philip, 16 March, 1832, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 20).

Dr Philip was away on an extensive tour to the London Missionary Society missions on the northern and eastern borders of the Cape Colony when Purney's letter arrived at the Cape. He returned to Cape Town early in 1833 and replied immediately and in considerable detail (Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 9).

After considering the position very carefully Philip decided to recommend the Zulus and the Matabele as "a noble field for missionary labour" and added additional details about the two chiefs, Dingane and Moselekatsi. Those two tribes, he explained, were originally one, but Moselekatsi broke away and built up a mighty tribe through conquest. Philip regarded them as "the most warlike and courageous people we have heard of in Africa in modern times" (letter from Philip, J. to Purney, J.B., May, 1833, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 28). Philip felt that

the societies now in operation in South Africa cannot do anything efficiently for these two

powerful chiefs and their people. And on this ground should the churches of America think of assisting us in South Africa, I would strongly recommend that they should send a mission to them (letter from Philip, J. to Purney, J.B., cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 33).

What was notable in Philip's letter was his insistence upon the cardinal importance of establishing a Native Agency (a programme to produce religious leaders) as part of a missionary programme:

You may as well think of supplying all the continent of Africa with bread on loan from Europe, as to supply it with teachers and the means of instruction from Europe. The seed corn may be furnished, but it never can become general until it takes, and stocks the country to which the first handfuls are carried. The work of God in the conversion of the world has never been carried on to any extent without a native agency; and that work has always prospered in proportion as that agency has been numerous and effective (letter from Philip, J. to Purney, J.B., May, 1833, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 39).

Philip argued further that the objective reached through the general education of the people who live in savage and barbarous countries,

only look for a native agency by the general education of the people. I say general education, for we have found by experience that we must raise the community itself to a certain level, before such an agency can be found as will prove to be of any efficiency in the general spread from the gospel (letter from Philip, J. to Purney, J.B., May, 1833, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 39).

He continued that:

The Gospel never can have a permanent footing in a barbarous country unless education and civilization go hand in hand with our religious instructions. On the other principle we may labour for centuries without getting a step nearer our object - the conversion of the world to God - than that which may have been attained in the first ten or

twelve years of our missions (letter from Philip, J. to Purney, J.B., May, 1833, cited in Smith, W.E., 1946, p. 50).

On the importance of the relationship between Christianity and Western European civilization, Philip had definite opinions:

Civilization is to the Christian religion what the body is to the soul, and the body must be prepared and cared for if the spirit is to be retained upon earth. The blessings of civilization are a few of the blessings which the Christian religion scatters in her progress towards immortality; but they are to be cherished for her own sake as well as for ours, as they are necessary to perpetuate her reign and extend her conquests (letter from Philip, J., to Purney, J.B., May, 1833, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, pp. 37-38).

The Society of Inquiry on the Subject of Missions was regarded as an auxiliary of the American Board and referred any relevant information to the Board for its consideration. In this way, Philip's letter to J.B. Purney came to the attention of the members of the Board who took advantage of the opportunity to extend their missionary endeavours to Southern Africa. Subsequently, the Prudential Committee decided to begin this new missionary venture as soon as suitable missionaries could be found (Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 10). To reach as wide a circle of readers as possible, the Board immediately published Dr Philip's letter in the Missionary Herald, together with an appeal for missionaries and voluntary workers among the "Zoolahs" in South Africa (Smith, W.E., 1946, p. 44). Thus the seed for a mission among the Zulu was laid and much adventure lay in store for the pioneers who were sent out to South Africa by the Board. This will become evident in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

In this chapter which has been concerned with the creation of the A.B.M., several issues have emerged. Firstly, in formulating its educational policy which it hoped to implement in its missionary endeavours in Southern Africa, the A.B.M. drew on its own experiences in other parts of the world as well as the ideas put forward to them by Dr Philip of the London Missionary Society.

Although the Board was basically a body intent upon spreading the gospel to various parts of the world which did not fall into the ambit of Western civilization, it considered education as an important means to this religious end. In this matter, the recommendations of Philip and the story of the London Missionary Society's activities in Southern Africa confirmed the American Board's beliefs. This is evident from the fact that the Board considered the printing press to be an important method of achieving its educational goals in the foreign lands where its missionaries were active. Medical science was also to be used as a means of transforming the superstitious lifestyle of indigenous peoples.

Secondly, a model of the manner of implementing its missionary aims was evident from its activities in Hawaii. Here the Board's principal method of operation was to gain the approval of the ruling elite who then influenced their followers actively to support the new religious order. The absence of a ruling elite among the American Indians forced the Board to change its method of operation. By establishing secular institutions, the Board had hoped to influence the Indians. Expense and lack of results, however, made the Board abandon this means of approach. By gaining the support of the leaders of one Indian group, the Cherokee, the Board found one further successful example, in America itself. Only the European intrusion onto land of the Indians brought this venture of the Board to an end. Whether this move could be transferred to South Africa needs to be explored later in this thesis.

Thirdly, the spreading of Western civilization and the colonization of the land of the indigenous people by European settlers usually accompanied the activities of mission societies in "heathen" countries. In some circumstances, conflict between colonists and missionaries would occur. This is evident from the work of the L.M.S. in the colonization of parts of Southern Africa (see George A.C., 1983, p. (i)). It also occurred in the Board's work among the "Zoolahs"; this will emerge in subsequent chapters in this study.

Fourthly, it was noted that the Board's decision to work in Africa was also influenced by a sense of guilt felt as a result of the fact that the Americans had conducted slave trade on unprecedented scale on that continent.

It can, however, be seen that the precise role of education, or the ways in which civilization was to be interpreted and conveyed to the converts, had not yet been clearly expressed by the American Board. In the absence of any such statements, two other sources of influence need to be examined. The first is the American system of schooling of which the missionaries had personal experience. This influence will be considered in the next chapter.

The second influence would be the missionaries' early experience in South Africa itself, from which certain guidelines or principles, upon which education should work, might emerge. This will be examined in the third chapter of this study.

## CHAPTER 2

## EDUCATION IN AMERICA IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

As pointed out at the end of the previous chapter, the American Board's educational policy which it would carry out in its mission to the Zulus, would be influenced by the educational ideas and practices in America of which the American Missionaries had personal experiences. A description of the main tenets of education in America during the period in which the American Board was active in Natal is important since there is a nexus between these educational ideas prevailing in America and that which the American missionaries would attempt to implement in Natal. However, the missionaries would at times find it necessary to deviate from the system of schooling which existed in America.

During the 16th and 17th centuries, England, Spain and France all took an active interest in North America through colonization in what was a vast frontier continent. It is possible to refer to a New France and a New Spain as well as a New England in relationship to the settlement and civilization of North America. Neither France nor Spain, were however, destined to influence the educational future of the United State of America to a great extent. In English America, however, permanent foundations were laid for education in the United States (Power, E.J., 1970, pp. 537-538).

The early colonists brought their religious and educational institutions with them: "Whatever their religious preferences and economic interests, they were not cultural innovators. Colonial schools, for example, undeniably bore European marks" (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 535). However, "most American colonists came to (America) because they harboured religious and political ideas that were considered subversive and intolerate at home" (Eby, F., 1952, p. 546).

In colonial New England, the initial driving force in society, politics and education was religion. Democracy and

most of its basic claims for equality among persons was unacceptable in the common political and social attitudes. In all the colonies of New England, with the exception of Rhode Island, the people who held responsible positions were "primarily concerned with the establishment of Bible commonwealths, and with the maintenance of an ecclesiastical social order sustained by a class structured society" (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 538).

The educational system which developed in the southern colonies was primarily based on class stratification. The planting class catered for their children's education by appointing private tutors or sending them to private schools. "The increasing pressure of the slave code denied the Negro the barest literacy" (Thistlethwaite, F., 1961, p. 155).

The large number of different nationalities and religious groups which settled in the middle colonies, in the 17th and early 19th centuries, "made a system of public schooling impossible". The primary aim of education in this period was "to promote orthodox religion, Presbyterians, Anglicans, Lutherans, Quakers, Mennonites, and the other sects bore the major responsibility of funding schools and colleges for their own congregants" (Binder, F.M., 1970, p. 250). Thus religion played a dominant role in the educational system in the early years in all the colonies of America and demonstrated the sectarian nature of education.

The Government and Church (predominantly Congregational) were a closely knit unit in New England. The system of local government in each town was in keeping with the principle that in the Congregational Church each congregation was regarded as a semi-independent unit. The belief propagated by Calvinist theory that the State is the secular arm of the Church was also practised (Good, H.G., 1956, p. 40). The Puritans believed in the need for Christian schools. To them it was essential that children "should be taught to read and to know the principles of their faith as stated in the Catechism and Confession ...". To fulfil this

purpose, elementary education had to be made available for as many girls and boys as possible and, in advanced schools and colleges, the training of leaders of the State and Church had to be planned (Good, H.G., 1956, p. 41).

The colonial attitude in New England "was that educational goals had to be subservient to superior interests, and that the most superior of all interests was religion". Educational provision in colonial New England was influenced by "social responsibility for education and the community support of schools" (Power, E.J., 1970, pp. 539-540). This led to the "organization of town systems of schools" (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 540) which was in conformity with the Congregational principle of the local church being a semi-independent group.

In New England the town meeting became the focus of a forum in which the affairs of the community could be discussed. Although this system was an indication of signs of democracy, it could not be categorically stated that popular government existed even at town level. Only certain qualified members of the town could actively participate in the discussions and decisions at a town meeting. Usually the individual's status in the town was based on his financial position and often on his church membership. Power states emphatically that, although the common man was not given control in any democratic sense, he was gradually coming into the picture (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 540).

The first progressive step to involve the common man in education came with the passing of the Massachusetts Law of 1642 "by which parents and guardians of children were held responsible for the education of their children or wards to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country" (Reisner, E.H., 1922, p. 345). Children who were not or could not be given such an education were to be apprenticed to masters who would undertake the task of teaching them (Good, H.G., 1956, p. 29).

Although this law had an educational purpose, it was significant that it did not mention schools. Each parent or master was required to teach his child or apprentice, but was allowed to do it in the home or shop. It was further required that parents and masters have the responsibility of educating their children and apprentices "in some honest lawful calling, labour or employment, either in husbandry or some trade, profitable for themselves and the commonwealth" (Binder, F.M., 1970, p. 255). This is clearly an early justification for education as an economic force and as a contribution to the prosperity of the community.

During the second half of the 17th century and throughout the 18th century, provision was made for four different types of schools: the dame school, the town school, the Latin grammar school and the college. "Each of these schools had a counterpart in Europe, and each was content to transplant instructional practices having their origin in Europe" (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 546).

These schools were another example of the carrying over of European traditions, methods and concepts into the colonies. The dame school was often found "in the narrow and perhaps untidy quarters of a kitchen or a bedroom. The teacher, ordinarily a housewife, sometimes a widow, collected a small fee for teaching very young children" (Good, H.G., 1956, p. 37). According to Power, the Latin grammar school was never a very popular educational institution in New England colonies or elsewhere in America. It was basically a school which catered for the "better" classes (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 549). The first colleges were rather small, unprogressive, greatly scattered and isolated institutions. Harvard, which was founded in 1636, is the oldest and was mainly established for training ministers. These colleges were founded to maintain intellectual standards and to nurture the denominational doctrines and to produce from each student "a leader in society, a learned man and a teacher" (Power, E.J., 1970, pp. 550-551). A Congregational minister educated at Harvard was expected to analyse and

examine the principles of Christianity, and explain them to the congregation. "He was not expected to be a purveyor of church doctrine" Thus he was only given a "limited" training, pertaining to his role as religious leader. In fact, in the first few decades of its history, Harvard was providing education of a level little higher than a secondary school (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 551).

In America as in Europe, the period of 18th Century Enlightenment led men to be critical of authority "whatever its source, and to depend only on those assumptions that could be tested in the clear light of pure reason" (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 555). This new approach to scientific thought was not welcomed by the American high schools and colleges.

Gradually, however, the movement gave impetus to changes in the aims and curricula of colleges as well as aspirations of the elementary schools, and laid the foundation for a democratic system of education in the United States of America (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 556).

Another school of thought which influenced the traditional American way of thinking was humanitarianism, which had as its most important facet the idea of human progress. "Man was able according to this view, to control the world and other men in such a way that progress would be inevitable and possibly even infinite" (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 556). Since this school of thought was basically concerned with knowledge, it deeply affected schools.

As the ideas of the Enlightenment moved across America, and as more people were influenced by the fundamentals of humanitarianism, there developed a greater secularization of the mode of thinking and feeling in America. Religion slowly began to lose its influence on the intellectual life of the 18th century Americans (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 557). In Eby's words:

Antitrinitarianism and agnosticism became general within the upper class, and atheism or indifference among the people generally. The church fell to an all time low so far as membership was concerned; the first U.S. census taken in 1790

showed only 6 per cent of the population were church members. The proportion was even less in the colleges, which were hotbeds of free thought. And, it will be recalled, these very colleges were the only source for the supply of pastors for the churches of the formalistic bodies (Eby, F., 1952, p. 549).

Change in educational theory and practice was on its way in America but how it was going to take place was to a great extent dependent on economic factors. Economic pressures could result in the provision of at least elementary education for some of the children. However, problems were created because on the one hand there were the economic interests of the bankers, businessmen and the professional men and on the other hand, there were the interests of the artisans, farmers and the common man. Conflict had to result since each side "formulated a set of doctrines and expressed them as coherently as possible in the hope of defending vested interests" (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 558). The period in which this situation existed was from about 1750 to 1820. It was considered to be a period of transition.

It should be noted that all the men who were to be influential in the work of the American Board Missions (A.B.M.) would have received their own education during this transition period. During this period, intellectual battles were waged which resulted in the creation of the foundation upon which democratic education would rest. A tremendous contribution to the development of democratic education was made by two of the most significant men of the period, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, who were influenced (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 558) to a great extent by the Enlightenment and Humanitarianism. Franklin's own experiences led him to emphasize the value of a practical education. In his essay entitled 'Proposals Relating to the Education of the Youth in Pennsylvania', Franklin clearly commits himself to educational change by stating that, "most of the first colonists who had come to establish themselves in America were people who had advantage of the educational facilities

in Europe", and in his view "to their wisdom and good management we owe much of our present prosperity". However, these people who had to establish themselves in a new country could "not do all things" (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 558).

The youth in America were given adequate opportunities to develop their innate ability "yet the best capacities require cultivation, it being truly with them as with the best ground, which, unless well tilled and sowed with profitable seed, produces only ranker weeds" (cited by Binder, F.M., 1970, p. 272).

In his "Proposals", he recommended a new kind of school, the Academy, which would reflect his fundamental philosophy:

As to the pupils' studies, it would be well if they could be taught everything that is useful, and everything that is ornamental. But art is long, and man's time is short. It is therefore proposed that they learn those things that are likely to be most useful and most ornamental; regard being had to the several professions for which are intended (cited by Binder, F.M., 1970, p. 273).

Franklin was a utilitarian, anxious to encourage anything that could lead to the improvement of mankind. It was clear, however, that intellectual development could not take place in a vacuum. A social agency was necessary, namely, the school. This would have the responsibility of "making men" who in their turn had the responsibility of making better worlds in which men could, like Franklin, give impetus to the idea of a universal public education. Although the fulfilment of this ideal did not come to fruition in Franklin's day, "without Franklin it might not have come at all" (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 560). Jefferson, in contrast to the utilitarianism of Franklin, stressed the importance of the preservation of what was called the "democratic experiment" which was linked to the Declaration of Independence in 1776 and the formation of the United States of America in 1789.

He helped to bring this system of political organisation into existence and was eager to preserve it. Without doubt Jefferson was correct in emphasizing that education was the main guardian of democracy (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 560). To him it was not only necessary to distinguish education from religion, but it was essential for the people to be freed from the coercion of religion (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 561).

These ideas of Jefferson contributed much to the religious and anti-religious debate of the day. To him it was essential that a social environment be created in which men could be free agents in their acceptance or rejection of religion. So firmly had the American people responded to the dangers of a link between the State and a particular religious sect that the first article in the Bill of Rights (1791) stated: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ...". Jefferson was not only a theorist but also a pragmatist. He introduced in the Virginia Assembly, "A Bill for the General Diffusion of Knowledge", which called for drastic changes in a State's pattern of education.

The proposals of Jefferson were too radical to be accepted by the Virginia Assembly in 1779, and even as late as 1796 they were accepted only on an optional basis and therefore in an ineffective form (Good, H.G., 1956, p. 91). Although most people were not able to accept universal elementary education, he established a pattern by which the various States could gradually accept a concept by which education became a matter of public concern (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 562). He also saw education as being useful for "increasing production, saving labour, preserving health, and essentially for the improvement of agriculture, 'a science of the very first order'" (Good, H.G., 1956, p. 91).

During the first half of the 19th century, the United States was significantly influenced by the ideal of social reform on the basis of the belief that both man and society could be improved. "A plethora of reformist proposals for temperance, abolitionism, woman's rights, utopian socialism,

penal improvement, and popular education swept the nation" (Guttek, G.L. 1972, p. 359).

There existed some disagreement to the most effective manner of securing popular education which at the time meant basic literacy. The Sunday School movement inherited from England was introduced to America and was followed by "the organisation of voluntary associations for the free education of poor children in the cities", which was very similar to the British and Foreign School Society in England (Reisner, E.H., 1922, p. 365). This Sunday School movement was financed by associations of philanthropic citizens who provided funds by means of annual subscriptions. According to Guttek, "because of its obvious limitations, the Sunday School experiment failed as a major educational institution" (Guttek, G.L., 1972, p. 359). The monitorial method for mass education which was based on experiments of Englishmen Lancaster and Bell (see George, A.C., 1983, p. 22), was also attempted. Although it initially proved popular in larger cities of Philadelphia and New York, monitorialism in the long run was found to be an inadequate method of popular education (Guttek, G.L., 1972, p. 360).

The educational period after 1820 was built on the secular ideals of earlier years. Although rigid religious perspectives were not immediately changed in the schoolroom, nor was the religious content removed from the school syllabus, the ideals of men like Franklin and Jefferson influenced the educational interests of the people to such an extent that they would no longer be set in a narrow religious pattern. Education now emphasized "education for citizenship" as its new goal, and this aim was generally accepted in most publicly supported schools (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 564).

Although the ideal of public education at an elementary level was generally accepted, the idea of free education did not easily find acceptance among all Americans:

Tax-conscious property owners resisted the idea, claiming that it was unjust to tax one man to

educate another's child. Other opponents constructed popular education as a plot to secure the dominance of one political party over another. Advocates of private religious schools feared that public schools would be irreligious institutions. Foreign language groups feared that a common school would eradicate distinctive ethnic customs and languages (Guttek, G.L., 1972, p. 360).

Power claimed that, "... Elementary schools, open to all, should be provided for the children of the country and that they should be able to attend such schools without either paying rates or being exposed to the ridicule of attending a pauper school" (Power, E.L., 1970, p. 565). They came to be called the common school. According to Guttek, the word 'common' "expressed the concept of a community institution based on shared ideas, experiences, beliefs, aspirations, and values" (Guttek, G.L., 1972, p. 360). One key belief was that a democratic government and a democratic society required that the majority of the people should be literate.

It was, nevertheless, a long way from the lofty ideals which were expressed by Jefferson for the establishment of publically supported schools which offered a universal elementary education. Adequate progress was prevented by factors such as economics. It was firmly maintained by certain proponents that the resources of the country were insufficient to run a mass system of popular education (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 566).

Opposition was also found at the level of educational control. Many local authorities, which were up to then responsible for administering schools, were reluctant to accept State control which was necessary for the successful administration of common schools. Gradually, however, State supervision became an accepted fact, especially after the middle of the 19th century (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 566).

Another obstacle was presented by organised religion which was not prepared to give up its influence on elementary education without a fight:

The churches, so long effective instruments in providing opportunity for education and exercising control over it, were no more willing to give up their schools than they would have been to give up their church buildings; the ministers were as reluctant to give up their dominant positions on school committees as they would have been to cede their pulpits to the deists. In time they had to relinquish the control they had exercised over education, and in time it was necessary to take denominational religion out of the common school (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 566-567).

Power, in fact, claims that had it not been decided to create non-sectarian public education, the common school experiment would never have succeeded (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 567).

In 1827 the State of Massachusetts took action which, it could be argued, was implicit in the First Article of the Bill of Rights. It compelled common schools to exclude the teaching of denominational dogma. However, Power states:

Neither God nor religion, in the general sense was expelled from the school, but the distinctive teachings of the sects were no longer welcome, and according to law, they were not permitted. Thus we see, before the common school could prosper, before it could be the instrument for extending democratic opportunity, three important battles had to be waged and won: the battles of support, supervision and sectarianism (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 567).

Popular support for the common school cause was built by such a notable educationalist as Horace Mann (1796-1858). He was regarded as one of the greatest and most influential proponents of the common school philosophy.

In order to understand the impact of his ideas on American education, his philosophy has to be briefly examined. Similar to the thinking of many 19th century New England intellectuals, as well as the beliefs of Jefferson, "he believed that man could use his reason to achieve perfection" (Guttek, G.L., 1972, p. 361). He used his political ability to gain approval for the common school movement.

Although he had a liberal outlook on theology and society, he also had the insight to indicate his acceptance to teaching a so-called "common Christianity" in the common schools of Massachusetts. To a great extent his compromise was sufficient to allow the Protestant leaders to support his call for public education. "He convinced hesitant Protestant ministers that the common school would cultivate a common Christian morality, interpreted as a non-denominational Protestantism" (Gutek, G.L., 1972, p. 361).

To convince the doubters, however, Mann had undertaken an enormous task. Those who opposed public education and the common school philosophy did so because it would increase taxes, tend to centralize control, interfere with farm work, family discipline or religion and, further socialism (Good, H.G. 1956, p. 162). In answer to these claims, Mann replied that "education is the certain means to prosperity, security, happiness and salvation" (Good, H.G., 1956, p. 161).

He felt that property rights could ideally be protected in a system where the common man was educated to appreciate property and be motivated to acquire it (Gutek, G.L., 1972, p. 362), and argued:

Does any possessor of wealth, or leisure, or learning ask, 'What interest have I in education of the multitude?' I reply, you have at least this interest, that, unless their minds are enlightened by knowledge and controlled by virtuous principle, there is not, between their appetites and all you hold dear upon earth, so much the defense of a spider's web. Without a sense of the inviolability of property, your deeds are but waste-paper. Without a sense of the sacredness of person and life, you are only a watch-dog whose baying is to be silenced, that your house may be more securely entered, plundered. Even a guilty few can destroy the peace of the virtuous many. One incendiary can burn faster than a thousand industrious workers can build - and this is true of social rights as of material edifices (cited in Gutek, G.L., 1972, p. 362).

This form of education required, however, "public support, public control, non-sectarianism, and the broadening of the curriculum and the recruitment of qualified teachers in order to give the child in a public school a sound educational experience" (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 570).

Since a curriculum is an important aspect of any system of schooling, it is necessary to trace its development in the education system of America. In colonial New England, attendance at most schools was irregular and no established curriculum existed in the elementary school. Teachers had no formal training in how or what to teach, and they compiled a curriculum on the basis of their own knowledge and on what books were available (Good, H.G., 1956, p. 37).

In the period up to the time of Jefferson, no concrete form of a curriculum was proposed, although there was much debate on the theory of education. In his Bills he proposed a system of compulsory free education for a period of three years. "Reading, writing, arithmetic, and the history of Greece, Rome, England and America were to be the subjects of instruction" (Good, H.G., 1956, p. 90). The Bible which was read regularly in all schools, was not mentioned as part of his curriculum.

During the 19th century there developed a system of popular education which meant basic literacy. The English Sunday School movement was implemented "to cultivate basic literacy and morality among the working class children who attended the school on the one day of the week when factories were idle" (Gutek, G.L., 1972, p. 359).

Even with the establishment of the common school, the prime object and the main activity was still instruction in literacy for, as Power suggests, "these schools were reading and writing schools and nothing more" (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 566). Later, spelling and geography was added, and Power reminds us that many of the "materials for reading and writing were religiously orientated", for the child should "be exposed to the things that are best for him individually and that would best prepare him to be a good citizen".

(Power, E.J., 1970, p. 572). What was taught during the early years in the various subjects was dependent on what was in the textbook since the teachers in these schools were seldom equipped to teach beyond this (Power, E.J., 1970, p. 572).

Even as late as the first introduction of compulsory elementary education in any State (Massachusetts, 1852), the shortage of time in schools was still a severely limiting curriculum factor. In the 1852 Law, Massachusetts prescribed compulsory attendance "during at least twelve weeks ... in each and every year ... six weeks of which shall be consecutive". In circumstances such as this even the acquisition of fluent reading by many children must have been unlikely.

In the previous chapter little direct evidence was found of what education should be doing and what its contribution should be to the Christianization process. It is therefore necessary to look at the development of American education to see what its main characteristics were in the absence of any detailed statements of objectives. It was likely that the missionaries would respond by recreating what they knew from their own American experience.

A similar absence of a clear statement of educational objectives has been found in the earlier years of the London Missionary Society's Christianization activities in Southern Africa and in this case the Eastern Cape missionaries borrowed directly from English educational practice of the early years of the 19th century (George, A.C., 1983, p. 15).

The first development of American education, particularly in the New England, stressed religious purposes and was created through local responsibility and maintained by local taxation. The local nature of control reflected the considerable powers given to Church congregations in any colonistic sect. Furthermore, as man moved in an ever expanding frontier situation with only primitive and cumber-

some means of communication, local responsibility, whether for church or school purposes, was the only practical solution.

The American Board's activities in Natal were inevitably to meet some similar situations. Even the Methodist Church, which also made considerable contributions to the American Board's activities, had a strongly localized system of church control. This concept was most likely to be a model for the Natal development. For this model to work, the church and school needed to be closely linked. As the Board established more and more mission areas in the colony, so each of these could be regarded as a frontier situation.

It has been shown, however, that in the latter part of the 18th and 19th century in America, there occurred a decline in religious control of political matters which culminated in the legal separation of Church and State in the 1791 Bill of Rights. This separation could have produced some conflict in the intensive religious and evangelical thinking of the American missionaries sent to Natal. Their uncertain relationship with the Colonial Government will have to be explored from this point of view in subsequent chapters.

American thinking expressed very strongly the belief that man possesses the possibility of improvement, if not complete perfectibility. Such a belief was expressed as frequently by men of strong religious convictions as by those who did not place stress upon organised religion, such as Franklin or Jefferson. This improvement, as far as men of religion were concerned, would emerge directly from the study of the Bible and indirectly by habits of good discipline inculcated by schools. These beliefs would apply equally to the heathen as to the more civilized citizens of the United States. In the reformed religious views of man's improvement it was an individual knowledge of and acceptance of the Bible which was the central factor. The message of the Bible had to be reinforced by reading and re-reading. In these circumstances, literacy training to enable a man to

read his Bible wherever he was, would be at the centre of the curriculum. This principle was clearly applied to missionary activity.

It has been shown that, literacy training for much of the 19th century, was the only training available in the American common school. The limited nature of the elementary school curriculum was determined partly by the costs of providing a long elaborate list of subjects, partly by fears that an extended or elaborate education for a large number of children would interfere with the labour supply, and partly by the fact that missionary education, quite understandably, was seen as an aid to conversion.

It is therefore not surprising that both in America and Natal during the 19th century, the curriculum was largely dominated by literacy training and Bible study. This limited curriculum was in conflict with the pleas of men like Franklin who saw education as having a practical, a moral and religious purpose, and that this practical nature was particularly important in a pioneer or frontier situation. A practical education which would fulfil agricultural and industrial needs, would be an expensive undertaking and was often postponed or, if started, failed because of the lack of financial support. In many cases, failure was also due to the hostility of employers who saw it as over-preparing their unskilled workers. In these circumstances it was not surprising to find in America up to the middle of the 19th century, practical education being provided in middle class fee-paying schools, modelled on "Franklin's Philadelphia Academy". The uncertainty of investing in, and providing for, practical education was equally to be found in the Board's work in Natal.

It was noted that the reformed churches sometimes saw no necessity for the theological training of their ministers to be of a high academic standard. If necessary, in a pioneering situation, they needed to be no more than simple expounders of biblical truths and forms of conduct. Even Harvard's early training made secondary rather than tertiary

demands upon students. Such views could encourage missionaries to consider the creation of a financially independent and semi-autonomous position as far as its religious organisation was concerned. They could also contemplate, whether they too could provide limited theological training for the best of their converts who could go on to run the district communities and free the missionaries for new conversions.

As the story of the American Board's work in Natal is traced, it will be necessary to bear these points in mind.

## CHAPTER 3

AMERICAN BOARD MISSION IN NATAL 1835 - 1845 :  
ORIGINS AND SETBACKS

The purpose of this chapter is to set a pattern for the analysis of the educational contribution made by the A.B.M. through its missionary endeavour in the Colony of Natal from 1835 to 1910. The period which will be analysed starts in 1835, the year the American missionaries arrived at the Cape, and ends in 1845.

As a direct result of the correspondence between Dr Philip, the Superintendent of the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) in South Africa, and the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (see Chapter 1), the latter organization decided to send a mission to the "Zoolahs" and the Matabele in Southern Africa. The men chosen to begin the mission among the Matabele were the Rev Daniel Lindley from Pennsylvania, the Rev Alexander Wilson from North Carolina and the Rev Henry J. Venable from Kentucky, together with their wives. Those who were to work among the "Zoolahs" were Dr Newton Adam of New York, the Rev Aldin Grout of Pennsylvania and the Rev George Champion of Connecticut (Ireland, W., 1864, p. 14).

In the instructions of the Prudential Committee to the missionaries who were sent to Southern Africa, some insight is obtained into the Board's expectations of its missionaries in any of its missions:

It is not to operate merely on the surface of society; it is not to produce transient effects, however brilliant at the time; it is not to sweep over portions of a country like a flood carrying all before it ... we aim rather to exert general and enduring influences to reach and mould the elementary and fundamental principles of Society, and rear up Christian Communities, which, with the ordinary blessing of God, shall be able to stand and flourish without foreign aid (Prudential Committee instructions to missionaries, 22/11/ 1834, A/2/15).

The Board also required their missionaries in Southern Africa to secure "friendly relations with the Colonial Government, and also with the missionary institutions in the neighbourhood of the Zoolahs" (Prudential Committee Instructions to Missionaries, 22/11/1834, A/2/15). They were requested to confer with Dr Philip, whose letter of advice clearly had considerable influence in Boston, "concerning the modes of preaching best suited to the native character and circumstances; the measures to be adopted to raise up native assistants in sufficient numbers for the mission; and the whole subject of education, in all its array of infant schools, common free schools, boarding-schools, and high schools; and in all its relations to preaching, reading, and full understanding of the word of God" (Prudential Committee Instructions to Missionaries, 22/11/1834, A/2/15).

They were to consult with Dr Philip "on the use you should make of the press; on the attention you should give to the introduction of the mechanical and other useful arts among the natives" (Prudential Committee to missionaries, 22/11/1834, A/2/15). The Board also required "that you may obtain competent and faithful interpreters for both missions before going among the Zoolahs. On entering their country your first care will be to seek an interview with the chiefs of your respective nations. Dingane, the ruler of the maritime nation ... and Mosalikatsi, the head of the interior nation" (Prudential Committee Instructions to Missionaries, 22/11/1834, A/2/15).

The missionaries sailed from Boston in the Burlington on 3 December 1834 and arrived in Cape Town on 5 February 1835 (Grout, L., 1861, p. 20). The American missionaries Lindley, Venable and Wilson left Cape Town in March 1835 to set up a mission among the Matabele under King Mzilikazi. After an arduous journey they reached Griquatown where they spent a period of seven months. At Griquatown they spent their time learning Setshwana and Sindebele which were the languages of most of the Matabele. With the assistance of a

man who understood Sindebele, the missionaries were able to compile a list of 1 700 words which they arranged in alphabetical order to serve as the basis of a vocabulary. "From the words obtained we have formed an alphabet, and prepared and printed lessons in spelling; so that we are ready to commence schools, and have the necessary school-lessons on the Lancasterian plan (see Chapter 2 for reference to the Monitorial schools) to advance children as far as reading" (Letter Wilson to Boston, 21/3/1836 cited in Kotze, D., 1950, p. 105).

The American missionaries then proceeded to Mosega the capital of King Mzilikazi, which they reached on 23 January 1836. With the King's permission they had established a mission station in the vicinity of Mosega by June 1836 (Christofersen, A.F., 1967, p. 14). The American missionaries had hardly commenced their work, however, when they were struck by a number of disasters. Firstly, "one after another in their families was taken down with fever, occasioned, in the opinion of Dr Wilson, by entering their houses before the mud floors were sufficiently dry". On 18 September 1836, Mrs Wilson actually died of the fever (Ireland, W., 1865, p. 15). They had scarcely recovered from the fever when trouble broke out between the Boers and Mzilikazi. The Boers, under the leadership of Maritz and Potgieter, made a surprise attack on Mzilikazi at Mosega on 17 January 1838. In this attack the mission houses were burned, many of their possessions lost and many of the Matabele killed.

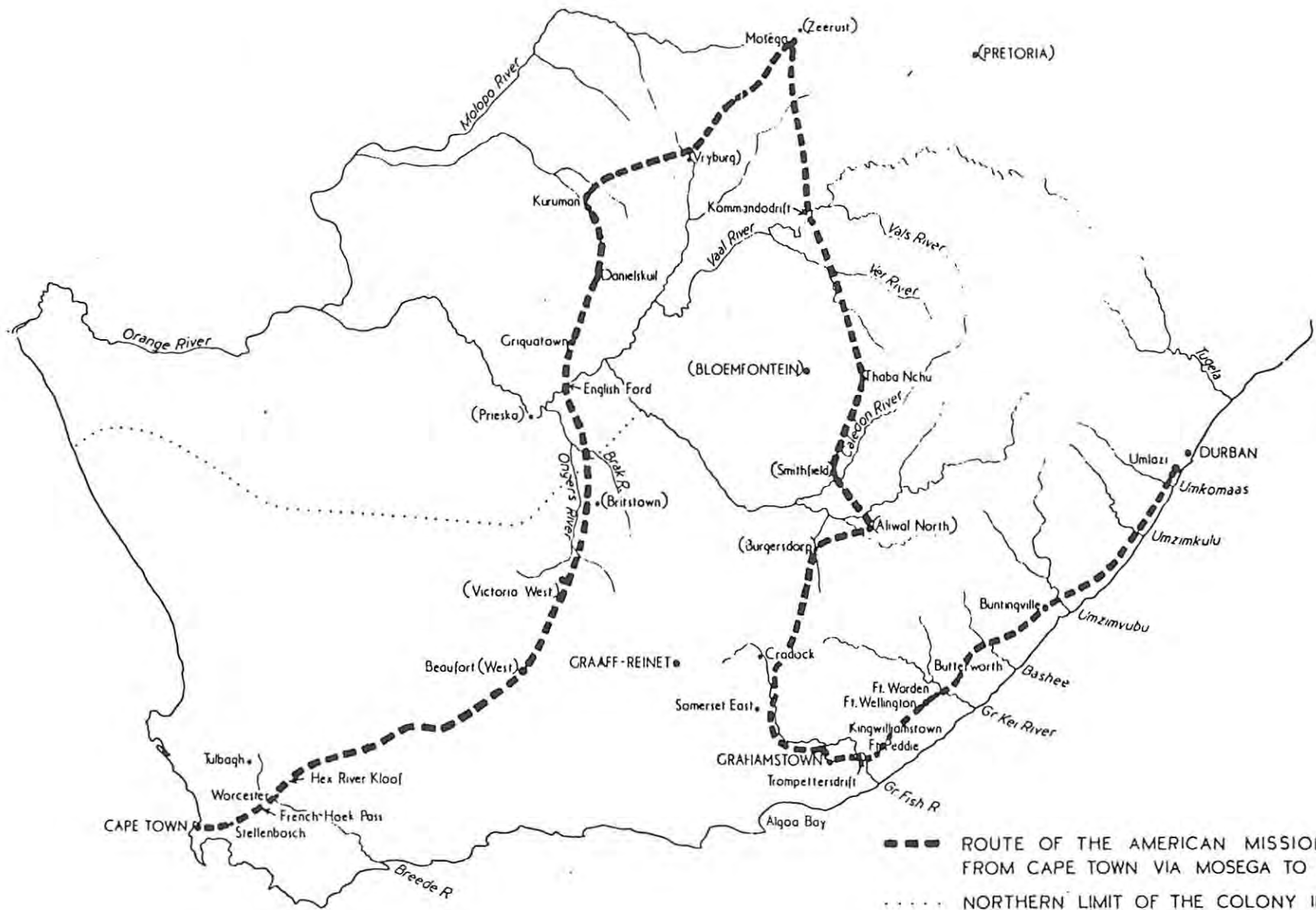
The American missionaries thereupon decided to end their mission to the Matabele. Daniel Lindley wrote:

... Shall we go with the Boers or stay and remove at our own leisure? If we go with the Boers we must sacrifice more than half of our moveable property and withal run the risk of being overtaken by Mzilikazi and killed. If we stay to remove at our leisure we do not believe that Mzilikazi will give us permission to leave him, but will either retain us not as teachers but as servants, or will destroy us that he may possess

our property (Lindley to Boston, Grahamstown, 2/5/1837 cited in Kotze, D., 1950, p. 170).

The Boers, "having destroyed fourteen or fifteen villages, and recovered six or seven thousand head of cattle, together with the wagons which Umzilikazi had taken from them, decided to leave Mosega", not, however, before "they had persuaded the missionaries to go back with them" (Grout, L., 1861, p. 233). The missionary party of the inland mission, "shocked by the sanguinary aspect of everything about them, and assured by the Boers that they had not yet done with Umzilikazi and his people; in doubt if their own lives would be any longer safe", they "packed a few things into their wagons, where also they placed some of their own number who had not walked for months, bid adieu to their station, and started on a journey of twelve or fifteen hundred miles, overland to join their brethren of the mission among the Amazulu" (Grout, L., 1961, p. 233). The route which they followed from Mosega to Port Natal was an arduous and indirect one which took them to a mission "station of Wesleyan missionaries at Thaba Nchu, where they were kindly received. After resting for a time, they passed on to Graham's Town, and thence over-land to Natal ..." (Grout, L., 1862, p. 234). They covered 1 300 miles by ox-wagon and arrived at Umlazi near Port Natal in July 1837 (see map on p. 41). The initial activities of the American missionaries in South Africa can hardly have been described as successful.

Meanwhile, the members of the so-called 'Maritime Mission', who were destined for the Zulu country, remained in Cape Town from their arrival in February 1835 until July 1835, because of the Sixth Frontier War which had commenced between the Xhosas and the Cape Colonists at Christmas time 1834, and which was in progress on their arrival (Ireland, W., 1864, p. 14). Of the period they had spent at Cape Town, Champion wrote:



- - - - ROUTE OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARIES FROM CAPE TOWN VIA MOSEGA TO UMLAZI  
 . . . . . NORTHERN LIMIT OF THE COLONY IN 1835

NAMES IN PARENTHESES INDICATE PLACES NON EXISTANT AT THIS TIME



Our stay has refreshed our spirits. It has taught us many things in reference to African Missions, that we otherwise should not have known ... During our stay we have not been out of employment. Our first attention has been directed toward whatever could subserve the interests of our mission. Consultation with those whose wisdom and experience should not a little control us, and especially with Dr Philip, have been frequent (Missionary Herald, 1836, p. 215, cited by Christofersen, A.F., 1857, p. 15).

In July 1835, they left Cape Town for Algoa Bay (Port Elizabeth) from where they travelled a distance of about nine miles to Bethelsdorp where they were cordially received by missionaries of the London Missionary Society (Christofersen, A.F., 1857, p. 15). While the others remained at Bethelsdorp, Dr Adams travelled to Grahamstown in order to obtain interpreters and other necessary goods and implements for their journey to Natal. He managed to obtain the services of a Khoi, Orson Magerman, to act as one of the interpreters and to serve as a wagon driver. The services of another interpreter were secured when Charles Brownlee, a son of an English missionary, decided to accompany the American missionaries to Natal (Champion diary, 14/11/1835, A/4/59).

It was only in December 1835 that the American missionaries at Bethelsdorp found conditions suitable to proceed to Natal. Mrs Grout and Mrs Adams were left at Bethelsdorp, and Mrs Champion at Port Elizabeth, while their husbands embarked on 7 December and arrived at Port Natal on 22 December 1835. On landing, they found a few European hunters and traders from whom they bought a span of oxen for their wagons, and on 4 January 1836, commenced their trip of about 150 miles to the chief of the "Zoolahs", Dingane. On 16 January 1836 they arrived at his great place at Umgungunhlovu, where they asked him for permission to settle in the country and to open a mission settlement among his people (Grout, L., 1861, p. 202). Champion's report on the meeting with Dingane reads:

The chief received us very pleasantly ... and kept us nearly a week, amused with our lathe, our reading and writing and apparently pleased with what we told him of our designs towards his people (Champion's diary, 16/1/1835, A/4/59).

Grout's report to Boston (12 February 1836) stated that Dingane had suggested that they should first build a mission house at Port Natal and that they should approach him later about the building of a school in Zululand. Grout felt encouraged by Dingane's apparent support, as the Chief had declared: "If you succeed in teaching my people to read and write, you must come immediately to me and teach me and my chiefs to read and write, and then I should want schools in all my country" (Grout, L., to Boston, 12/2/1836, cited in Kotze, D.J., 1950, p. 7). Dingane's declaration was acceptable to the missionaries who, after the six days with Dingane, decided to leave Champion in Natal to continue planning while the other two missionaries, Grout and Adams, returned to Algoa Bay for their wives and necessities.

During the absence of his fellow missionaries, Champion, after exploring the surrounding country as far South West as Ilovo, selected a suitable site for the first mission station in Natal, on the Umlazi river. Having completed the building of a temporary house, he opened a first school for natives sponsored by the American mission in Southern Africa on 7 March 1836 "using the shade of a large tree for a schoolroom, and the earth for the letters written in the sand - for an a-b-c- book" (Grout, L., 1861, p. 203). Champion's pioneering venture is recorded in his diary:

My school began very naturally as I had just come into the vicinity of 20 or 30 children - Apart are making an attempt at learning English, and thus far succeed very well. Three of them are children of white men ... (who are) now living here under my tuition in reading and writing. Thus I have three classes 35 in all. Four hours daily is the utmost I can spare for them at present, and often not so much. Eight of these now know the alphabet perfectly (Champion's diary, 21/4/1835, 1/4/59).

The death of Mrs Grout at Bethelsdorp on 24 February 1836 did not deter Grout and Adams, with Mrs Adams and Mrs Champion, from embarking on an arduous overland route to Natal. On 21 May 1836 they reached the Umlazi river where Champion had built a house for their reception (Ireland, W., 1864, p. 15). When Dingane heard of their arrival, he requested the American missionaries to visit him again. According to Champion, Dingane gave them the same cordial reception as on their first visit "and repeated his assertions respecting a station in his country" (Champion's diary, 6/7/1836, A/4/59). The Zulu king agreed to allow the Americans to establish a mission station at a place in Zululand called Ginani, approximately 80 miles from the King's capital.

It was decided that Dr Adams would remain at Umlazi while Champion and Grout would start building the Zululand station (Champion's diary, 26/7/1836, A/4/59). Although the July 1836 diary entries had been hopeful, Champion began to find difficulties in the following month of August. Cooperation and support from Dingane and his Captains were declining (Champion's diary, 30/8/1836, A/4/59). Their difficulties increased when many of the Zulus were openly discouraged from attending school and gospel services at the mission station, as was discovered by Champion on one of his journeys through the surrounding country:

At one time on a journey I was addressing a few persons about God and his word when suddenly they cut short the conversation by saying 'We are not yet permitted to hear this. When the King sees fit he will send one to teach us' (Missionary Herald 1838, p. 32, cited by Christofersen, A.F., 1967, p. 19).

Champion was particularly interested in educational work and saw the main purpose of his missionary work in a foreign country as "principally for the purpose of learning the language accurately translating making books, etc." (Missionary Herald 1837, p. 121, cited by Christofersen,

A.F., 1967, p. 191). He set himself the task of translating the Bible into Zulu, "another small book for the schools, 56 pages ... and ... a revised and enlarged edition of the first book" (Missionary Herald 1937, p. 121, cited by Christofersen, A.F., 1967, p. 19). Even at this early stage, Champion was so proficient in the Zulu language that he was capable of preaching fluently to congregations which at times numbered about 200 people (Grout, L., 1861, p. 204).

Champion's presence in Natal was to be of a very short duration, as he returned to America in 1838. His diary entries however, emphasize his determined commitment to the educational side of missionary work and his books suggest that he was able to put this interest into practical effect. It certainly can be assumed that these influences continued to operate in the work of the American Board's missionaries in Natal.

Dr Adams, who had been at Umlazi since July 1836, was able to report considerable progress at his mission station in a lengthy letter to the Secretary of the Prudential Committee (Anderson) on 15 May 1837. About 50 children attended his day-school regularly and were making such good progress that Adams could write that "children and adults evince a capacity for learning equal to that of Europeans or Americans" (Adams to Anderson, Umlazi, 15/5/1837, A/2/15).

However, the greatest hindrance to the effectiveness of the school was the irregularity in the attendance of the pupils, largely, Adams felt, because of the lack of parental interest in the education of the children. During the rainy season, when the women were engaged in planting, elder children were required to attend to the smaller ones or to assist with planting. Adams should, however, have recognized such problems as also being found in rural America, when farm duties took precedence over school attendance. Adams also recommended the establishment of a boarding school and to initiate the idea, he and his wife took four promising young boys into their family. They were "thoroughly convinced of the advantages of having the children constantly

near us, that they may be removed as much as possible from heathen example and influence, and that we may bestow upon them all the pains which our other vocations will permit" (letter from Adams to Anderson, Umlazi, 15 May 1837, A/2/15). Another reason for such an arrangement was that they could be trained as monitors along the lines of the Lancastrian method, similar to the use of the monitorial system in L.M.S. schools in the Eastern Cape (George, A.C., 1983, p. 149). This is the first example of boarding school organization in the American Board history in Natal, but it set a precedent frequently repeated.

The practice was continued by Adams and by other White missionaries. The boys were partly pupils and partly servants, a relationship pattern which was very frequently found in American colonial society where indentured servants shared a home, received instruction (often of a practical or vocational nature) and took part in the families' religious worship and instruction. The only major difference would be that in the American circumstances the boys' presence would often have been legalized by some form of indenture.

A Sabbath school had been established at Umlazi with 75 people in September 1836, and by May 1837 there was a regular attendance of 250 children. This school was superintended by Mrs Adams and held soon after sunrise. During these months, Dr Adams was responsible for establishing an adult school which was attended by some 250 people. This school was conducted under a large tree near the Adams' home. It began with the singing of a hymn "then ... an examination upon the subject of the previous Sabbath, and the recitation of hymns and Bible passages both in English and Zulu. A few passages of scripture were read and explained, and the school closed with singing" (letter from Adams to Anderson, Umlazi, 15 May 1837, A/2/15). Apart from the account of the school of some 35 children, which Champion had established in Zululand (described earlier), the letter from Adams to Anderson, dated 15 May 1837, was the first extensive description given by the American

missionaries of the establishment and functioning of schools connected with the American Zulu Mission.

Three types of organization had been established: two of which, the Sabbath schools for children and adults, gave greater emphasis to conversion and evangelization than to more conventional education. The Umlazi Mission day-school, as was to be expected, was smaller with about 50 pupils. The use of both Zulu and English should be noted, but unfortunately the information on these early years is not sufficient to show who had done the translation of hymns into Zulu or whether the English part of the services were delivered through an interpreter translating into Zulu. Evidence about Champion's language work has already been given but it is not clear whether similar activity in 1837 was occurring in Umlazi. In his letter dated 15 May 1837, Adams described the progress which was being made in the religious activities of the schools, but nowhere does he mention any progress in converting the Zulu to the Christian faith.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the members of the abortive mission to the Matabele had arrived at Umlazi in July 1837. This setback now required a reassessment of the position of the South African mission of the Board. The first combined missionary meeting was therefore held when future plans were discussed. At this meeting it was decided that Lindley would be stationed at Infumi on the Ilovo river which was about 30 miles south of the present-day Durban. Venable and Wilson (having obtained permission from Dingane to extend mission work in Zululand), were to be located near the station of Ginani (Ireland, W., 1864, p. 16).

The missionaries of the A.Z.M. had hardly settled down at their mission stations when their work, as was their experience among the Matabele, was interrupted by the arrival of the Trekkers who were seeking land. The subsequent events are well known and can be found in any conventional history of the period. They are briefly summarized here. Their leader, Piet Retief, visited Dingane in November 1837 with a request for land, which the King promised him with the pro-

viso that the Boer leader recapture cattle from Sikongela, a Batlokwa chief. Dingane alleged that this chief had stolen the cattle from him. Retief accepted the agreement and returned to Dingane in February 1838 with the recovered cattle and 67 of his followers, together with about 30 Khoi servants. Dingane, who at first "signed a treaty of cession", however, gave a signal for his warriors to kill the whole of Retief's group.

The news of the events at Umgungumlovu and Weenen, where the remaining wagons were attacked, soon reached the American missionaries (Venable, Wilson and Champion) in Zululand, Adams at Umlazi and Lindley at Infumi. With the assistance of Adams and a Khoi by the name of Klaas, the missionaries from Zululand made a hasty journey by ox-wagon to join the rest of their brethren at Umlazi from where they all travelled to Port Natal (Grout, L., 1861, p. 207). Distressed that their mission work was now suspended and, while waiting to leave Port Natal by ship, they began seriously to consider the Boers as a possible field of labour. "We urged it especially on Brother (Lindley), as he had given up the natives" (letter from Champion to Grout, 3/4/1838, A/2/27).

Due to the unsettled conditions which have been described, all the missionaries, except Lindley who was left behind to monitor events, left for Port Elizabeth on the Mary on 30 March 1838 and arrived in Algoa Bay four days later (letter from Champion to Grout, 3/4/1838, A/2/27). When the Zulu army invaded Natal early in April 1838, Lindley was fortunate enough to escape on a coaster, the Comet, which was lying in the harbour at Port Natal. He joined his fellow missionaries in Port Elizabeth on 22 June 1838 (Grout, L., 1861, p. 208). Before leaving Natal for Port Elizabeth, Lindley, under the influence of his fellow missionaries, decided to write to the Prudential Committee on 27 March 1838 concerning the possibility of his undertaking a mission among the Boers. To this request the Board replied:

The Committee were of the opinion that your circumstances may be so peculiar as to warrant your receiving support from the Board, and yet devote your labours to the Dutch Boers at Port Natal and in the country of Dingane (Anderson to Lindley, Boston, 12/12/1838, A/2/15).

However, Anderson commented, "I think, . . . , that the probability of this opinion being permanent in the Committee, is not great, unless the circumstances are very peculiar indeed, and it can be clearly shown that efforts among the Boers are highly necessary in respect to the native Africans". Anderson added that the Committee wanted more particulars: "Especially say where the missionaries would reside; how many Boers they would have access to; what should be done; the natives near; and the bearing upon them of these labours upon the Boers" (Anderson to South African Mission, Boston, 12/12/1838, A/2/15).

In the meantime, the American missionaries, who had gathered in Port Elizabeth, were completely disillusioned by the turn of events in Zululand and Natal. Most of the missionaries felt disinclined to continue missionary work in Southern Africa. This state of affairs no doubt resulted in some members of the mission returning to America, almost halving their number. Aldin Grout had already temporarily left Natal for America in December 1837. Venable left for Cape Town on his way home, where he severed all ties with the Board. Champion, owing to the ill-health of his wife, left with her for America where he, himself, fell ill and later travelled to the West Indies to convalesce. However, he died there on 17 December 1841 at the age of 31. "His life was one of rare consecration to the cause of Christ" (Grout, L., 1861, pp. 208-209). Wilson also returned to America, but left New York on 27 July 1839 to join the Board's West African Mission (Grout, L., 1861, pp. 208-209).

The Prudential Committee's reaction to the suspension of the Zulu mission was contained in a letter written by Anderson on 9 March 1839 to the South African mission: "... the Board and the Christian community humbly appreciate

your zeal enterprise and self denials in your efforts to establish this mission. You have done all that could be done. God, in his mercy and wise providence, has been pleased to throw obstacles in the way, equally unexpected and unsurmountable". The letter continued: "If you think it your duty to return home, you need have no fear of encountering any feelings of disapprobation: if you choose to remain still longer . . . , you will be remembered and sustained: if you think proper . . . to go to other missions, the influence at home will be good". The letter concluded: "you will doubtless find that the Lord Jesus is with you to cheer and bless" (letter Anderson to S.A. Mission, Boston, 6/3/1839, A/2/15).

Venable, who had by this time arrived in America, not only gave a full account of the suspension of the missionary work in Natal and Zululand, but also added that Adams had decided to return to Port Natal as soon as circumstances permitted. Anderson wrote about Adams' determination: "In this course he (Adams) may expect to be sustained by the Committee, should God in his providence continue to smile on the Board" (Anderson to S.A. Mission, Boston, 6/3/1839, A/2/15). Adams' determination would later prove vital to the continuation of the Board's mission among the Zulus even if it was not to be in Zululand itself.

Dingane was defeated by the Boers in December 1838 so that the area in the vicinity of Port Natal became more secure from attacks by the Zulus. The result was that Daniel Lindley and Adams returned to Natal on 12 June 1839. There they found that Lindley's home at Imfumi had been destroyed and a number of goods had been taken from the mission building at Umlazi. The communities around these two mission stations, however, remained undisturbed (Christofersen, C.F., 1967, p. 20). Clearly Lindley had been particularly affected by the failure of the initial missions, both to the Matabele and the Zulu. Soon after his return to Imfumi he again considered the possibility of mission work among the

Boers after his first attempt on 27 March 1838, and on 17 July 1839 wrote to the Prudential Committee:

... Boers, as a body, are exceedingly illiterate people. Probably not one half of them, including men, women and children over the age of ten years can read understandingly. Books are very scarce among them ... they are in no sense a reading people neither were their fathers. In most of their houses you will find a Bible, for which they have a hereditary reverence. But this book with fewer exceptions, is little read and less understood by them.

In these circumstances he thought that an indirect attack upon missionary problems would be more useful than attempting too early to re-establish direct mission activities among the Zulu. He suggested that:

the cheapest, speediest, easiest way to convert the heathen here is to convert the white ones first. More, the whites must be provided for or we labour in vain to make Christians of blacks. These two classes will come so fully and constantly in contact with each other, that the influence of the whites, if evil, will be tremendous - will be irresistible without a miracle to prevent. To their own vices the aborigines will add those of the white men, and thus make themselves two fold more the children of hell than they were before (Daniel Lindley to Secretary of Prudential Committee (Anderson), 17 July 1839, cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 160).

In the subsequent resolution of the Prudential Committee, Lindley officially received permission from the Prudential Committee to serve as teacher and preacher among the Boers. "Resolved, that the Rev Daniel Lindley, of the Zulu Mission, receive at his own request, and with a view of assuring the pastoral relation among the Dutch immigrants, an honourable release from the Board; with the understanding however, that he be at liberty to retain his connection with the Board, should circumstances become such ..." (letter Board to Zulu Mission, Boston, 14/4/1842, A/2/15).

Adams' response was different to Lindley's. He returned to his old station at Umlazi where he found the mission still standing, although attempts had been made to set it on fire (Grout, L., 1861, p. 209). By this time the Boers had succeeded in establishing a Volksraad at Pietermaritzburg and it was to that body that Adams wrote on 8 August 1839 requesting permission for title to be given to the Board to the land at the Umlazi mission station, which was approximately 5 120 morgen. Together with his application for title, he listed the missionary activities he had already undertaken. The Volksraad's response was not as cordial as he had hoped. Full title was not given, but he was allowed to occupy the land, provided he informed the Landdrost, under oath, who had sponsored his mission work and what its purpose was to be (Shiels, R., 1963, p. 12).

The political and military situation in Natal was still very uncertain. In December 1838, the Governor at the Cape, Sir George Napier, decided to send 100 British troops under Captain Jervis to create peace between Dingane and the Boer Trekkers. Jervis succeeded in "securing from Dingane an agreement that he would regard the Tugela as the boundary between himself and the Trekkers, would compensate them for their losses in horses and cattle, and would in future refrain from attacking them" (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 35).

In September 1839, Mpande, the brother of Dingane, revolted against the King "and in October he met the leaders of the Trekkers and entered into treaty relations with them" (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 35). Sir George Napier then reassessed the situation and decided that Captain Jervis and his troops could leave Port Natal. Jervis left the Port on 24 December 1839, leaving the Boers in undisputed claim to the land which they called the Republic of Natalia.

During this period Adams continued his missionary activities at Umlazi and did not allow the political events in the country to disturb his preaching or educational work among the Zulu (Shiels, R., 1963, p. 14). By the middle of 1840, within a year of his return to Natal "he had a Sabbath

audience of about five hundred, a Sabbath school of more than two hundred, a large and flourishing day school" (Adams to Boston, Umlazi, 20/10/1841, A/3/38). Mrs Adams held weekly prayer meetings for the women and a daily school for girls where she taught them needlework. Later that year Adams fitted up a printing press and soon printed a few small books to assist them in their educational work (Grout, L., 1861, p. 210). Adams made considerable claims about his work and declared (in a letter to the Prudential Committee on 20 October 1841): "The influence of this station (at) Umlazi is not confined to the people of Port Natal. It extends to those living along the coast as far as the Umzimkulu over a population of 10,000". The type of influence is made clear later in the same letter:

... they have acquired a knowledge of the fundamental truths of Christianity, as the existence of God who upholds all things, the immortality of the soul, the sinfulness and the depravity of men, the atonement made by Jesus Christ, and the possibility of being reconciled to God and saved by Him through exercising repentance and faith (Adams to Boston, Umlazi, 20/10/1841, A/3/38).

Continuing his experiment of 1837, when four boys had lived in the house with him and his wife, Adams took nine children, both boys and girls, into his home, at no charge, to educate them. Five of these children were later employed in the day and Sunday schools as monitors and two as interpreters. These pupils formed the basis of what Adams regarded as a small boarding school, the extension of which he saw as an efficient and economical method of advancing missionary activity among the Zulu (Shiels, R., 1963, pp. 14-15).

It will be recalled that Aldin Grout, who came out with the first group of missionaries in 1835, returned to America in December 1837. He returned and reached Natal on 30 June 1840. While in America, Grout must have visited the Board's headquarters in Boston where he was reminded of the desire

of the Prudential Committee to operate a mission among the Zulus in Zululand. Thus, soon after his return to Natal, he started negotiating with Mpande, Dingane's successor to begin a mission at Empangeni in Zululand (Ireland, W., 1864, p. 17). This strategy of approaching and attempting to convert the ruling elite before commencing mission work among the ordinary people was a policy the Board constantly used in its missionary endeavours all over the world.

In October 1840, Grout could report to Anderson, the Secretary of the Board, the main reason why Mpande wanted a missionary among his people was that "his existence depends upon keeping on good terms with the whites" (cited in Etherington, N., 1978, p. 74). By May 1841, Grout had succeeded in his negotiations with Mpande who had "anxiously, earnestly, and repeatedly requested that he may have a least one missionary to dwell at this place (Empangeni)" (cited in Etherington, N., 1978, p. 74).

Christofersen mentions that Grout showed very little respect for the Zulu King and was under the impression that Mpande's subjects had little respect for him (Mpande), but he was optimistic about his prospects, as far as potential converts were concerned.

In travelling from Natal [Durban] to Umlambongweni by two different routes, I have neither seen nor heard of a place where so great a population is accessible as here. Thirty seven villages are near enough to be collected for worship upon the Sabbath. The country here is one which the Natives like to occupy ...

He was conscious of the extent of his task as:

I will only say that I am, single handed, about a hundred miles from a fellow labourer, and the same distance from anybody that I can call civilized, in the midst of a nation which yet does not ask for teachers, will not throw the least obstacle in their way (Missionary Herald 1842, p. 131, cited in Christofersen, A.F., 1967, p. 22).

The mission work progressed and Grout soon reported that he had an attendance of up to 200-300 at Sabbath worship and the day school was also well attended. However, he was over confident, if not boastful, about his influence among Mpande's subjects, which is illustrated in a letter he wrote to Anderson in which he stated "that if Mpandi does not treat them well, they will just walk off, or move their village upon my place, taking it for granted if they are upon the station they are out of the way of Zulu authority" (Grout to Anderson, 3/8/1841, cited in Etherington, 1978, pp. 74-75). Mpande soon perceived "that some of the people who lived even at a distance from the station were looking at it and fleeing to it as a place of refuge and that some who lived about the station were beginning as he thought, to forget their allegiance to him, and attach themselves to the missionary". (Grout, L., 1861, p. 211). Grout and the Zulus who were prepared to follow him became aware of the change in the King's attitude towards them. For that reason "the people about the station shunned the King's presence, and kept away from the royal residence, all of which, in its turn, served to exasperate the King, and widen the breach between him and his suspected subjects" (Grout, L., 1861, p. 211). Grout was clearly creating a conflict situation between himself and the King since Zulu chiefs were noted for the pride they took in the loyalty of their subjects to their authority. The relationship between the two men was strained and became explosive as will be seen later in the chapter.

One of Grout's fellow missionaries, Adams, visited Zululand in 1843 to get a first-hand account of the tension from Mpande, who described his objections towards Grout:

The missionary came to me and I welcomed him, to select a location where he pleased. He built there. I told the people to go to the meeting and attend to his instructions. But the people soon began to call themselves the people of the missionary, and refused to obey me, I had no authority over them - they cast off their allegiance to their King, and were of no use to me, and after

a while the missionary with my people and cattle left the country. Those who remain in that region are good for nothing - they are of no use to me. The missionary should have told the people in the beginning that he could not be their captain. I have been obliged to kill several of those people, and much mischief has resulted from the mission established there (cited in Etherington, 1978, p. 75).

While Grout was continuing his mission in Zululand under uncertain circumstances, the Prudential Committee, in a letter to the South African Mission on 6 July 1841, indicated their desire to end their mission among the Zulus, owing to an acute lack of funds and also because it had been felt that the less progressive or successful missions should be discontinued. Adams, in his reply to the Committee on 15 February 1842, gave a spirited defence of the potential of the work among the Zulu:

If it is necessary for the Committee to relinquish some of the missions which they have established, for the want of funds to sustain, I (Adams) do not feel prepared to say that this should be one of them. Older and more extensive fields have stronger claims than this can have, but it does not seem to me now, that it would be good policy to abandon this field, in order to enter a new and untried one" (letter, Umlazi to Boston, 15/2/1842, A/3/38).

Adams gave his assurance of the possible success of the mission and went as far as to mention a number of likely sites for starting new stations. He added that he was not aware of any other mission field sponsored by the Board "where it seems to me there's more to encourage a missionary or where labour and money judiciously appropriated promised greater, speedier results" (letter, Umlazi to Boston, 15/2/1842, A/3/38).

Adams' February letter reached Boston fairly speedily, because in April 1842, Anderson, apparently persuaded by his claims, wrote to the Zulu South African Mission that: "If we continue the Zulu mission, my impression is ... that it will

be best for us to retire from Port Natal and concentrate in the Zulu country. Indeed I should ... (hardly) wonder if the continuance of the mission depended on (such) a concentration post at Port Natal, and a post in the Zulu country, from really two missions". He added "I suppose the prevailing impression with our Committee still is, that the mission ought not to be continued by us. But if you agree to concentrate your labours in the proper Zulu country, (where) you could form one compact mission, and have a good field, I should hope they would venture to go forward, and send you out a reinforcement". Anderson concluded: "It is a good while since I have seen a satisfactory reason for our having a station at Port Natal. I presume it will seem to Adams like a sacrifice to leave that place, where he had laboured so long, but my strong belief is, he will not regret doing so, after the sacrifice has been fairly made" (Anderson to South African Mission, Boston, 14/4/1842, A/3/ 38).

In July 1842, however, while the letter from the Board of 14/4/1842 was on its way to Southern Africa, Mpande decided to send an impi to punish those Zulus in the vicinity of Grout's mission station for being disrespectful towards him:

An attack was made upon half a dozen of the nearer kraals, three of which the King doomed to utter destruction. In accordance with the Zulu mode, the attack was sudden, and at early dawn. Though no violence was done to the missionary, he thought it no longer safe to remain. He accordingly left the place at once and returned to Natal ... (Grout, L. 1861, p. 211).

Grout's episode with Mpande ended. In fact so did the Board's endeavours to do mission work in Zululand away from the influence of a foreign colonial power. The attitude of Grout towards the Zulu King negatively influenced the Board's eager desire to get a mission consolidated in Zululand. He (Grout) was certainly not a suitable person to carry out a mission which required insight and diplomacy in

a sensitive situation considering the difficulties the American missionaries had experienced with Dingane. This disaster added to the growing misfortunes of the Board's mission to South Africa. Firstly, the interior mission among the Matabele at Mosega had failed; secondly, at the time of Retief's death at the hand of Dingane the missionaries temporarily suspended their work in Zululand and Natal and fled to Port Elizabeth, and four of the original six missionaries left South Africa; and thirdly, with the return of the two remaining missionaries, Lindley and Adams, to Natal from Port Elizabeth, Lindley decided to work among the Boers. Nowhere in the available literature consulted is there any indication of the Board's reaction to Grout's "blunder" in Zululand. However, it could have been expected that under such unfavourable circumstances, the American missionaries would withdraw from any missionary plans among the Zulus but the tenacity of the pioneer missionaries, particularly Adams of the A.Z.M., was strong in the face of much adversity. How long the Board would continue the mission remained to be seen.

In the meantime, while the destiny of the Zulu mission of the American Board was being determined, the Volksraad was dealing with the increase in the number of Zulus in Natal. A number of tribes which had been in hiding as a result of the turmoil caused by the revolt of Mpande against Dingane, had crossed over from Zululand into Natal. In order to deal with this problem the Volksraad passed the "Plakkerswet" or Squatters Law in 1839, and in August 1840 "passed a resolution to the effect that the Commandant-General alone would be permitted to have more than five families of 'Zolas' on his farm" (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 37). This legislation, passed by the Volksraad, was "first, to limit the total number of 'natives' in the white area, and second to secure an equitable distribution of the labour supply" (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 37). The measure which caused the greatest concern was one which proposed to transform the major part of the Zulu population into

labourers and to move the remaining number to a district between the Umtamvana and Umzimvubu rivers over which the Republic of Natalia had no control. Since it was next to the eastern frontier of the Cape, this decision caused considerable apprehension to the British Government of the Cape Colony (Brookes & Webb, 1965, pp. 37-38). The Governor at the Cape, Sir George Napier, decided to send Captain T.C. Smith with some troops to Port Natal to intervene on behalf of the British Government. At Congella the Boers resisted the British troops but with the arrival of reinforcements from the Cape, they (the Boers) were forced to acknowledge defeat on 5 July 1842 (Brooks & Webb, 1965, p. 40). Steps were now taken by Sir George Napier to annex Natal as a British Colony. In his negotiations on this matter, Lord Stanley, Secretary to the Colonial Office, sent a despatch to Napier on 12 August 1842 which indicated that the purpose of annexation would not be economic:

I have never been led away by the flattering accounts of the beauty of the country and its fertility, in which as many travellers indulge. I have had always before me the dangers of anchorage and the difficulty of entering the harbour ... I have never for a moment viewed it as a lucrative possession nor have I been unmindful of the expense of its settlement as a colony" (Bird, Annals of Natal, Vol. 2, pg. 86).

Furthermore, Napier himself felt that the main reason for the annexation of Natal was based on humanitarian and strategic principles. In his opinion, the British had to end the oppression which the indigenous people were suffering at the hands of the Boers. He also believed that Port Natal should be in the hands of the British so that they could control any supplies which arrived for the Boers (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 45). In his despatch to Sir George Napier on 13 December 1842, Lord Stanley laid down three principles upon which the creation of the Colony could be based:

1. That there shall not be in the eye of the law any distinction of colour, origin race or creed.
2. That no oppression shall be sanctioned upon the natives residing beyond the limits of the Colony, under any pleas, whatever, by any private person or any body of men unless acting under their immediate authority and order of the Government.
3. That slavery in any shape or under any modification is absolutely unlawful, as in every part of Her Majesty's Dominion. (Bird, Annals of Natal, Vol 11, p. 144).

Sir George Napier on 4 May 1843 made an announcement "to the Legislative Council of the Cape that the Queen would take the inhabitants of Natal under her protection ..." (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 40). The A.B.M. now became concerned about whether an English colony was the ideal place in which to establish an American mission:

No doubt the English government mean to do what is right but men are men, colonies are colonies. English missionaries and English missionary societies and perhaps Wesleyan Methodists above all others will get along far better than we in the vicinity of the young English colony at Port Natal (letter from Anderson to S.A.M., Boston, 31/08/1843, A/2/10).

At the same time the Prudential Committee was experiencing financial difficulties at home. These reasons made the Committee finally decide to withdraw their mission among the Zulus, and in a letter they quoted a resolution passed in July 1843, namely, "that the mission to the Zulus of South Africa be brought to a close as soon as possible". The Prudential Committee, in acting the way they had, differed in opinion from the missionaries who were on the spot and were able to assess the position in the Colony of Natal. Grout "deemed it his duty to comply with these unwelcome instructions, and he departed to Cape Town, from which port a vessel was soon to sail for the United States. But Dr

Adams resolved to remain at his post at all hazards" (Ireland, W., 1864, p. 11). Religious groups of various denominations under the leadership of Dr Philip of the London Missionary Society, made a passionate plea in April 1844 to the Prudential Committee in America to continue the mission in Natal, "that those fields already ripening for the harvest", Philip wrote to the Committee, "should be abandoned before other labourers are prepared to occupy the same, chills the soul and makes me sad indeed" (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 240). They also persuaded Aldin Grout, who was waiting for final instructions from the Board to return to America, to remain in Cape Town. The religious groups made a collection of £150 to defray Grout's expenses in Cape Town while a decision on the part of the Board was awaited (Grout, A.L. 1861, p. 213). The Colonial Government was also opposed to the Americans leaving the mission field in Natal. Aldin Grout discovered after interviewing Governor Napier in Cape Town that his Society's presence was welcome. Both he and his secretary "expressed a strong desire that we might remain in the country, and said that anything they could do in order to forward our designs would be most readily done" (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 241). The favourable response of the Governor must have influenced Grout to return to Natal even before receiving a reply from the Board. He was appointed on 10 April 1844 as a Government Missionary by the Governor of the Cape, Sir Peregrine Maitland, to work among the Zulu in Natal (Grout, A.L., 1861, p. 214).

There was a clear indication that the Colonial Government felt that missionaries could exercise a stabilising influence in the unstable conditions which existed between the colonists and the indigenous people. The Governor informed Grout that "... it will be your duty to teach the Natives the truths of the gospels according to the harmony of the Protestant Confessions of Faith, and to induce them to live in the practice of Christian morality" (cited in

Christofersen, C.F., 1967, p. 23). Grout wrote on 13 April 1844 to the Prudential Committee about his appointment:

Day before yesterday I received a communication from the Cape government containing an appointment as Government Missionary to the Natives of Natal upon a salary of £150 a year to be confirmed by the home government (Missionary Herald 1845, p. 130, cited in Christofersen, C.F., 1967, p. 26).

Grout was also expected to utilize his moral influence over his "flock", firstly to prevent cattle-stealing and secondly, to discourage an influx of "refugees" from Zululand. He was required to report to Major Smith (in charge of the garrison in Natal) "all hostile aggressions of any parties whereby the condition of the Natives is affected" (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 240). Grout apparently accepted the political implications of his appointment.

The Prudential Committee reconsidered its decision and gave its blessing to the continuation of the A.Z.M. in Natal in October 1844. They explained to their missionaries in South Africa that "the representation sent home by Mr Grout and the several clergy of Cape Town designed to induce the Committee to go on with the mission at Port Natal, had been successful and that you were instructed to continue the prosecution of the work" (letter from Anderson to Adams and Grout, 30 October 1844; A/2/15). In this same letter, however, they showed their concern at Grout's acceptance of the post of Government Missionary before awaiting the result of the appeal made to them to continue the mission among the Zulus. They felt that it would have been difficult for them to decide to continue the Zulu mission if none of their representatives was available to continue the work. The Board stated that it could not "of course enter into any partnership with the government, as the government will have the right to interfere in the management of the mission and will assert that right, if it pays the salaries of any of the missionaries" (letter from Anderson to Adams Grout, Boston, 30 October 1844, A/2/15).

It is apparent that the Prudential Committee was prepared to use the good graces of the L.M.S., an English missionary society, and the support of the British Government to get a foothold in Africa and Natal, in particular, but was under no circumstances prepared to have a close-knit relationship with an English government. The American Board asked: "Shall the withdrawal of the brethren in the South African Mission from their connection with the American churches, virtually destroy our hold on South Africa, and quench every spark of American interest felt on behalf of that part of the continent?" (Letter from Anderson to Adams, Grout, Boston, 30 October 1844, A/2/15).

In 1844 Dr Adams, who has been mentioned so often in this chapter and who had been doing missionary work among the Zulus at Umlazi in the vicinity of Port Natal since 1839, visited Cape Town, and on 10 December he was ordained by Philip as a minister of the Gospel. This meant that during the ten years of his missionary activity in Natal, he had not been an ordained minister and nowhere in the records consulted are there any facts indicating he had any previous formal theological qualifications. On his return to Natal he resumed his missionary activity among the Zulu at Umlazi with new hope and greater enthusiasm (Grout, L., 1861, p. 215). During this visit to Cape Town he must have had negotiations with the Government about Grout's appointment as a Government Missionary because Grout severed his links with the Colonial Government. On May 1845 Dr Adams could reply enthusiastically in response to the Prudential Committee's letter of 30 October 1844, that although there was a lack of funds and candidates for the mission among the Zulu, work could be continued in Natal. He was glad that all the uncertainty of the past months was over and that the mission work could be continued. He also stated that he had consulted with his fellow missionaries Lindley and Grout, and would soon inform the Prudential Committee of further plans of the mission among the Zulu (letter Adams to Anderson, Umlazi, 15/5/1845, A/2/15). On 22 December 1845 the

Prudential Committee could write a letter from Boston to the Governor at the Cape, Sir Perigrine Maitland, thanking him for allowing Aldin Grout to be released into the service of the American Board again. The Prudential Committee agreed:

That the sentiments of his Excellency Sir Perigrine Maitland, expressed in the letter to the Commandant of Natal, of April 30, 1845 towards the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, towards Mr Grout and the Mission to the Zulus, and to the work of the Christian Missions, are highly gratifying to the Prudential Committee and that the thanks of the Committee be tendered to His Excellency for the liberal aid afforded the Mission by the Government in a time of exigency and for the interest shown in the continuance of the mission among the Zulus, also for the manner in which Mr Grout's connection with the Government has been relinquished on learning that the occasion has ceased which led to its formation (letter Anderson to Governor Maitland, Boston, 22/13/1845, A/2/13).

From the outset of their activities in Southern Africa, the Prudential Committee did not send a deputation or groups of its missionaries to explore the possibilities in the area later known as the Colony of Natal, but instead it depended largely on information sent in a letter to them by Dr Philip of the London Missionary Society who might, himself, have had a particular outlook on the aims and functions of mission work amongst indigenous people. He had comparatively little experience with Africans, but a much more intimate understanding of mission work among the Coloured Peoples.

Since this chapter is an introduction to the future pattern of the work of the A.Z.M., it is important, therefore, that a summary of the key points should be given.

Inevitably the early emphasis on missionary education was on the acquisition of literacy in order to read the Bible, but two other long-term goals were listed: the gradual transformation of a whole society into a civilized pattern of life, and the discovery and training of ministers

to replace the missionaries. The first implied more than literacy training and must at some stage have involved some training with a vocational purpose. The second implied something approximating to advanced primary or secondary education to enable the indigenous ministers to have at least a rudimentary understanding of theological issues. Much attention would have to be given throughout the 19th century by the American Board missionaries to the creation of a "native agency", to secondary school provision and to various, but not particularly successful, vocational education undertakings.

The American missionaries who were going to work among the Zulu were not acquainted with the culture and traditions of these people. Whether they were going to modify their own Christian ideals to fit in with the tribal traditions of the Zulu or were merely going to attempt to replace the existing tribal customs with Christian Western Civilization, is not clear. This aspect of their missionary work, which should have been made clear at this early stage of the mission, caused uncertainty about what objectives they ultimately wanted to achieve.

It must be remembered, however, that most 19th century missionaries working in any part of the world, interpreted their role as the transformation of a local culture into the social as well as the religious pattern of Europe and America. Examples of this attitude on the part of the American missionaries will be found throughout this thesis.

One of the strong recommendations made to missionaries by the Prudential Committee was to work as closely as possible with the indigenous leaders - chiefs or kings. Inevitably this would mean adopting a political role, for at the very least they would be seen as partly supporting the chief's authority and often serving as advisors, as priests did through the Dark Ages to medieval monarchs.

The principle of influencing the tribal elite to enhance their missionary work which had been used with such success in Hawaii (see Chapter 1), was recommended for the

missionaries among the Zulus. Initially both Dingane and Mpande seemed to favour the missionaries and, in particular, their educational work of teaching, reading and writing. When both discovered that the Christian gospel might unfavourably influence their standing amongst their own people, their attitudes became much less supportive and at times led to physical retribution. The situation was more difficult with major or paramount chiefs like Dingane or Mpande, but it was not so difficult in the Natal Colony where the chiefs were minor ones and their followers were often refugees.

Despite Boston's encouragement of links with tribal chiefs, in practice a missionary's relationship with a chief could lead to his being seen as a supporter of either the chief's or the colonial power's authority, or he could be seen as a dangerous rival and a threat to the political authority of the ruler. When the Prudential Committee gave advice on relations with a colonial authority, however, it expressed concern at their missionaries adopting another type of political role; one which associated them with a "foreign" or "colonial" government. Boston's first concern in this direction was about Lindley's link with the Trekkers; their second concern was the association with a foreign power - England. The third concern was related to Grout's appointment which could lead to an alliance with a colonial authority. Their fear was that there could be a danger of direct interference with missionary activity and within missionary territory by a colonial government.

The relationships between the American Board and colonial Natal started with a strongly supportive relationship, reflected in their role in relation to the 1846 Location Commission. Subsequently however, relationships between the missionaries and the colonial government were not as cordial. Aspects of the story of these relations are told in later chapters of this thesis.

Among the factors which influenced the mission work of the American Zulu Mission was the intrusion of the Boer

Trekkers into the land of the tribes in which the mission was conducting its work. The first intrusion of the Boers brought an end to the American mission to the Matabele and the second one disrupted the Board's work among the Zulus. These occurrences induced one of the American missionaries, Daniel Lindley, to point out to the Board that their missionary work among the Zulu would only succeed if something was done to uplift the Boers by doing mission work among them. Lindley pointed out that although the Boers were God-fearing, they were practically an illiterate people. Since the Boers had influenced the work of the Board among the 'heathen' negatively, they agreed with some reluctance to release Lindley from his responsibilities to the Zulu mission to labour among them.

The political instability in the Colony of Natal and Zululand as well as Grout's lack of diplomacy when working in Zululand, severely hampered the progress of the Zulu mission. The Board made the situation even worse by adopting a vacillating approach towards its Zulu mission. Perhaps this was not surprising when the collapse of the Matabele venture, the warfare in Zululand between Boer and Zulu, the flight of missionaries back to Port Elizabeth, the racial attitudes of the Republic of Natalia, the British intervention in creating a colony and the strong antipathy of Mpande, are remembered. This succession of major setbacks occurred over six short years, from January 1837 to December 1842, by which year the Zulu mission had comparatively little to show of positive progress. It is perhaps surprising that Anderson's instructions from Boston to close the mission were not more insistent.

From the Board's instructions, it is clear that the missionaries had to give earnest consideration to educational activities. The missionaries were told to obtain advice from Dr Philip, not only on conversion, but also on education. This was to extend to all levels, from infant schools to high schools.

From the outset, the American missionaries, particularly Champion and Adams, paid attention to elementary education among the small groups of Zulu children who were willing to receive it. Champion showed an innovative spirit by learning the Zulu language, living in the Zulu country and attempting to translate the Bible into the vernacular.

Champion and Adams both provided some instruction in reading and writing in day and Sunday schools, and later Adams introduced the learning of hymns and reciting verses from the Bible. These activities were identical to the curriculum followed by the common elementary school in America during the 18th century (see Chapter 2). Adams was the first American missionary to suggest to the Board the idea of establishing a boarding school for Zulu children. His primary aim was to get a group of Zulu directly under his Christian influence and at the same time isolating them from 'heathen' influences.

The exact nature and purpose of this educational activity, however, was never made clear in Boston's instructions. Many examples will be found later in this thesis of the failure of the A.Z.M. to articulate carefully what was meant by 'education', the extent to which the curriculum could or should be adapted to meet local conditions, and in particular, the purpose and content of 'industrial education'.

## CHAPTER 4

AMERICAN MISSION IN NATAL UP TO 1851:  
LOCATION COMMISSION 1846

In the previous chapter it was shown that the first relationships with the new Natal Colonial Government were favourable. The early statement of Colonial Policy by Stanley at the end of 1842 stressed no oppression of the Zulu, no slavery, and equality before the law (see previous chapter). This must have influenced the A.Z.M.'s response to the creation of the colony and their continued work within it. In a very short time, however, the first tensions became noticeable. It is not surprising, when the main issues of South African history are remembered, that these tensions arose over the question of land.

In this chapter an attempt is made to give an account of the land problem in the last years of the Republic of Natalia and to point out the economic problems and development possibilities in the early years of the Colony of Natal as a British territory. This discussion will be necessary to give insight and perspective to the significance of the Location Commission of 1846, the Native Commission of 1852-53 (discussed in Chapter 5) and their relation to the consolidation of the missionary work of the American Zulu Mission from 1846-1851, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, the Trekkers had established the Republic of Natalia in December 1838 and elected a Volksraad with full "legislative, executive and judicial powers" (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 36). A number of Zulu "refugees" had crossed over into Natal from Zululand, fleeing from Dingane's policies. This led to the problem of where they would be settled. The "Native Policy" which the Volksraad would formulate, would be decisive in determining the stability of the Republic of Natalia. Two prominent features of its Native Policy were the questions of adequate

supply of cheap labour and land settlements, which meant to them large extensive farms which, as pastoral farmers, they required (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, p. 45).

As had already happened in the Cape, land and labour needs led easily to conflict situations. The approximately 4 000 Trekkers in Natal required a limited supply of native labour to run their farms. On the other hand, they felt they would not be able to live securely on their isolated farms unless there was a strict system of racial segregation between Trekkers and those natives not needed as labourers (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, p. 45).

As late as 1851, Pine, the British Lieutenant-Governor of the colony, noted that the Trekkers associated the natives "with scenes of blood-blazing homesteads, foul acts of treachery, dastardly murders of women and children" (cited in Hattersley, 1950, p. 79). The Volksraad's solution to the problem was to pass legislation controlling the native labour "at the rate of five Bantu families to each occupied farm and the legislation of Bantu children as 'apprentices'". However, when the supply of labour became too plentiful, the Volksraad decided on "the forcible removal of the surplus native population to areas unoccupied by Europeans" (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, p. 45). The reactions to these legislative procedures was one of dismay from the English Government at the Cape, as was pointed out in Chapter 3, because these areas turned out to be close enough to the Cape colonial borders to cause concern that population pressure there would affect frontier stability.

In 1841 the Volksraad turned its attention to land settlement. Under what was known as the 'burghership law', most of the Trekkers could make an application for two extensive farms of 6 000 acres each. These applications were to be recorded in the books of the Volksraad so that they could be processed. These records were examined after the British had annexed Natal, and it was found that many of the applications made were vague. An application, for example, was made for a farm situated "where such and such a person

shot a buffalo; another for a farm at the place where he and his companions out-spanned upon a certain expedition" (cited in Hattersley, 1950, p. 47). In many cases several Trekkers were applicants for the same farm, and the way in which claims were submitted caused much confusion and controversy. In the space of two years "some two-and-a-half million acres of land were registered in favour of 254 persons, of whom only forty seem to have personally occupied their grants", which resulted in large-scale speculation by men who began to purchase registered farms (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, p. 47).

This meant an average farm size of nearly 10 000 acres (4 047 hectares). Many of these extensive farms were far from the colonial administration and authority of the British. This land and an abundant supply of cheap labour could lead to the 'lekker leven' of the cattle farmer, namely:

To pass away their time in frequent meals of meat, to sip their coffee at every hour, to have a wife who may beguile the dreariness of the evening, to please themselves with the sight by day, of large herds, of various colours, shining in their fatness and enamelling the green meadows, and at times to follow the chase - an employment at once profitable and refreshing to their limbs - such is the ideal common to them all, their notion of the comfortable and called by them 'lekker leven' (a pleasant life) (cited in Walker, E.A., 1934, p. 200).

The proposal to move population groups close to the Cape borders forced the movement of British troops to Port Natal. The Boers were eventually defeated by British troops in July 1842 and steps were taken by Sir George Napier to annex Natal as a British Colony. Napier appointed Henry Cloete to serve as Commissioner and sent him to Natal to make the necessary arrangements and preparation for the official annexation of the colony.

Land had already been a matter of tension within the Natal Republic. It would clearly also be of significance as

Britain attempted once again to impose authority upon the Trekkers less than a decade after they had determinedly left the Cape Colony. Cloete had the arduous task of proceeding with land registration and records which were in a chaotic state. He also had the difficult task of settling or expelling immigrant Zulus (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, pp. 60-61). On the question of land registration, Cloete felt that although a very liberal distribution of land to the Trekkers was the only way to avert a large-scale emigration, he could not justify more than 760 of the 1 780 claims which were registered "on the available evidence as to purchase and occupation" (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, p. 61). Cloete also suggested that the Zulu 'immigrants' be placed in locations, an idea to be developed a couple of years later in the Location Commission. He felt that the moving of the Zulus to the south of the country would be disastrous. If the Volksraad's plan for the Zulus was to be re-introduced, "their moral improvement and civilization will be retarded by a century, and the rapid increase of population which, under such favourable locations, would soon take place, would only render every subsequent interference of the government dangerous, and the labours of the missionary extremely precarious and uncertain" (cited in Hattersley, A.F., 1950, pp. 62-63).

Cloete's reaction to claims by the Zulus for land in Natal was that "Natal had been 'empty' when Retief and his followers first descended the Drakensburg passes, and that the 80 000-100 000 Bantu who had subsequently entered the district were 'intruders' and 'deserters' from the Zulu country" (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, p. 65). It could therefore be anticipated that his views on land apportionment to 'immigrant' Zulu would not be generous. The tension over land, which had existed in the period of the Republic, was, in other words, just as great a problem in the early days of the colony.

Land tensions were likely to grow even further if the new colony prospered economically. In contrast to the view

expressed by Lord Stanley (described in Chapter 3), that the decision to annex Natal was not done for economic purposes, Hattersley suggests that there were some who felt that significant agricultural growth might occur and make the colony profitable to Britain. A wide variety of sub-tropical products such as flax, silk, dyes and particularly cotton, could be cultivated, it was claimed. Much prosperity could be brought to the colony if the 'natives' could also be motivated to cultivate such products (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, p. 6). The colony was also of some interest to the British since there were reports of large coal deposits in some parts of the colony. These were significant since steam navigation on the route to India was being developed on a large scale. If these economic hopes were to materialize, a land policy which would produce a stable population was urgently needed. It should be remembered that a philanthropic purpose was also influential in the decisions to make Natal a British colony.

Earl Grey (the Secretary of State) agreed with Napier (as was shown in Chapter 3), "in thinking that the present state of Natal and of the black population which has flocked there for our protection affords a noble opportunity for the diffusion of Christianity and civilization which it would be a disgrace to the country to neglect" (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, p. 68).

This humanitarian proposal had an appeal to the national conscience of the British. Although not discarding the fact that the Colony of Natal "appeared to afford a very desirable field for British enterprise and especially to give some promise that it might admit of being converted into a source for the supply of cotton", Grey emphasized that the situation was favourable "to bring a large African population under the improving influence of a civilized government" (cited in Hattersley, A.F., 1950, pp. 68-69). In 1846, cotton seed was distributed to the native locations through the office of Theophilus Shepstone (Diplomatic Agent of Colonial Government). Since cotton cultivation "could be

combined with subsistence crops, cotton was thought to be peculiarly suitable as a native crop. Returns were quick and machinery inexpensive" (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, p. 85). The cotton experiment was continued for some time. Although, by this stage, the growers of cotton in Natal had succeeded in producing cotton in small parcels, "they had not succeeded in demonstrating that large-scale cultivation could be a commercial success" (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, p. 87). Hopes about a major economic development from cotton were still being expressed well into the 1850's and were only finally abandoned as sugar plantations showed greater potential. Cotton is a 'plantation' crop; its economic success in America was dependent upon large tracts of land. If white colonists were to grow the crop, then, it could have been argued, that large farms would have to be made available. Cotton, therefore, could be seen as another urgent justification for a reasonably permanent land settlement.

In these circumstances, the man appointed to be the infant colony's Surveyor-General was going to play an important role. He was William Stanger who served as Surveyor-General from February 1845. He undertook the difficult task of "the measurement of farms and allotments" (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, p. 69). He was also to become a key member of the Location Commission of 1846, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

The man who would be responsible for the Zulu people was going to have an equally important task. The sensitivity of the "Native Problem" made it necessary that native affairs be given to an independent department of the colonial administration. One of the key issues of Native Policy for many years concerned the effective management of the large Zulu population. The implementation of the Native Policy of the Colony of Natal became the responsibility of Theophilus Shepstone who acted as Diplomatic Agent for the 'native' tribes. His role will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Since there was so much uncertainty about land and labour in Natal from 1840 to the end of the Byrne settlement period, it might be helpful to try to tabulate the approximate number of Europeans and Zulu in the colony during that period. No census was taken in Natal during these years so the figures are only rough estimates.

In the following table, an average six members per family are used to calculate the Zulu population, this being the common size of black families in the 20th century.

TABLE 1  
ESTIMATES OF NATAL POPULATION 1840-1852

YEAR	ENGLISH	TREKKERS	TOTAL WHITES	ZULU
1840	?	?	4 000	40 000-50 000
1843	?	2400 400 families	?	?
1846	?	240 60 families	10 000	100 000
1852	min. 4 806	?	15 000	100 000

The figures in the above table were compiled from Hattersley, A.F., 1950, pp. 140, 250, and Brookes & Webb, 1965, pp. 60 and 61. Although question marks are used in the table, they do not indicate that no people were present in a particular year for those columns, but that the source failed to give the relevant figures. Of greatest significance is the large increase in the number of Zulus in the Colony of Natal from 40 000 to 50 000 in 1840 to 100 000 in 1845. The drastic increase in numbers, it was argued both by Trekkers and British Government, was the result of the influx of Zulus from Zululand (see Chapter 5 for details). Both parties felt justified in regarding them as refugees.

The total number of whites suggest great changes in their numbers and are an indication of an unstable situation. As soon as one colonial policy was introduced for one set of circumstances, it had to be changed to meet a new set of conditions. This resulted in a chaotic situation, particularly in land settlement policies and colonial attitudes towards the Zulus. As far as the white population is concerned, the years 1843 to 1846 are of particular significance, since a large number of Trekkers left the colony. The period 1850-1852 was also important as it was the time when the British Settlers arrived.

It should be remembered that the years from 1843 also saw the beginning of Wesleyan missionary work. Wesleyan missionaries were successful in the Natal area where they played an active role in advancing European colonization. William Shaw, Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions at the Cape, interested himself in the economic development of the British colonial territories, while James Archbell (also a Wesleyan missionary) became a land baron in the Colony of Natal (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, pp. 88-89).

By the middle of the forties, Dr Adams could report reasonable progress at Umlazi. During 1846 not only had the numbers at the Sabbath school and day school increased significantly, but the missionaries began to have new hope when many in their audiences indicated that they were profiting from the preaching and were prepared to become true friends of the Gospel (Grout, L., 1861, p. 215). However, the main problem which confronted the American missionaries under the leadership of Dr Adams was how it was best to undertake their work in the Colony of Natal under the aegis of the British Government, since their plans to work in Zululand under the Zulu King had been discontinued.

Clearly, land settlement would be seen as important by all missionary groups. They would have been aware of the philanthropic attitudes of Grey and Napier and how these men looked for the coming together of three forces: Christianity, Industry (through agriculture) and Civi-

lization. Such attitudes coincided closely with the missionary ideals formulated in Boston and in England. On the colonial government's side it should also be assumed that missionary support would be essential for the uplifting of the Zulu in these three directions.

This account has shown that there is a nexus between the land settlement problem in the colony, the people (Zulus, colonists and missionaries) and agricultural development, which is itself linked to the civilizing work of the missionaries.

Bearing all these pressures in mind, Governor West set the Location Commission in motion through his instructions dated 31 March 1846. The terms of reference of the Commission were "to plan for a secure and permanent settlement of the colony, to report on dividing it into magistracies, the establishment of townships, the best mode of managing the locations and further any other point that may occur in which the improvement of these people (the Zulu) and the general welfare of the district may be involved" (cited in Smith, E.W., p. 213). The Location Commission consisted of five members, of whom Lieutenant Gibb was to be the Chairman, although he seemed a shadowy figure in the Commission's work. It was to be expected that the Surveyor-General would be the most important government official to the commission. Dr William Stanger (mentioned earlier in this chapter) was a capable official but whose insistence on delaying the survey of the farms of the colony might have contributed to the mass exodus of Boer farmers from Natal (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 58). A statement he made when visiting the American mission station of Umvoti, which was under the supervision of the missionary Aldin Grout, suggested where his sentiments lay. "This country is too good for natives, it should be in the hands of civilised men who would turn it to good account" (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 250).

Theophilus Shepstone, whose position as Diplomatic Agent has already been described, was a key figure in the Native Policy of the colonial government, and was a member of the Commission. Smith claims that from 1845 to 1875, Shepstone could be regarded as a virtual ruler of the Zulu in the Colony of Natal (Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 252). According to Brookes & Webb, there are "three Shepstone policies". The first was similar to that proposed by the Trekkers in 1840. He suggested the removal of approximately 50 000 to 60 000 Zulus from the colony to an area known as Griqualand East. He was to accompany them as their Supreme Chief and "to be recognized as an independent, subsidized ruler by the British Government - a scheme happily stopped by Sir George Grey" (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 58). The second policy, an alternative to the separate colony idea, was to develop locations within the colony, which were to become "active agencies of civilization" (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 59). The second idea found expression in many of the arguments and recommendations of the Location Commission proposal as will be pointed out later in this chapter. The proposal failed since the locations became little more than areas from which cheap labour could be supplied to the white colonists. Finally, as both previous policies could not be followed, Shepstone had to improvise methods of control and management. He introduced a policy of 'indirect rule' which would depend upon the tribal system, and in which chiefs played an important role (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 59).

The last two members of the Location Commission were Dr Adams and Daniel Lindley of the American Zulu Mission. These were men with knowledge of the Zulu since they had at the time of the Commission worked for almost eleven years as members of the American Zulu mission. The inclusion of two American missionaries in the Commission was significant, since subsequent colonial governments were very reluctant to include them on later commissions. The attitude of the colonists would to a great extent influence the Government's

reluctance to use missionaries in such ways. This attitude will become clearer when later commissions are discussed.

There was a period of a year between the time that Lieutenant Governor West decided to appoint the Location Commission (31 March 1846) to the time that a final report was presented by the Commissioners to West on 30 March 1847 (Location Commission, 1847, p. 7). The report of the Location Commission was short, consisting of only seven pages and no indication is given whether they had called any witnesses to present evidence. The Commissioners took account of the current situation in Natal and the "100,000 natives ... at this moment living within a District of Her Majesty's Dominion, without any law whatsoever actively and efficiently among them" in a country "of such a broken description as renders it difficult, if not impossible, to act with European troops" (Location Commission, 1847, p. 2).

They also had to consider the character of the Zulu people which "by their education habits and association is at once superstitious and warlike - their estimation of the value of human life is very low. War and bloodshed are engagements their circumstance have rendered them familiar from their childhood and from which they can be restrained only by the strong arm of power". Their unflattering portrait continued: "Their passions are easily inflamed, while at the same time they have grown up in habits of such servile compliance to the will of their despotic rulers, that they still show ready obedience to constituted authority" (Location Commission, 1847, p. 1). To the Commissioners it was essential that firm and rigid control be established because, as the native's own laws were superseded,

the restraints which they furnished are removed, the government of their own chiefs is at an end, and although it is a fact that British rule and law have been substituted in their stead, it is not less true that they are almost as inoperative as if they had not been proclaimed, from a want of the necessary representatives and agents to carry them out (Location Commission, 1847, p.2).

The Commission emphasized that a number of management measures were "necessary for the efficient control and management of the natives, upon which hinges so much good and evil consequences to this country" (Location Commission, 1847, p. 4). The first of these concerned the laws under which the Zulu should live. The Commission suggested a combination of English and Zulu law which

should conform as much to their own law as is compatible with the principle of ours the (Europeans) until, by degrees, the whole may with advantage be brought under our code. But we are of opinion that it would be productive of no good result suddenly to abrogate the laws and usages they have practised from time immemorial except such as are connected with their ideas of witchcraft and which affect the lives of the accused (Location Commission, 1847, pp. 4-5).

The Commission proposed a location system with each location being governed and controlled by a superintendent or magistrate or a residential agent who would represent the Government. Eventually the Commissioners adopted the word 'Superintendent' for the position. He should be an official who should have the

power to dispose of them (the Zulu) as much as possible in accordance with the principle of British law, at the same time adapting his decision to the usages and customs of the native law, where such accommodation can be effected without violating the stern requirements of judgement (Location Commission, 1847, p. 4).

The services of chiefs and councillors were not to be entirely abandoned, however. The Commissioners felt that the application of native law "could be greatly facilitated and rendered much more satisfactory to the Natives themselves, were the principal chiefs and councillors, in the location, summoned to consist of a sort of jury, and delivering their opinion according to their ideas of the merits of each" (Location Commission, 1847, p. 4). The Commissioners also

suggested that the Superintendents be empowered with authority

to punish, summarily, minor criminal offences, and decide upon disputes to a certain amount, after which there should be a right of appeal to the Diplomatic Agent.

Clearly the Superintendent could not perform these duties alone. It was, therefore, recommended that a native police force under the control of a European police officer should be established in each location.

The Superintendent would also have administrative duties which included the registration of all Zulu families living in his location as well as monitoring the movement of any individual into or out of his particular location. He would also be expected to draw up contracts between master and servant, the colonist being the master and the Zulu the servant (Location Commission 1847, p. 4). The prevention of exploitation of the natives was clearly in the minds of the Commissioners as they made this suggestion. Since the Superintendent would have important responsibilities for the control, management and administration of the locations, it was felt that he "should be a person of high moral standing, sound judgement, and decision of character, one who from his education and conduct has the respect of his fellow countrymen" (Location Commission, 1847, p. 4).

These were indeed qualifications which were difficult to find combined in a single person. When the attitudes which existed amongst the colonists towards the Zulu are remembered, it was going to be difficult to find people who could maintain a balance between the needs of the Zulu and the interests of the colonists. Had the Commissioners confined themselves to legal and administrative measures, the Commissioner's Report would have been a very short document. The presence of the missionary members and of Shepstone would ensure that a wider view of the purpose of the locations would be explored. Various suggestions were made to

bring about transformations in the traditional tribal society. The Commissioners felt that the Superintendent should pay particular attention to directing "the industry of the natives to the acquisition of other wealth than merely stock". It was felt that "this object may be much forwarded by the encouragement of a different description of agriculture to that which now obtains among them, both as to manner of cultivating, and the article cultivated" (Location Commission, 1847, p. 8).

Cotton seemed to be a suitable crop for the natives to be taught to cultivate as it could be planted effectively with subsistence crops. The Commissioners considered the problem of land tenure and felt that initially there should be no attempt "to force upon them (the Zulu) individual rights to particular spots of land, because the idea of property in land is not yet established in their minds, and conferring it upon them would not be appreciated". They hoped, however, that tribal holding would eventually be transformed into individual tenure as "we anticipate it will be after the system we have recommended has been for some time in full working" (Location Commission, 1847, p. 6). The Commission also wanted to see in each location a model mechanical school "in which the useful arts should be taught, and practically illustrated". This they felt would be of benefit not only to the Zulu themselves, but to the whole colony. "These institutions would furnish to the whole district, competent mechanics of every description required for the development of the resources of the country". The Commissioners' economic ideal is apparent from their claim that the development of industries "would create artificial wants among the natives themselves, while at the same time would provide the means for satisfying them" (Location Commission, 1847, p. 6).

In this, the Report anticipated by nine years Grey's views of education in his plans for the Cape in 1855 (cited in Rose and Tunmer, 1974, p. 205).<sup>1</sup>

The expected transformation of Zulu society would not, however, be confined to economic development. The Commissioners also believed that if the position of the Zulu were to be improved, much had to be done to raise the position of women in the social scale of African society. They suggested that marriage and divorce should be considered a much more serious matter than it was at the time. The Lieutenant-Governor was made aware "that polygamy, and bartering for women prevailed universally, in their worst forms in the district" (Location Commission, 1847, p. 5). Major changes in people's lives could not be achieved by government action alone. If the control of the locations was to work and the Zulu society was to be transformed, the missionaries' role had clearly to be regarded as important, particularly as "the moral and intellectual improvements of the natives are ultimately connected with the prospects of success in any attempt having for its object their good government and efficient control ..." (Location Commission, 1847, p. 6).

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<sup>1</sup> "... we should try to make them a part of ourselves, with a common faith and common interests, useful servants, consumers of our goods, contributors to our revenue; in short, a source of strength and wealth for this Colony ... at the same time, unremitting efforts should be made to raise the Kaffirs in Christianity and civilization, by the establishment among them, and beyond our boundary, of mission's connected with industrial schools, by employing them on public works, and by similar means ... The means ... are ... the encouragement of missions connected with industrial schools ... where they will be trained to perform operations of industry, and to use implements with which they are now almost entirely unacquainted" (Governor Sir George Grey's address to the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of the Cape Colonial Parliament, 17 March 1855).

The Commissioners believed, however, that "it is of vital importance that the civil and ecclesiastical departments in the locations be perfectly distinct" (Location Commission, 1847, p. 5). This is in agreement with the American Board's policy that their missionaries should not become government agents (as was made clear in regard to A. Grout - see Chapter 3). However, this is in contrast to the evidence presented to the Land Commission (discussed in Chapter 5) by Dohne in which he advocates full co-operation between the government and missionaries concerning work among the Zulu. The Commissioners also speculated "upon the assistance which the moral influence of the devoted missionary and the schoolmaster, will furnish to the new Government". They thus recommended "that every encouragement be given to the establishment of an adequate number of mission schools in each location". If the missionaries were to play a major role in educating the Zulus, they would be directly involved in vocational education which included the "mechanical schools" mentioned earlier. The Commissioners strongly advocated the principle of the provision of government grants for all missionaries to undertake their educational pursuits. To them it was essential that the officers appointed by the government in the various locations "should afford every encouragement and assistance to the labours of the missionary and schoolmasters" (Location commission, 1847, p. 6).

The Commissioners summarized their report by declaring that for the Zulu to develop into useful citizens "they require constant and steady control, strictly impartial justice both in the redress of their wrongs and in the punishment of their misdemeanours, whether of a civil or criminal nature". They realized that "to raise them (the Zulu) in the scale of society, and render them an improving people, they require an intelligent and prudent direction of their industrial energies, and unwearied instruction in their moral obligations" (Location Commission, 1852, p. 7).

It can be reasonably assumed that the active proponents for the locations, for the control system within them and for their sociological purpose, would be Shepstone and the two missionaries, Adams and Lindley. Stanger might have been concerned about their size, in the light of his views about the quality of the land available for the Zulu, but there is no direct evidence of this nor for the attitude of the Chairman of the Commission, Gibb.

Clearly the American missionaries sent enthusiastic reports of the Commission's establishment back to Boston in 1847. An article based on their letters appeared in the *Missionary Herald*:

The policy of the British Government is exceedingly liberal and praiseworthy. Of the five commissioners appointed to locate the aborigines, two are of our brethren in the Mission; and the Lieutenant-Governor in his instructions pledges everything to the Coloured people which most enlightened philanthropy could demand (*Missionary Herald* 1847, Volume XLIV, p. 2, cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 250).

This attitude is clearly in contrast to the fears the Board had when it thought that a British Government would interfere with their missionary work when Natal became a British colony in 1843 (see Chapter 3).

Despite the likelihood that Adams and Lindley supported the broad tenor of the recommendations, however, the latter had some reservations, as he indicated with hindsight, in a letter to the Secretary of the Prudential Committee dated January 1854, that he was not entirely in favour of the location system since "I did not think this way of settling the Natives the wisest that might have been adopted. It was the easiest way of disposing of the matter for the present, and this way has helped men to see it as the best" (cited in Smith, E.W., p. 253). He did not, however, offer any alternative proposals.

The response of the British Government is reflected in the views expressed by Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary of

the day, who described the report of the Commission in December 1847 as "a very able document", a very large section of which he found acceptable (Brookes, E.H., 1924, p. 28). Grey made special reference to the Commission's reasons for the partial acceptance of customary law and the utilization of chiefs in administration:

It is obvious that those who have hitherto been under a rule of despotic severity cannot without extreme danger be emancipated from all control. The only mode of meeting this difficulty ... is that of abstaining from any sudden or violent interference with the authority exercised over these people by their own chiefs (cited in Webb, C., 1971, p. 14).

The Commission's Report did not give any estimates of the likely cost of their recommendations, but plans for a gradual transformation of society and development of individual land titles; of superintendents' and police force salaries and education grants to missions, do not come cheaply. Grey's enthusiasm for the report was tempered by the many heavy demands from all quarters made on the British Treasury. "It is my duty", he explained, "at once and distinctly to discountenance the expectation that any plans ... which would involve large expense can be adopted" (cited in Brookes, E.H., 1924, p. 28).

Despite these reservations, four of the proposed locations, Umlazi, Umvoti, Inanda and Zwartkop, were provisionally gazetted by Lieutenant-Governor West on 8 March 1847 (Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 260). Even had all the locations materialized they would not have formed "more than about one-tenth of the area of the Colony. Nine-tenths, including most of the best farming land, were still available for a population of not more than 10,000 Whites" (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 60).

Russell (1904), in his book 'Natal, the Land and Its Story' (p. 203), stated that: "Only small portions here and there are adapted for cultivation and much of the land is

not even fit for pasturage, but only for the habitation of the eagle and baboon" (cited in Brookes, 1924, p. 31), and Brookes's own assessment was that "it might be remembered that they (the locations) are often the most barren, wild and broken parts of an exceedingly rugged and picturesque division of South Africa" (Brookes, E.H. 1924, p. 31).

Colonial reaction to the plans was, not surprisingly, adverse and grew during the following eighteen months. The Trekkers were particularly concerned about the initial proclamation of the four reserves and of the plans for further extensions. Walker describes an incident in October 1847 when Pretorius, a Boer leader, went to Grahamstown to voice the grievances of the Boers to the Cape Governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, who was in the area because of his concern for the trouble caused by the 6th Frontier War. Pottinger refused to grant Pretorius, who had ridden 600 miles, an interview in which he could air the Boers' grievances. He instead requested Pretorius to give him a written statement, and having obtained this, he declined to reopen or discuss any problems of the Colony of Natal with a leader of the Boers. This attitude caused deep resentment and disgust in Pretorius towards the British Government (Walker, E.H., 1928, pp. 363-364), and many more Trekker families decided to leave Natal. Pottinger's successor, Sir Harry Smith, whose attitudes differed completely from Pottinger's, halted the Boer trek from Natal by sending an express letter informing them that he was on his way to improve the lot of the Boers.

In February 1848, Pretorius was camping on the bank of the Tugela River with a group of his followers, waiting for the flooded river to subside so that they could continue their exodus from the colony, when he was met by Smith (Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 261). Different grievances were mentioned by Pretorius to Smith, the main one being that the Boers regarded as scandalous the size of the locations allocated to the Zulu by the Location Commission. This "had determined them to seek fresh pastures in the far north

where many Natalians had preceded them" (cited in Smith, 1949, p. 261).

Smith took measures which he hoped would appease the Boers. He dissolved the Commission of 1846 and appointed a Land Commission in February 1848 whose sole aim was "to place in his true position and upon his own land every one of Her Majesty's subjects, burghers as well as 'Kaffirs'" (Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 262). It was initially instructed to reverse the decisions and recommendations of the Location Commission. In the same month, Sir Harry Smith in a "flamboyant document" responded to the Boers' dissatisfaction with the intermixing of races, showing that he, too, did not approve of racial integration. "Such intermixture cannot be and all classes of the Coloured population who had had free locations given them, must be removed, so that a distinct line be drawn between the different races of Her Majesty's subjects" (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 262). Here is a clear pattern emerging of the colonial government's response to grievances of the colonists. This is a pattern which will be explored in greater detail in later sections of this thesis.

The Commissioners who were appointed by Sir Harry Smith to the 1848 Land Commission included Lieutenant-Colonel Boys of the 45th Regiment, Donald Moodie, the Secretary of the Government, Jacobus Boshoff and Andries Pretorius (two Boer farmers) and Captain Ryle of the 45th Regiment, as Secretary. The absence of missionaries on the Commission was clearly deliberate. Andries Pretorius refused to serve, explaining that:

As I am a cattle farmer and have sustained so much injury from the Coloured population, I am compelled to decline the office, as I see no chance of residing there (Natal) with security for whatever may take place as to the removal of the Kafirs we are always surrounded by Kafirs and savages (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 262).

The information about the 1848 Commission appears to be very thin. Some is available in Smith's account (1949) and a brief summary occurs in the introduction to the 1852 Commission Report. The Commissioners sat for fourteen months, hearing evidence from colonists and missionaries, but not from any Zulu. The American missionaries were seriously perturbed by the matters which were receiving the attention of the Land Commission. This will become clearer in their brief report. At their annual meeting in September 1848 they noted, "We are not without fears that we shall soon be called upon to report the adoption of a less favourable policy towards the Natives than the one which we here described" (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 263).

Aldin Grout wrote to the Prudential Committee in February 1849 that the Land Commission wanted to reduce the original size of the locations as allocated by the Location Commission and also wanted to reduce their number (Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 264).

When part of the Umlazi location, which had originally been allocated to Dr Adams by the Location Commission of 1846, was auctioned to the public, the missionaries, in a report to the Prudential Committee in 1848, commented: "We dislike exceedingly to come into collision with the Government, but we have felt called upon to resist such encroachments on the rights of the Natives" (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 262).

The Land Commission reported on 19 April 1849 that three-quarters of the Zulu in the Colony of Natal "were foreigners, and had no claims to any land", that the large locations allocated to the Zulu for settlement, and independent tribal communities, would encourage the 'Native' in his "habitual indolence" and "free him from the necessity of agreeing with the European settlers to establish himself upon their lands as a labourer, without incurring any expense to Government" (Commission, 1852, p. 15). Commissioners felt that land in the form of the maximum number of five locations, the extent of 50 000 acres each, should be the

only land which should be set aside for the Zulus. For the security of the colonists, who were by far outnumbered by the Zulus, they "recommended the removal of a portion of the Kafir population, to several locations under Government control to be formed in the South Western part of Natal, between the rivers Umzimkulu and Umzimvubu" (Native Commission, 1852, p, 15).

The reaction from the British Government was firm and completely rejected all the proposals. In 1848, Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, disapproved of moving a section of the Zulu to the south of Natal, fearing that a policy of isolating the natives would have a detrimental effect on their development. In a dispatch dated 30 November 1849, he suggested that the natives be accommodated in locations within the colony, "that sufficient intervals should be left between each of them for the spread of white settlements, as each European emigrant would then have it in his power to draw supplies of labour from the Location in his more immediate vicinity" (Native Commission, 1852, p. 16). Grey was clearly still favouring the Location Commission ideas.

Earlier in this chapter it was suggested that Adams was able to see some results from the A.Z.M. work at Umlazi after the years of political uncertainty up to the creation of Natal as a British Colony. It is possible that this success could have influenced his thinking while serving on the Location Commission, as well as influencing the final Report. By the time the abortive 1848 Land Commission had reported, Adams had only three years to live. The progress of the A.Z.M. work in these years should now be briefly summarized.

Activities could be expanded with the arrival of new missionaries. Lewis Grout 'reached' Natal on 15 February 1847 where he commenced a station at the source of the

Umsunduzi River which was about thirty miles north of Durban. Silas McKinney, who arrived on 31 July 1848, established himself at Adams' old mission station at Umlazi. However, he later moved and established a new station at Umkomazi (Amahlongwa). Andries Abraham, who arrived in Natal on 13 July 1849, established a mission station at Mapumulo in 1850. Aldin Grout, a pioneer missionary who had arrived with Adams during this period, firmly established himself at Umvoti, where he worked for many years with great success. This station was later called 'Groutville' in his honour. Samuel D. Marsh, who arrived on 20 January 1848, established himself at Itafamasi, a station was established at Ifafa by David Rood in 1848 (Grout, L., 1861, p. 217; Christofersen, F., 1967, p. 32; Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 271). Nowhere in the South African records consulted is it mentioned from which part of America these missionaries had come.

The American Board had succeeded in establishing a "chain of twelve stations extending through the litoral zone of Natal from Umtwalumi in the South to Mapumulo in the North" (see map on p. 91) (Smith, E.W., 1909, p. 271). In 1864 William Ireland gave a summary of the American missionaries who were working in Natal, together with their mission stations:

A. Grout, Umvoti, 45 miles Northeast of Durban, and five miles from the sea.

A. Abraham, Mapumulo, 70 miles North of Durban, and 25 miles from the sea.

D. Lindley, Inanda, 15 miles Northwest of Durban, and 10 miles from the sea.

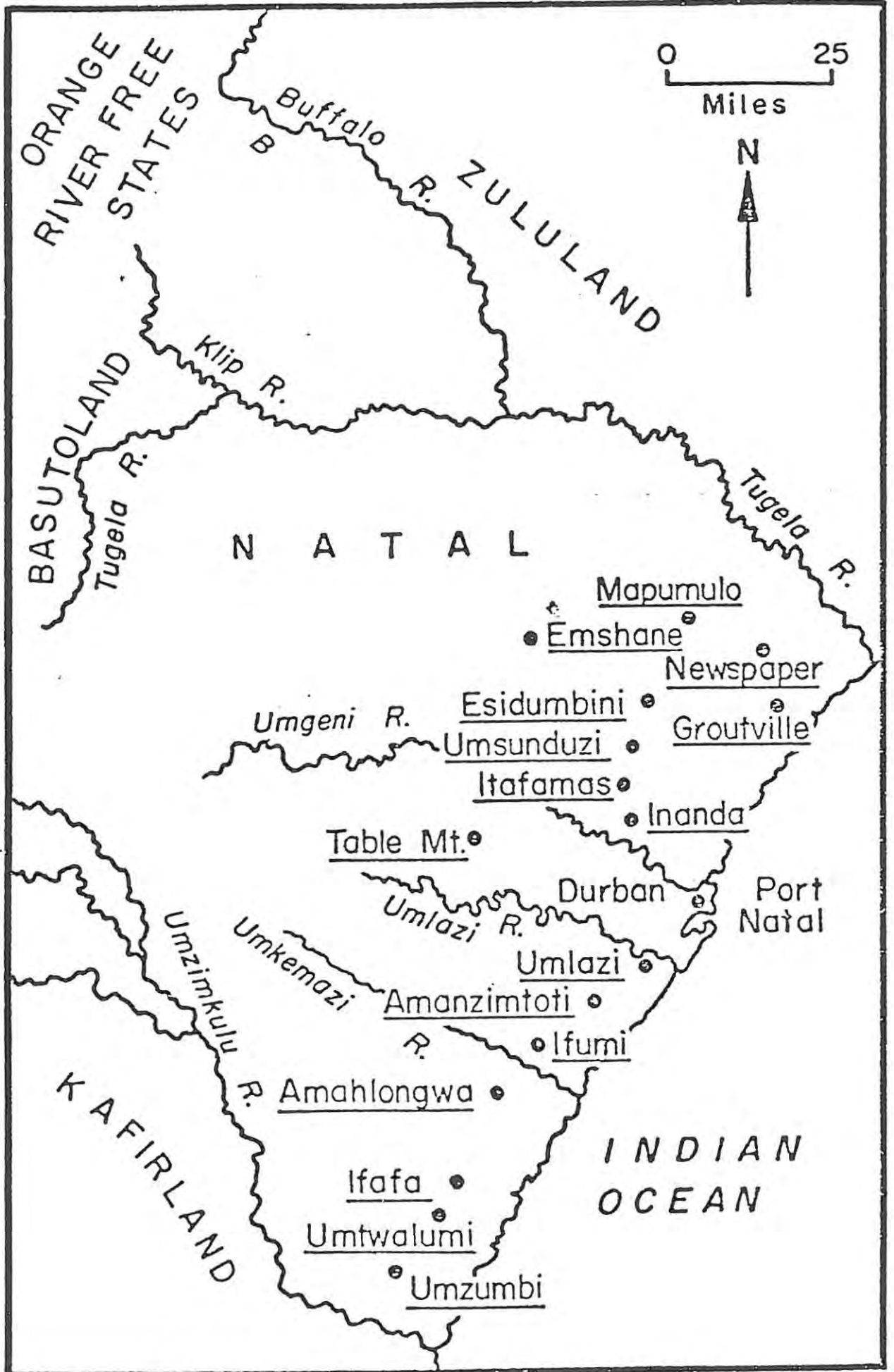
L. Grout, Umsunduzi, 36 miles Northwest of Durban, and 15 miles from the sea.

S.D. Marsh, Intafamasi, 30 miles Northwest of Durban, and 15 miles from the sea.

J. Tyler, Esidumbini, 40 miles North of Durban, and 20 miles from the sea.

J.L. Dohne, Table Mountain, 40 miles Northwest of Durban, and 40 miles from the sea.

# "American Zulu Mission Stations in Natal"



N. Adams, M.D., Amanzimtoti, 22 miles Southwest of Durban, and 5 miles from the sea.

W.M. Ireland, Ifumi, 35 miles Southwest of Durban, and 6 miles from the sea.

S. McKinney, Amahlongwa, 47 miles Southwest of Durban, and 5 miles from the sea.

D. Rood, Ifafa, 65 miles Southwest of Durban, and 5 miles from the sea.

H.A. Wilder, Umtwalumi, 78 miles Southwest of Durban, and 10 miles from the sea.

(Ireland, W., 1864, p. 19).

Nor was the missionary field confined to representatives of the American Board. At approximately the same period other missionaries "Anglican, Wesleyan, Roman Catholic, Norwegian and German" had arrived or were planning to arrive to join the American missionaries in evangelizing and educating the Zulus (Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 271).

In September 1850 the annual general meeting of the Zulu mission was held at Umsunduzi, when "all the members of the mission, fourteen families, numbering forty-six souls, were present". It could be reported that: "A number of nine churches had now been formed, containing a hundred and twenty-three members, thirty-six of whom were received during the current year" (Grout, L., 1861, p. 221), and so the pioneering work of the thirties and early forties could be consolidated.

Much printing was done on a printing press which had been acquired in America. By 1850 "379,100 pages were struck off, and 5,150 copies were bound in paper and cloth, and comprised 850 copies of St. Matthew's Gospel, 37 Psalms, a hymn book, a Catechism, a tract, an arithmetic and several numbers of a monthly paper called the 'Inkamyenzi Yokusi'" (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 29).

Adams had transferred his mission station in October 1847 from Umlazi to Amanzimtoti, about midway between the Umlazi and Ilovo Rivers. Adams chose this site because it was a more central point from which to proceed with mission

activity (Grout, L., 1861, p. 217). At Amanzimtoti he started a day school of about thirty pupils of whom fifteen girls and boys were resident with him. The lack of larger accommodation space prevented him from taking in more pupils. Adams soon had several buildings erected which included a chapel, a wagon house and more comfortable living quarters.

Besides his religious activities among the Zulus, Adams also had various other duties connected to the Zulu mission as a whole. He served on a committee which was seriously considering establishing a seminary for the Zulus. The committee, which consisted mainly of missionaries, had conveyed information to the Prudential Committee that the establishment of a seminary would be the most effective means of training teachers and pastor assistants among the Zulus. The missionaries mentioned that students admitted to the seminary should be required to provide their own sustenance by working in the fields and assisting in other practical ways to cover the cost of their boarding (Shiels, R., 1963, p. 49). The question of establishing a seminary for the training of the Zulu had originally been raised by the A.Z.M. with the Prudential Committee in 1848. In a letter in replying to the request, the Secretary of the Prudential Committee wrote:

Seminaries have not answered the expectations that have been entertained concerning them, and the money, time and labour, that have been bestowed on them, have been altogether out of proportion, compared with the cost of supporting preachers (letter from Anderson to A.Z.M., Boston, 10/4/1848, A/2/15).

The matter was again raised by the Prudential Committee in a letter to the A.Z.M. on 14 November 1848. It is apparent that, owing to past experience (although no record of these is given), in other parts of the world, they were cautious about giving approval for the establishment of a seminary unless detailed information about buildings, scholars, teachers and most importantly the estimated cost, was

forwarded to them (letter from Anderson to A.Z.M., Boston, 14/11/1848, A/2/15). These early ideas, however, were to serve as a foundation for the seminary which would be later established at Amanzimtoti.

Adams could also be regarded as one of the first missionaries to put the Zulu language into writing and he made a further positive contribution by assisting in translating the Bible into Zulu since he served on the Committee of the American Zulu Mission on Zulu Orthography (Shiels, R., 1863, p. 49). In 1851, owing to failing health, Adams could not be as assiduous in missionary activities as before, and on 16 September 1851 he died in his sleep (Grout, A., 1861, p. 217).

In a letter to inform the Prudential Committee of Adams' death, A. Grout, one of the pioneer missionaries, wrote:

... As a missionary Dr Adams had one trait of character of great importance, namely, undoubted ability to meet and surmount obstacles. During that long ten years of darkness, fruitless toil, wars and rumors of wars, spiritual and temporal death, which were upon our mission for its commencement onward, we believe that his faith and patience did not fail him (letter from A. Grout, 29/10/1851, cited in Shiels, R., 1963, p. 50).

The news of Adams' death only reached Boston in March 1852. Anderson, the Secretary of the Prudential Committee, who had had so much correspondence from him over the previous sixteen years, wrote:

We feel the death of Dr Adams. His firm adhesion to Africa has ever commanded our respect, and we were by no means expecting his departure hence ... It does not seem to me that, Dr Adams could have turned his life to so good account any where in his Native land (Prudential Committee to the American Zulu Mission, 6/3/1852, A/2/15).

The death of Adams brought to an end the early era in the history of the American Zulu Mission. He was a man of

solid character and fixed purpose. If he had not shown the necessary resolve, the mission would have long ago ended in certain failure. Shiels, in his 1963 work sums up Adams' contribution in this way:

Once he had been designated to labour among the Zulus he remained constant in his resolve to serve these people. Neither the Sixth Kaffir War, nor the war following the murder of Retief nor the decision of the Prudential Committee to abandon their mission in South Africa caused Adams to swerve from his purpose. It cannot be said that Adams was simply obstinate in his determination to labour among the Zulus. His decisions to persevere were, in the circumstances, reasonable and were vindicated by subsequent events (Shiels, R., 1963, p. 53).

The chapter closes with the death of Dr Adams, one of the key figures in the American Missionary movement, which had comparatively little to show, in concrete terms, after sixteen years of labour in Southern Africa. Their pioneering efforts, particularly those of Dr Adams, had laid, however, a foundation on which later developments could build.

Land which was so essential to give stability to the missionary work of the A.Z.M. was still an unsettled matter at the end of the period covered by this chapter. Since the aim of the colonists was to possess as much land as possible, they would soon come into conflict with the missionaries representing the needs of the Zulu. The situation was made more difficult by the changing attitudes of the different Cape Governors and Natal's Lieutenant-Governors. At the one end of the scale was Lieutenant-Governor West, who instituted the Location Commission to make adequate land allocations for the Zulu, and at the other end was the Cape Governor Harry Smith, who thought it necessary that the colonists should be given more land and consequently cancelled many of the allocations made by the

first Commission. This did not make it an easy task for the Americans either in Natal or in Boston to understand the situation. The Board was influenced in their assessments by conditions which existed in their mission stations in other parts of the world. Mission work in a country in which white colonists (first the Trekkers and later the English) were trying to acquire the land of the indigenous people, was not a situation found in many other areas of Boston's influence.

The view of the Zulu as being no more than refugees in Natal was a persistent one, although in the opinion of Grout, who presented evidence to the 1852-1853 Commission (as will be discussed in the following chapter), these refugees had more claim to the land in Natal than the colonial intruders. The refugee interpretation was largely accepted by the Natal colonial government. Nevertheless, this interpretation was mitigated by British philanthropy which had influenced decisions in other parts of Southern Africa and which also played its part in Natal. The philanthropic viewpoint can be seen operating in some of the recommendations of the Location Commission and in Grey's rejection of Harry Smith's alternative, both of which were approved of by the American missionaries.

Shepstone's contribution to the Location Commission can be seen in the three main themes of the recommendations. Firstly, there was the need to create and then maintain a system of law and order which would not be entirely alien to the Zulu mores, but would slowly impose a more westernized system. Secondly, there was the need to transform other aspects of Zulu society: agricultural, economic, and moral. Finally, there was a need to use missionaries for societal as well as religious purposes and, therefore, to plan close co-operation with them but without incorporating them into colonial administration. This co-operation was particularly to be found in the area of education with plans for governmental financial aid.

The response to the Location Commission showed very clearly Settler fears of economic competition, of restrictions in land availability, and of too close a proximity of those Zulu who were not employed as labourers on white farms.

Many of the Trekkers had left the colony, partly as a result of the Location Policy. These white colonists would be replaced by the arrival of British Settlers. Since these settlers also affected the work of the Zulu mission, their arrival and influence on the Colony of Natal will be one of the issues discussed in the next chapter. The other key issue under consideration will be the 1852-1853 Commission which the American Zulu missionaries saw as a possible solution to their land problem.

In subsequent chapters in this thesis several Natal Commissions will be examined. In none of them, however, would the import or influence of the American Zulu Mission (A.Z.M.) be as great as in the Location Commission.

## CHAPTER 5

SETTLEMENT AND CIVILIZATION :  
WHITES AND BLACKS AND THE 1852-1853 COMMISSION

It was pointed out at the end of the previous chapter that many cardinal issues facing the American missionaries were not solved at the time of the death of the pioneer missionary, Dr Adams, in 1851. These unresolved problems included their relationship with the colonists and the issue of land settlement for the Zulu, as well as the missionaries' title to the land on which they could work.

The period of Benjamin Pine as Lieutenant Governor of the Colony of Natal from 1850-1855, proved to be a time of progress and tremendous activity. According to Brookes & Webb, one of the major events in the history of the colony during 1849-1852 was the arrival of the British immigrants to replace the Boer farmers who had decided to leave the colony (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 65).

Some of the new settlers came as individuals. Many more of them, however, came under schemes which were initiated by emigration companies. One of the best known of these companies was founded by Joseph Byrne. The new settlers were mainly of English stock, but there were quite a number of families who were Scotsmen, predominantly from Glasgow and the Highlands, and a few were Irish (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 66). The number of English immigrants who had arrived in the colony from Britain during the period January 1849 to June 1852 has been estimated at 4 806 (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, p. 65). This number more than compensated for the loss of the Boer colonists who had emigrated from the colony. Although Byrne was accused of misleading some of the settlers about their future prospects, he was successful in getting many families suitably settled in their new country (Brookes & Webb, p. 66). Some of them had had no experience of farming and those who had farmed in England, found the general conditions in Natal very dif-

ferent from those which they had been used to before (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 65).

Few of the new settlers could make a living on the small farms provided under the immigration schemes. No significant improvement was made even when Benjamin Pine "agreed to add to the stipulated allotments a further twenty-five acres so that families could be allotted land on the basis of forty-five acres for each adult and twelve and a half for a child" (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, p. 209). Those who were farmers cultivated the land on a limited scale and a number of new crops were tried such as tobacco, coffee, cotton, wheat, arrowroot and flax. However, they had the greatest success with sugar and maize. For some, success came from farming indigenous timber such as yellowwood and the colony was found to be suitable for the cultivation of wattle (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, p. 279).

Holden's advice to the new settlers was: "All who come out should be prepared to endure a little privation and hardship for a few months or years, having before them the prospect of future advancement and comfort, if they adhere to sober, industrious habits" (Holden, W.C., 1855, p. 251). The Colony of Natal developed from the enterprise of the new settlers both in the towns and country areas. Holden predicted that: "The civilization, the arts, the language, the institutions, and the religion of the British nation, being planted here, will produce their legitimate consequences, until this portion of the Anglo-Saxon race shall rival, if not exceed, the greatness and glory of their forefathers" (Holden, W.C., 1855, p. 251).

Brookes & Webb (p. 66) claim it was "a richer and more varied territory than it had been in the days of the (Boer) Republic", with a "diversified economy and a general air of busy activity" (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 67). To a considerable extent, therefore, Natal colonists were likely from the early 1850's to express English viewpoints although a small number of Boers still had extensive farms in the territory. The economic potential of the colony, however,

was still an agricultural one; so land competition could influence the new colonists' viewpoints very quickly.

The labour supply for the colonists and relationship with the Zulus would, to a great extent, depend on the policy of Theophilus Shepstone, Diplomatic Agent of the Government. While Martin West was Lieutenant Governor from 1845 to 1849, the administration of Native Affairs was completely under the control of Shepstone. His policy in these years would see the implementation of the third of the approaches (discussed in the previous chapter) which he had suggested to solve the 'Native Problem', although he was to hark back in the mid-1850's to the policy of mass removal to the present site of the Transkei. Certain aspects of his policy were similar to the proposals of the Location Commission of 1846 (details have been discussed in Chapter 4) and others which differed from it.

His basic principle was to make use of the chiefs within the tribal system of the Zulu to maintain law and order. Justice was carried out by the chiefs of individual tribes under the supervision of European magistrates or Superintendents when they were available. To a great extent, native law was followed and it was only when it appeared to be inhumane that European law was resorted to. Shepstone rejected only those decisions made by the chiefs which were clearly unjust and cruel. When he over-ruled a decision, he also sat in consultation with the chief involved. In this way he succeeded in preventing chiefs from becoming resentful towards him (Hall, J.L., 1971, p. 161). The biggest disadvantage to the Zulu and the A.Z.M., who were attempting to educate and christianize them, was that Shepstonian Native Policy lacked any thrust towards intellectual advancement for the Zulu who needed it (Hall, J.L., 1971, p. 161). Brookes & Webb, p. 43, also claim that Shepstone in these early years of colonial rule had "failed conspicuously to civilize the Nguni".

In many cases, owing to tribal instability caused by wars, organization within the tribes and sub-tribes was non-

existent. To overcome this difficulty, Shepstone proceeded to build up a very artificially based tribal organization. He gathered together scattered remnants of tribes, and chiefs were appointed in those cases where no chiefs had existed before. He nevertheless succeeded without the assistance of any troops to settle 80 000 "refugees" in locations which were scattered all over Natal (Hall, J.L., 1971, p. 160). If the power of the chiefs was in this sense artificial, it could be argued that they were merely tools in the hands of the "Big Induna", as Shepstone was called.

The implementation of the 'Native Policy' in the Colony of Natal proved difficult for the colonial authorities because of the lack of sufficient finance. It has been pointed out that Grey, the Colonial Secretary, could not give his full approval to the implementation of the Locations Policy because it could possibly prove too expensive. During West's term of office in Natal, "the revenue had been insufficient to meet even the modest expenditure on establishments, and West had been obliged to draw upon the Cape Government" (Hattersley, 1940, p. 110). In order to remedy this, the Executive Council in 1849 decided "to launch a scheme for the taxation of the native population in Natal, which might reduce the deficit of the revenue of the colony and, if possible, provide money for the civilization and development of the native races themselves" (Young, L.M., 1941, p. 26).

Shepstone's suggestions about the form the taxation would take was astutely developed from the fact that Zulu tribal life was based on polygamy. Since each wife had her own hut and garden, a hut-tax "would not only be the simplest to collect, but ... the most just to impose" (cited in Young, L.M., 1941, p. 27). A tax of five shillings per hut was regarded as reasonable and it was decided that the tax would be levied "from every kraal in the district on private farms as well as in the locations" (Young, L.M., 1941, p. 27). An addition of two shillings was added "as a quit-rent" for land in the case of all those kraals in the locations or on Government-owned land outside them". After

consultation with the Executive Committee, the hut-tax was finally fixed at seven shillings and in October 1849 Shepstone was sent from Pietermaritzburg to levy the tax on every native hut in the Colony of Natal (Young, L.M., 1941, p. 27). The income obtained from the hut-tax, "assisted by the rise in imports which followed the settlement of the Byrne immigrants, enabled the Colony to pay off (its) indebtedness and even to increase official salaries" (Hattersley, A.F., 1940, p. 111). Hattersley comments that "for many years the solvency of the local government depended on the ability and the willingness of the native population to pay direct taxation from which European colonists were exempt" (Hattersley, A.F., 1940, p. 111).

Shepstone, the "Chief Induna", played a significant role in the collection of the hut-tax. In 1850 he was personally responsible for collecting £8 831, "of which fully £5241:0:0 had been paid in cash, the remainder being composed of payments in cattle ..." (Young, L.M., 1941, p. 28). Pine, in a dispatch to the Governor of the Cape, dated 20 September 1850, praised Shepstone's work:

I cannot quit this subject ... without expressing to your Excellency my opinion that the success which had attended this most important, but somewhat perilous measure of taxing upwards of 100,000 Barbarians is due entirely to the energy and ability of Mr Shepstone and to the influence which he had acquired over them (Young, L.M., 1941, p. 29) (Pine to Cape Governor, 28/9/1850, G.H. 270, No. 01).

By the time Pine had arrived as Lieutenant-Governor of Natal in 1850, many colonists had come to regard Shepstone's administration of Native Affairs as an important feature in preserving peace and harmony among races. Other aspects of his policy did not, however, always carry the support of the colonists. One of the main reasons was that the Zulu were established in locations which, according to the colonists, took up large tracts of valuable land which could be put to better use. The feeling of the colonists ran high and on 15

October 1851 at a public meeting of the white inhabitants of Durban, it was decided to send a petition to the Government requesting the appointing of another Commission to investigate the best possible way to solve the problem of the settlement of the native population.

The main complaint of the colonists was that the steps which had been taken up to then, served only to prevent the development of useful industry and to encourage a spirit of indolent independence. They were especially concerned at the power given to the chiefs in Shepstone's policy and they severely criticized what they regarded as the tremendous size of the Zulu locations. Their request was that these should be radically reduced so that "a large mass of native labour would be thrown into the hands of the agriculturists and other classes". Further, they wanted the Colonial Government to find sufficiently attractive inducements to entice the Zulu out of the locations to labour for the farmers. These measures, they claimed, would "greatly facilitate the improvement of the moral and religious character of the Natives" (Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 300).

Pine felt that he, too, needed to have the question of 'Native Policy' thoroughly investigated because in the past it had to a great extent been based on expediency without taking cognizance of the state of permanency of both the black and white peoples of Natal (Hall, J.L., 1971, p. 163). He therefore responded positively to the request of the colonists by appointing a Commission "to inquire into the past and present state of the Kaffirs, to report upon their future government and to suggest such arrangements as will tend to secure the peace and welfare of the district" (Commission 1852-3, 1853, p. 1).

In the letter of instructions from the Secretary of the Government to the members of the Commission, an idea is obtained of the scope of the investigation. The Commissioners were expected to obtain information under twelve separate headings or points. These can be seen to cover two distinct

areas of enquiry - the present situation and the lines of future development.

The enquiry into the present situation was covered by Point 2, which referred to the question of 'refugees' (their numbers and countries of origin); points 1 and 4 mentioned numbers, names and functions of present chiefs as well as information concerning the present locations which had been allocated to the 'natives'; points 6, 8 and 9 referred to the power exercised by the present chiefs and native laws with the manner in which they were administered, with particular reference to crimes and punishments. Point 10 dealt with the possibility of the removal of natives from certain localities. With regard to lines of future development, points 3 and 5 referred to how further 'refugees' could be prevented from entering the colony, why some of the 'natives' were leaving the colony and the possibility of removing the 'refugees' to the south of Natal. This was similar to the 'Trekking Republic' idea and Shepstone's first policy which was described in earlier chapters. Point 7 referred to the future powers and duties of chiefs and point 12 made reference to the shortage of labour and the possible ways of overcoming it.

There were 22 members chosen to serve on the Commission, in contrast to the small number of five who served on the Location Commission of 1846. The President of the Commission was Walter Harding (Crown Prosecutor) and the other official members included Theophilus Shepstone (Diplomatic Agent), John Bird (Acting Surveyor General), J.N. Boshoff (Registrar of the District Court). Two Boers, who had previously served as Field Commandants, Frederick Scheepers and Solomon Maritz were selected from the older generation of colonists. Other Boer farmers included on the Commission were Piet Otto, Frans Nel (a successful merino sheep farmer), C.P. Landman (who had taken over the leadership of the Trekkers after Dingane had killed Retief), A. Spies, E. Potgieter, Dirk Uys and C. Labuschagne (Commission, 1852-3, p. 1; Hattersley, A.F., 1950, pp. 34, 43,

185). Dr W.H. Addison, Natal's first settler medical doctor, Dr Charles Bird Boast, a surgeon, and Robert Ryley, a barrister, were prominent colonists who had recently arrived from Great Britain and who were also chosen to serve as Commissioners (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, pp. 102, 125, 155). The rest of the Commission was dominated by land-owning colonists and traders. Henry Milner, Edmund and John Moreland had played a significant role as new immigrants in assisting others to settle down in their new country. Milner and E. Moreland are remembered for the introduction of sugar cane from Mauritius into the Colony of Natal. Edmund Moreland could be regarded as the 'pioneer of sugar cultivation in South Africa' (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, pp. 115, 236). John Moreland, a surveyor and engineer of repute, was influenced by Byrne to emigrate to Natal. He used his engineering expertise to survey the land allocated to the new immigrants on the instructions of the colonial authorities (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, p. 103). Also included was Walter MacFarlane, a Scottish immigrant who was later to become Speaker of the Legislative Council in 1858 and is described by Hattersley as "a broad, sturdy man of grave, thoughtful countenance who entered politics as chief colonial critic of the native policy of Shepstone" (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, p. 186). Another member of the Commission was George Cato, an Englishman who settled at Port Natal in the 1830's. He established himself as a prosperous trader during the existence of the Republic of Natalia. With the arrival of English immigrants in the colony, he became a prominent and influential businessman. Joseph Henderson, the final member of the Commission, became a prosperous farmer involved in wool and wattle (Hattersley, A.F., 1950, pp. 224-269).

It is significant that no missionary was appointed to serve on this Commission. The American Board missionary, Daniel Lindley's opinion of the Commission was that it was "a very clever dodge on the part of the Government" to gain "a little breathing time". For this reason he refused to give evidence before the Commission (Smith, W.E., 1949, p.

300). The Commission collected evidence from the colonists, government officials and missionaries but no Zulu was called although the Commission's terms of reference primarily concerned them. Lindley was scathing about the quality of the Commission's questions and the men they interviewed. The Commissioners, he said, in September 1852:

asked some sensible men and some simpletons some sensible and many silly questions, which questions and answers were all carefully written down and carelessly printed for the amusement of the expecting public. After several sittings, the majority of the Commissioners themselves became disgusted with their honourable employment, and without the observance of the least form of courtesy abandoned their business (cited in Smith, W.E., 1949, pp. 300-301).

In considering the evidence submitted to the Commission, examples will be given of three broad points of view. Firstly, since no evidence was submitted by any of the Zulu, it is imperative that the main views expressed by the American missions should be discussed. In most respects it is likely that they would represent the views which would reflect the sentiments of the Zulu. The second point of view to be considered is that of three Boer colonists Van Staden, Boshoff and Preller. Since they had been resident in the Colony of Natal from before the British annexation, it could be argued that they could give a broader perspective of the colonial opinion than the English settlers who had so recently arrived in the colony. Lastly, the views of two officials will be considered - those of a magistrate and of Shepstone himself, about the powers of the chiefs, taxation and the willingness of the Zulu to offer their services as labourers. Shepstone's views on these matters are important since he ultimately would greatly influence future 'Native Policy' of the Colony of Natal.

Although Lindley did not testify, three of his fellow missionaries of the A.Z.M., Dohne, Lewis Grout and Aldin Grout, decided to give evidence. In his testimony to the Commission, Dohne was emphatic

that any attempt to curtail, or to cut up, the present locations of the Natives, or to remove them from the same, would be regarded by them as a breach of faith on the part of the Government, as well as the White people altogether; for the Native can quite perceive that government could do so only for the convenience of White people.

Dohne was prepared to go further and warned the members of the Commission that the Zulu "being ... offended and suspicious, (would) never forget to look for a favourable opportunity for revenge" (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 2). Dohne stated that the most serious problem which faced the Colony of Natal was not the extent or size of the locations but rather the large number of Zulu in comparison to the small number of colonists. The Zulu "are now in the country; many of them have a proper claim and right in it; they have all been received, adopted, acknowledged and located as British subjects" (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 2). He felt that had this not been the case, "this relative evil would not, perhaps, exist at all. To resort now to remedies like curtailing, cutting up, removing, etc., in order to remove the evil, would prove the remedy to be much worse than the disease" (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 2). Instead he felt "that the only legal and just act, would be to order all natives living on non-location and private ground, to remove to the fixed locations" (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 2). He explained that the locations at that time were too large for the number of inhabitants in them. If, however, "all natives, living still on non-location and private ground, were ordered to remove to the land set apart for their use, the locations should immediately become as narrow as possible, and according to the rapid increase in number ... after not more than ten years

they could not possibly contain them all" (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 3).

Dohne saw several advantages to the colonists if the locations became overcrowded. The first would be that many of the inhabitants would be induced to labour for the colonists in a more regular and convenient manner. Secondly, the crowded population would be encouraged to cultivate the ground more extensively in order to supply the basic necessities of life. Thirdly, the ground available for pastoral purposes would become so small as to make it essential for those who possessed a number of cattle to sell many of these in case they should lose them through starvation. If the Zulu economy became less dependent on cattle, there would be a reduced demand in the future for land, as agriculture is more land-intensive than cattle farming. Such geographic and economic pressures could indirectly benefit the Zulu. It could make them desire to improve their quality of their life and turn to positive elements in Western civilization. Furthermore, he felt that:

This self development would in progress of time, tend them to appreciate individual rights. They would come to the conclusion of purchasing some property for their own. And among other beneficial results, this development, would render a preventative for that evil which in future must arise from the overcrowded population in the locations (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 2).

In answer to a question put by a member of the Commission, Dohne totally disagreed with the principle of taxing the Zulus who lived in the vicinity of towns, at a higher rate than those who lived some distance away. According to him, this method of taxation was introduced to induce those Zulus in the vicinity of towns to move into the country where the colonists had the greatest need of their labour. He felt that "as for the purpose of securing a greater number of labourers, that principle would be unjust and unsafe, because it would be an indirect compulsion - to favour one and oppress the other - who (it) is admitted, no one can

force or compel to work" (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 3). With regard to the power of the chiefs, Dohne's opinion was "that the Government has neither the absolute right, nor sufficient reason, for abrogating or destroying entirely the powers of the chiefs, but it has a right to modify, remodel, regulate, or improve them" (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852).

When asked to talk of the role of missions in the colonies, Dohne took the chance to explain how they were placed in a situation where they could, in the eyes of the colonists, only fail. It was thought the missionaries had such an influence over the natives as but to command and everything would be readily done. Thus, many white people applied to missionaries for labourers, and upon telling them "we had no such power over the natives - that we ourselves even were in distress for servants, they pronounced us either as unwilling to help them, or as tampering with the natives or as useless agents who failed in their labour etc" (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 3).

This evidence was in fact a commentary on the concern expressed by the Prudential Committee about the use of Grout as a missionary on a government salary: the missionary would be regarded primarily as a government agent. In Dohne's estimation this role was thrust upon them without government support. He, in fact, lamented the lack of colonial interest in the difficulties the A.Z.M. were experiencing in their missionary activities, and was firmly convinced that:

If the missionaries had been better assisted in their enterprise by the authorities, as well as by the inhabitants of this Colony, no doubt matters would stand otherwise. But that which 6,000 white people are not able to do, twelve to twenty missionaries are required to create! None but we missionaries know better, or how difficult and discouraging our labour is (among) the Natives" (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 3).

According to Dohne, changes in the attitude and tribal traditions of the Nguni "cannot be sorted out in the first, nor in the second generation ... whilst the real good ef-

fects in respect of christianization and civilization had been frequently so undervalued and stigmatised, that many of the better people even have been tempted to think the natives would do better without missionaries" (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 3). He listed the value of Christianity among the natives: "Civilized heathen, without true - i.e. christian religion have ever been a curse upon earth, and now these natives will become to the white population of this country in case that the great remedy - the influence of the gospel - be not properly tried and generally applied" (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 3). But he was able to point out that the colony need not despair as God had already "manifest(ed) his power ... to a small number who may be found more or less, almost at any station" (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 3). Finally, he pleaded that the work of the missionaries should not be seen in isolation, but that, to bring true prosperity to the Colony, "everyone of the laymen should think it a privilege and a glory to aid in this great object, unless he bear the name of a Christian in vain" (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 4).

It is clear from the evidence given by Dohne that the American missionaries were anxious that the size of the locations should not be reduced. They wanted to see the Zulus treated on an equal basis with the colonists, since both were regarded as British subjects. More Zulus in the locations would mean that the field of labour of the A.Z.M. could expand. Furthermore, Dohne clearly indicated that the colonists saw the missionaries as a means of ensuring a supply of the necessary labour force from among their flock. Dohne's views differed from those of other missionaries on the long-term effects of the transformation of the Zulu society. Dohne was prepared to use the present locations to manipulate the quality of life of the Zulu. This viewpoint would meet some of the colonists' objections as more labour would become available.

Dohne's evidence indicates that the A.Z.M. believed that the Colonial Government represented the interest of the colonists and neglected their task of civilizing the Zulus. He saw the object of both the A.Z.M. and the colonists as persuading the Zulu to foresake his traditional culture and to embrace Christianity and other Western values.

Other aspects of A.Z.M. policy were put forward in the evidence by another American missionary, Lewis Grout. He was at great pains to point out that most of the natives in the Colony of Natal at the time had inhabited the land in times before Chaka's rule and were certainly there when the British took possession of Natal in 1843, and thus had more rights as aboriginals to the land than any of the white colonists (Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 75).

'Were not all the tribes and the mass of the people here in 1843?' he asked. 'Were they not occupying large portions - all they required - of the country, cultivating the soil, and grazing their cattle upon its fields? And was their residence, occupation, and possession, ever once objected to, or called in question by the British Government, or was it conditioned upon anything with which the natives have not complied?' (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 9).

He firmly believed that

the Coloured inhabitants of (the) Colony have a right to pursue the useful and innocent avocations to which they are accustomed and in the pursuit of which they were adopted as British subjects ... they are justly entitled to such an amount of land as they require for obtaining the comforts and blessings of life in their chosen and customary pursuits (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 10).

The Commission totally rejected Grout's assertion that the majority of the natives qualified to be treated as aborigines. They considered that only 13 000-14 000 natives were found living in the colony when the British took possession of it in 1843. They disregarded Grout's opinion, maintaining that: "Such wild random assertions are without

foundation, and may be regarded as the offspring of a rash unwise credulity, which, in its eagerness to support a favourite theory, has proved a great deal too much" (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 11).

The evidence of the American missionaries was concluded by Aldin Grout, another of the pioneer missionaries who had arrived in the Colony of Natal in 1835. In the first instance he was in agreement with Lewis Grout "that most of the natives in the Colony were there when it was declared a British possession in 1843" (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 12). When the Proclamations "were issued from time to time, making and constituting Natal British territory, it was done with most of the present natives then in it, and with the knowledge of their being on it" (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 12). In response to questions about what could elevate the native and make him a good citizen, thereby removing the danger of rebellion, he said:

I can see no objections to their being left on large locations. As to the facilities for rising in rebellion, they will do so however situated, if they have grievances of sufficient magnitude to induce to it, yet it is so rare that any people do rebel who are governed by just and good laws, that if I were assured that this people would be so governed, I would never trouble myself to enquire if they would rebel (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 12).

The possibility of rebellion would be further reduced if other transformations in Zulu society could be brought about. He believed that if "a heathen people can be instructed and encouraged, so as to get titles to land and other fixed property", they would not have any reason to rebel. It has been shown (in Chapter 3) that the protection of the natives was one of the primary reasons why Napier felt Natal should be annexed. Grout, therefore, maintained that the Zulus must be treated in such a manner that they would

not have occasion to say that Her Majesty's white subjects had been favoured above them. 'I (would) give them ground enough to enable them to live free and independently on it. I would allow them to live, either, by raising cattle, or cultivating the ground as they pleased'.

He continued:

I would leave it for each one to determine for himself, how, when, or where (they) should labour, either for himself or for others, or not at all. In all these respects I would do with, and by black people just as I would do with white, nothing doubting but each man's wants and interests will ultimately bring a better supply of labour, and do it more satisfactorily than can be supplied by legislation (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852).

His interpretation of the role of the chiefs coincided closely with that expressed in the Location Commission and was similar to Shepstone's policy. He contended that "the power of the chiefs ought to be under control; and would very easily be brought, and kept under by wise magistrates" (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 12).

Finally Grout attempted to summarize his views on the character of the Zulu. As with all people, they had both failings and the potential and faculties for good which included their ability to be instructed and enlightened. They can be made to see their errors, and feel their guilt and deplore their degradation (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 12). He argued along environmentalist lines when he asserted that they possessed the mental and moral faculties of other men "and if they have not the same in degree and quality, the defect is probably owing more to a want of those privileges and favouring circumstances which others have enjoyed for ages and ages over them, than to any absolute incapacity for greatness and goodness ordained or inherent in their natural constitution" (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 12). He concluded that "they are rational moral beings, and have hearts to feel and minds to think and act"

(Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 12), and that with appropriate training "they may become most loyal, intelligent, virtuous, useful and happy" (Government Gazette, 1852, p. 13).

It will be apparent from the report (which will be discussed later) that most of the suggestions made by Aldin Grout were totally rejected by the Commissioners.

In contrast to the pleas of the missionaries, however, were the viewpoints of the colonists which found much more favour with the Commission. The missionaries had stressed the permanence of the Zulu population, the need for land and for joint Government/missionary attempts to transform and civilize Zulu society.

Three examples have been selected to give some indication of the views of white farmers. These attitudes could be anticipated, when the views of a farmer (Henry) in the Inanda District are considered. He had written a letter of complaint to Shepstone early in 1850 and said:

No one will be so made, ... as to go to the expense of planting or sowing while uncertain of being able to find labourers to gather in the crops. The farmers know best what suit themselves, and the Government will act unwisely if ... they cramp the energies and exertions of the farmers (Henry to Shepstone 10/2/1840 cited in Young, 1941, p. 32).

In the Government Gazettes of 1852, evidence given by the Boer colonists (Jacobus Frederick Van Staden, Jacobus Nicholaas Boshoff and Carl Frederick Preller) is recorded. Van Staden had arrived in the Colony of Natal with the Trekkers in 1841 and felt that the number of Zulus in the colony should be drastically reduced. He estimated that in the colony in 1852 there were about 100 000 Zulu, whereas when he had arrived in 1841 he considered them to be in the region of 3 000 to 4 000. This increase, he felt, was entirely due to the arrival of refugees and deserters from Zululand. He recommended, as a solution, the placing of

eight to ten posts on the border between Zululand and the colony. He recognized that these posts might be insufficient, even though they were about "four hours on horse-back apart, but the country (was) very rugged and bushy" (Government Gazette, 30/12/1852, p. 1). He was strongly opposed to the location system since "it is the nature of the Kaffirs to give refuge to refugees, and other deserters, and also because they are so mixed up with the white population, that if they were to rise we could not escape" (Government Gazette, 30/11/1852, p. 1).

Next followed the evidence of Jacobus Nicholaas Boshoff, himself a member of the Commission. He had been a member of the Volksraad and a landrost under the Republic of Natalia. He first gave a detailed exposition of the stand the Volksraad had taken on the Zulus in the colony. He repeated the conviction that all these people were refugees from Zululand:

Before tribes could combine together to form unmanageable groups, the Republic had proposed that wherever such settlements of the native be found, these should be broken up, and excepting such as might be willing to live scattered amongst the whites, in parties of not more than five families to each occupied farm, and such as would find service, all the rest should be directed to proceed to the open and unoccupied country over the Umzimkulu, or return to the Zulu country whence they had come; and that, if need be, they should be compelled by force (Government Gazette, 30/11/1852, p. 2).

From the time that the British Government took possession of the colony, however:

The Zulu refugees literally poured into the District, they were allowed to locate themselves where they liked. Chiefs sprang up in every direction, and some of them became very powerful. Locations dangerously extensive were granted to them, and, in some instances, most inconveniently situated (Government Gazette, 30/11/1852, p. 2).

These locations, instead of being reduced, were extended from time to time. Boshoff recommended that while some locations might have to remain, others should be reduced in size. It should be noted that he did not give any idea of the size of the locations or the proportion of Natal given to locations as a whole.

Boshof was clearly concerned about Shepstone's policy of indirect rule over tribes, and the idea of gradualism in the adopting of Western laws and customs inherent in that policy and which had been advocated in the Locations Commission.

Native laws and habits, some most repugnant to the feelings of a civilized man, not to say a Christian, (had) not only (been) worked at, but approved of and established, so that, at the present time, we have actually two separate Governments existing in this District (Government Gazette, 30/11/1852, p. 2).

His proposals, however, were not necessarily very different from those of the Location Commission, or Shepstone's policy, about which he felt so concerned:

(I) would bring them all under one general code of laws and regulations for their internal government, which may, from time to time, be improved upon, so as gradually to bring them under the influence of civilized laws and customs and under such management the exertions of missionaries and teachers will be much more likely to succeed than hitherto (Government Gazette, 30/11/1852, p. 2).

His recommendation about what he felt to be the growing power of a few chiefs (and as such, a threat to security) was a combination of creating a multiplicity of smaller chiefs and an overt divide and rule policy.

That no claim to any Chieftainship, by right of family connection or inheritance, should be, for one moment, tolerated, and to do away with such claims, I would subdivide every large location under several chiefs, independent of each other,

but all subject to a white chief or magistrate (Government Gazette, 30/11/1852, p. 2).

It is clear that he saw the magistrates as acting in a sternly paternal manner:

If they are unfit, the best measures must fail; no one sooner perceives their incapacity than the natives themselves - they impose upon the magistrate - he upon the government, and, by courting favour with the natives, he becomes their apologist and advocate instead of their chief, and this being the case the natives will soon find that they can, with impunity, evade or trample under foot all law or rule (Government Gazette, 30/11/1852, p. 2).

Boshoff's clear priority was to improve the labour supply by modifying Shepstone's taxation policy, if necessary. He would:

by every possible means, induce natives to settle out of the locations amongst the farmers, by allowing them greater privileges, such as exemption from, or reduction of, taxes - by altering the method of taxation in the locations, from a hut to a head tax, and strictly preventing any squatting on Government lands, not being set apart for locations (Government Gazette, 30/11/1852, p. 2).

His fellow Commissioners asked him why he preferred a personal capitation or head tax to a hut tax. Boshoff explained:

Because I think that placing the tax on huts would enable the natives to avoid the objects for which that tax seems to me to have been fixed, at least to some extent, by making more than one family occupy one hut; and because I would so regulate the capitation tax that it would have a tendency to induce young men to find service of some kind; and it would somewhat lessen the disposition of the natives for an increased number of wives (Government Gazette, 30/11/1852, p. 3).

Carl Frederick Preller, who had been in the colony for eight years, was the next colonist to give evidence to the Commission. Preller's evidence could have come directly from the days of the Natal Republic. He did not believe that any of the 'Kafirs' should be placed in locations. A limited number of families (at a rate of 10 families per 6 000 acres) should be allowed on the farms of the colonists while the rest of the Zulus should be removed to beyond the Umkomaas River. He repeated the refugee argument: "... they are not natives of this colony: ... they came here merely to seek protection from this Government, and by placing them beyond the Umkomaas they would not be beyond British protection". He believed that most of the Zulu had no right to be in the Colony of Natal (Government Gazette, 30/11/1852, p. 3).

These three Trekker colonists, who had decided to remain in the colony after most of their compatriots had decided to leave, had retained the same sentiments towards the Zulu as had been found in the Republic days. Colonist evidence continuously emphasized the Zulu's refugee status, the unnecessarily large size of the locations, the need for labour and the threats to security. None of the evidence contained viable recommendations for change. The only alternative (mass removals to the south) - had already been rejected by the British Government and was almost certainly impracticable when the land available there was considered.

It was to be expected that Shepstone, as Diplomatic Agent, would give evidence. He informed the Commission that the Zulus had great respect for the authority of their chiefs. When asked how the abrogation of the powers invested in the hereditary chiefs would affect the reaction of the Zulus, he answered that it would have a detrimental effect and quoted the example of Fodo, an hereditary chief, who had been replaced by his uncle. The reaction of Fodo's followers was such as to render the influence of the uncle very nominal "and the real power gradually reverted to Fodo, whom the government also found it advisable to pardon and allowed his

reinstatement" (Government Gazette, 30/11/1852, p. 5). On being asked whether the need of the 'Kafirs' for European blankets and other commodities would indirectly stimulate the Zulus to labour for wages, he gave a positive answer (Government Gazette, 30/11/1852, p. 6). On the matter of inducing the Zulu to become a willing worker for the colonists, he maintained:

I freely admit that it would be of great advantage both to the black and white population, if the youth of the former could be induced to enter the service of the white employers and thus early acquire habits of regular industry, which is one of the first steps towards moral and social improvement (Government Gazette, 30/11/1852, p. 8).

On the question of taxation, Shepstone agreed that the Zulus who were in service should be exempted from taxation. He felt that this would encourage more of the Zulus in the locations to enter the service of the farmers as labourers (Government Gazette, 30/11/1852, p. 5). His opinion on exemptions from taxation for Zulus "who built in a particular manner and cultivated land occupied by them, according to European notions of Building and Agriculture" was negative (Government Gazette, 30/11/1852, p. 6). In his evidence, Shepstone astutely pointed out that the power of the chiefs should be retained since they played a big role in his 'Native Policy' of indirect rule.

To Shepstone it was policy to keep the Zulus in subjugation to the whites so as to ensure the economic well-being of the colonists, which meant the existence of 'reservoirs of cheap labour in the form of locations.

In his evidence to the Commission, G.R. Peppercorne, a European magistrate in the Impafana Location, criticized the extent of the tax which was levied on the Zulu. He explained that the hut tax was expected to be obtained from the sale of grain which was produced from the land. In the year 1851 there was no surplus grain produced in the location, with the result that the additional amount which was required for

the hut tax had to be obtained by the Zulus of the Impafana Location by labouring for the colonists in the vicinity. He argued that:

A tax of one-fifth of the income, or annual product, of a civilized population, has been usually considered to represent a mild and tolerant government. One-fourth become oppressive, but when the tax amounts to one-third of its annual subsistence, it has been opposed, by some politicians, to amount to a justification of resistance to the government by the people (Government Gazette, 18/1/1852, p. 3).

He felt that the Zulu were entitled to receive fair treatment from the Government. The reaction of the Commission to Peppercorne's evidence was one of rejection. They were of the opinion "that had Peppercorne enjoyed the advantages of a longer experience of this population, he would have seen good reason to modify the opinions and alter the views he had expressed in his evidence" (Native Commission, 1853, p. 26).

In considering the evidence submitted to the Commission as has been detailed in this chapter, there is a clear distinction between the viewpoint of the American missionaries (Dohne, Aldin and Lewis Grout) and that of the three colonists (Preller, Boshof and Van Staden). The American missionaries, who had been acquainted with the Colony of Natal and Zululand for a longer period than the three colonists, took great pains to show that the Zulu had inhabited the colony long before the arrival of any white settlers and were thus entitled to permanent settlement.

They saw no reason why the Zulu, who according to them had the necessary innate potential, should not develop to the same level as the colonists. Such development was however dependent upon their being Christianized and civilized according to the norms and values of Western civilization.

In direct contrast to this opinion, the colonists argued that the Zulu in the colony were refugees from Zululand and thus had to return from where they had come. The prejudice of the colonists towards the Zulu was obvious in their evidence and they made no provision for any compromise in which the land and resources could be shared between them. The Zulu were seen by the colonists as barbarians who were only good enough to serve as labourers for the farmers who had larger tracts of land to be worked.

The fundamental issues as reflected in the evidence to the Commission were the colonists' feeling of being endangered by any power invested in chiefs and the size of the locations allocated to the Zulu. The colonists feared their farms would be reduced in size as more land was needed to accommodate refugees from Zululand. Only nine members (their names are not mentioned in the final report) of the original 24 members of the Commission were present on 26 October 1853 when the President, now Walter Macfarlane, signed the report. ("Hon. Walter Harding was President until, being appointed Acting Recorder, he was replaced at the 13th meeting, 8th August 1853 by John Bird, and when John Bird resigned on 24th October, Walter Macfarlane was made President") (Smith, 1849, p. 301).

The recommendations of the Commissioners covered five key issues: land, labour, chiefs and tribal organization (which included law, order, security, civilization policy) and the role of the missionaries. The Commissioners severely criticized the size of the locations as allocated by the Locations Committee. The report's consideration of the size of the locations included a complex comparison with peasant farmers' land in Europe. They argued:

As from one and three quarters to three acres per head are sufficient to support the civilized populations of Europe, with artificial wants, twenty

acres per head of average land in Natal is not required to support a Kafir population without those wants (Native Commission, 1852-1853, 1853, p. 50).

The Commissioners elaborated that:

The Kafir population requiring to be accommodated in locations was considerably under 100,000 souls consisting of fragments of broken tribes, while at the rate of four acres of land per head, even 100,000 the present area of the Locations alone, supposing them to consist of fair average open land, as they ought, will afford subsistence, if cultivated to a Kafir population of 500,000 souls ... (Native Commission, 1852-1853, 1853, p. 50).

The comparison did not take into account the nature of the land and the different climatic conditions in the two continents. This manner of determining the size of the land was appropriate for the Zulus, but this was apparently not applicable to the colonists, most of whom had been unable to farm profitably on 45 acres. The Commissioners considered that the existing locations were far too large and proposed "the appointment of a Board, comprising some experienced settlers, to select proper land for Locations, as to the situation, nature of ground, and its capabilities" (Native Commission, 1852-1853, 1853, p. 52). Further, they recommended that: "Abundance of suitable land is to be procured for all the Kafirs, who require to have accommodation found for them, within the above area, if the locations are restricted in size to what they ought to be (Commission, 1852-1853, p. 52). According to Young, Pine agreed with the Commissioners' view that the Zulus who were legally in Natal should be influenced "to acquire freehold and individual titles" (Young, L., 1952, p. 294).

The Commissioners clearly considered the labour needs of the colonists as important and stated their dissatisfaction that "too many white youths are retained at home to assist their parents in the daily management of the establishment, owing to the absence and uncertainty of that

amount of coloured labour which parents are both willing and able to pay for" (Commission, 1852-53; 1853, p. 47). Because the supply of labour was not sufficient, "the effect is to hinder the industry of the country, and to prevent agriculture farming on a large scale". Crops were often lost or damaged due to the lack of labour "necessary to secure them and above all, this state of affairs retards the civilization and stops the industrial training of the young Kafir" (Commission 1852-53; 1853, p. 43).

It was suggested by the Commissioners that the colonists should be allowed by law to make application to the magistrate in the region for as many 'servants' as they required. As was the case with the Republic of Natalia, the colonists were continuously fearful of black rebellion. This danger seemed to grow as the power of the chiefs over closely-knit tribes increased. Tribal reorganization, therefore, formed a major component to the maintenance of a tribal system and the hereditary power of the chiefs which accompanied it since: "The reconstruction of these hereditary powers appears to the Commissioners to be altogether a most impolitic, dangerous, indefensible act". The effect of this policy "has been to reconstruct chieftainship in its integrity at the head of fully organized tribes within the district, with all their attendant dangers and evils, instead of leaving the Kafir population disunited and placed as it ought to be under the sole control and guidance of the white authorities as the only supreme chiefs" (Native Commission, 1852-1853, 1853, p. 21). This decision (a "serious mistake") on the part of the Colonial Government was one which:

In the opinion of the Commissioners should be rectified forthwith, so as to destroy the greater power and independence of the Kafir Chiefs (and) put an end to the conflicting claims and jurisdiction of the Chiefs and magistrates (Native Commission, 1852-1853, 1853, p. 22, Welsh, D., 1971, p. 34).

Although the Commissioners felt that the power of the chiefs should be gradually reduced, they recommended that: "The Chiefs, and some of the more intelligent headmen of each tribe, should be paid government officials, to assist the Resident Magistrate in the trial of Kafir cases, in accordance with native usage and custom, and for assisting otherwise in the management of the people ..." (Commission, 1852-53, 1853, p. 36). To make magisterial control effective, however, legal codification was necessary.

The Commissioners were critical of "the non-existence of a full and complete digest of the rules and principles of Kafir law; for the guidance of Magistrates" (Native Commission, 1853, p. 20). The Commissioners felt that "the rugged and impervious character of their locations has put the Kafirs in possession of the natural stronghold of the country ...", and that: "In the event of any disturbance, it would be most difficult for a Military or Burgher force to operate against the Kafirs in such locations" (Native Commission, 1852-53, 1853, p. 17). The Commissioners argued that because of: "The close proximity of ... (the) locations to each other it would be certain and unavoidable that the Kafirs not originally implicated in the disturbance could become so" (Native Commission, 1852-53, 1853, p. 17).

Because of these fears, the Commissioners recommended prohibiting the Zulus from possessing firearms. Their view was that: "Information should be given to the magistrates of all the Kafirs possessing firearms ... Those firearms, which are delivered up freely should be valued and the price thereof paid to the Kafirs". After which "the possession of firearms or powder by any Kafir, after an early given date, should be made criminal and punished accordingly" (Native Commission, 1852-1853, p. 56).

The report made use of the idea of a civilizing policy in the next set of recommendations. Some of the statements were broad and general, such as the link between the size of locations and exposure to civilization. The report linked Western European work habits and agriculture with civiliza-

better class of house, to erect a common grinding mill for the use of the village, and to buy carts, wagons, ploughs, etc., and thus work their oxen instead of their wives". Furthermore, if "they (the Zulu) can be led to improve their mode of living, and acquire property other than cattle, they will feel they have something to lose in the event of a disturbance, and a great step will have been gained towards civilizing them" (Native Commission, 1852-1853, 1853, p. 54).

Some of the recommendations were very narrow and specific. As was common at this time, the absence of Western dress was equated with a lack of civilization. The advantage of adopting Western dress, however, also had economic advantages. These were deliberately juxtaposed in the next recommendation. If the Zulu were to be ordered to go decently clothed, "this measure would at once tend to increase the number of labourers because many would be obliged to work to procure the measures of buying clothing; it would also add to the general revenue of the colony through customs duties". Other recommendations tried to impose Western sex roles upon Zulu Society. It was noted that some of the locations were close to town so that the men would be influenced to go to work there, leaving their wives to do field work and to make artefacts (Native Commission, 1852-1853, 1853, p. 55).

Since the locations were regarded as being too large, it would retard civilization and result in the Zulus leading an idle pastoral life. To the Commissioners the extent of the locations:

completely does away with the mutual advantages to the settlers and the Kafirs, anticipated from the location system. Rather it diminishes than increases the supply of labour, prevents the union of two races, as employer and employed and consequently destroys in that respect the opportunity of the latter acquiring the habits of civilization (Native Commission, 1852-1853, 1853, p. 18-19).

Then the report criticised recent developments in Natal. It raised the matter of the familiarity between the newly arrived immigrants from Europe and the Zulu which was decried. It was felt:

whenever they (immigrants) learn from experience to recognize the essential difference which ought to be maintained between the treatment of a civilized servant and an untutored savage, they will find their position more comfortable, and the labour of the country carried on in a more regular and satisfactory manner (Native Commission 1852-1853, 1853, p. 44).

The Commissioners noted the failure of past civilization policies. They felt "the amelioration in the moral condition of the (Zulu) and its advance in humanity and civilization, anticipated by Her Majesty's Government, have not hitherto met with much success in Natal" (Native Commission, 1852-1853, 1853, p. 27). The Commissioners were of the opinion that once villages had been established, funds could be collected by Chiefs and headmen "to defray the expenses of hospitals, schools ..." (Native Commission, 1852-1853, 1853, p. 54). Young states that Pine agreed with the Commissioners' view that "the Whites and the Zulus should be encouraged to learn each others' language" (Young, L., 1952, p. 294).

Their final recommendations in the sphere of civilization was a reversion to the frequently discussed idea of a large-scale removal of people. The Commission contended: "A civilized and barbarian population in large masses cannot live together in the same country in mutual security and safety". They felt that: "Something like a more equal balance of the powers of civilization and barbarism than at present exists here must be established". It was necessary that approximately 30 000 to 40 000 of the Zulu in Natal should be displaced "and until their removal is accomplished, the government will not be in a position to introduce a better state of things among the Kafir popu-

lation remaining here" (Native Commission, 1852-1853, 1853, p. 41).

The Commissioners then considered the task of missionaries and, as was not surprising, linked this with a civilizing policy. Again, pre-occupation with the size of the locations intruded into their recommendations.

The Commission was of the opinion that so long as Kafirs live in large communities where their own customs and usages operate with the greatest vigour, and where the powers and influence of the chiefs are felt with the greatest intensity so long will missionaries' exertion be comparatively ineffectual (Native Commission, 1852-1853, 1853, p. 27).

It continued that:

in proportion as Government can arrange to lessen the size of these communities, to break up the nationality and clanship thereby engendered and to bring the youthful Kafir population in the capacity of free servants into daily personal contact with the civilized inhabitants, will be the success of the missionary (Native Commission, 1852-1853, 1853, p. 27).

The missionaries' work would be expected to include both moral and intellectual training as "the material interests of the colony will be best reported and most surely secured by due attention to the advancement of (these characteristics in) the rising generation" (Commission, 1852-1853, 1853, p. 47).

According to the Commissioners, the religious training of the Zulu should be left to the missionaries. They emphasized the importance of religious training "as mere secular training without regular moral and religious instruction, will never alter the character of a barbarian it will only render him more acute, and consequently more dangerous" (Commission, 1852-1853, 1853, p. 54).

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, only nine of the original 24 Commissioners remained when the report was signed on 26 October 1853. Young comments that there was a delay in the publication and printing of the Report of the Commission due to a disagreement "between the Commissioners and the local Government". Just before the report was to be released, Pine informed the Commission that he did not wish it to be made public before it had been submitted to him in manuscript form (Young, L., 1941, p. 293). Young shows, however, that the tenor of the evidence presented to the Commissioners was not in doubt, as it was published in editions of the Government Gazette as it was received by the Commission (Young, L., 1941, p. 293).

One example of an A.Z.M. missionary's response to the report can be seen from the correspondence of Lindley (then working at Inanda) to Boston. His bitter and cynical views on the delay in publication were reflected in a letter to Rufus Anderson, dated November 1853, in which he explained, "I have been informed that Government strictly refuses to sanction its publication" (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 301). Lindley suggested a reason for the delay:

Knowing that they would be held accountable to public opinion in England for any seeming countenance given to doctrines which directly involve the very worst outlines of the very worst kind of slavery under a sun that has been darkened but once on account of human iniquity (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 301).

He recognized the strong colonial pressures for a reliable and large supply of labourers, but suggested the dangers of the Report's solutions:

When men buy their slaves at high prices, it may be expected that they will generally take some care of them: but not so, if they could get them for nothing, and then call in the aid of a powerful government to assist them in grinding these

forlorn wretches to powder (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 301).

Lindley's greatest contempt however was reserved for the Commissioners themselves, and the quality of their work:

Unwilling that the great hope of the public should end in smoke, a few members of the Commission got together and appointed two of their numbers to extract all the sweet essence of wisdom collected in their papers, and to embody it in an official Report; which Report we may not uncharitably suppose would be sweetened, if possible, a little more, to suit the public taste (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 301).

On November 1854, after having read the report, he wrote again to Anderson:

Over the great Kafir Commission you may safely write Illium fuit. No ingens equus was required for the overthrow of what was for a time the glory of Governor Pine. The Commission contained a goodly number of long eared animals, whose generic name I need not mention - they did the work (cited in E.W., Smith, 1949, p. 301).

One of the more remarkable features of the Commissioners' Report was, despite the frequent comments on the size of the locations, no detailed facts were given to substantiate their claims. The Commissioners' final report is also silent about the exact amount of territory which was in dispute. Grey had to ask for details about the size of the locations and the information was finally included in a dispatch from him to the Secretary of State. The extent was given as 1 254 840 acres (29 October 1855) and the land available in Natal was given as 12 500 000 acres (Grey to Secretary of State, 1857, pp. 81, 213). It can therefore be seen that the locations and the mission controlled areas

amounted to no more than 10% of the total area of the colony.

It could be argued that the three American missionaries who resolved to give evidence to the Commission, saw their action as a sign of desperation. If they had not continued to negotiate with the Colonial Government, they might never have been able to acquire permanency to land for their missionary activities. It was understandable, therefore, that the evidence they presented to the Commission concentrated on those aspects which were related to permanent settlement of the Zulu and the retention of the locations in their original form. It can be suggested that they were hoping for a partnership with the colonial authorities to persuade the Zulu to forsake their traditional customs and adhere to the norms of Christianity. If consideration is given to the composition of the Commission and its reaction to the evidence of the American missionaries, however, the findings, clearly biased in favour of the colonists, were a foregone conclusion.

The missionaries had their own particular view of the reasons for, and the way in which, the Zulu would absorb civilization. They were particularly concerned with those institutions in Zulu society which seemed to be inimical to Christianity. These they wished to replace with at least outward signs that civilization or Christianity had been adopted. This concern will be more fully examined in the next chapter. The report (and evidence on which it was based) was contradictory in a number of ways. A key issue was whether the Zulu had long standing claims to be in the colony. On this there were two views. The first view gives justification for the removal of the Zulu from the colony because they were interlopers of recent origin. The refugee theory had been used freely in the evidence of the missionaries and colonists, but no factual information had

come before the Commission as to whether the majority of Zulus in Natal were genuinely aboriginals who had to return to their homes after leaving the colony during the Mfecane or were indeed fleeing from a disturbed Zululand.

Missionary evidence suggested that it was inaccurate to describe the majority of the Zulu as refugees. Evidence from colonists stressed the refugee interpretation. If this were so, then some forced removal, either across the Tugela or south into the present-day Transkei, could have been justified and would release more land and reduce costs of maintaining locations and administering them, and could lead to a more guaranteed labour reserve. Young (1951, p. 297) notes that the Commission was colloquially referred to as the "Native Labour Commission" which was "indicative of the pre-occupation of many of its members". Any criticism of the failure of the proponents of these two views to back their claims with evidence, however, must be tempered with the fact that there was no real opportunity, nor did the techniques exist, to discover such evidence.

Closely linked with the evidence suggesting that the Zulu numbers could be reduced if they were foreigners, was the frequent reference to the threat they were to place on the colony. No-one seemed to have explored the contradiction how scattered remnants of tribes (the refugee picture) could constitute a threat as an armed, co-ordinated, militarily-inclined nation. It is of interest to note that a member of the Commission, Boshoff, in his evidence, gave suggestions about the power of the chiefs. Some of these suggestions appeared later in the report as recommendations. It might be argued that his views could have unduly influenced the report, although he was certainly not the only witness to make such a point. (How acceptable it was to have Commissioners giving evidence to a Commission on which they served, is debatable.)

Further clear indications of conflict are present in the evidence that the Trekkers gave to the Commission. At one stage in their evidence, mention was made of fragmented

tribes whose authority was lost because they were 'refugees', yet at other times it was pointed out that the chiefs were powerful and thus dangerous. A striking feature of the evidence of the Trekkers is that it reflected attitudes based on a narrow personal, rather than an objective, analysis of the situation.

Even Shepstone's evidence showed some uncertainties. In his 'Native Policy', he advocated the use of the existing position of the chiefs in Zulu Society. In cases where a chief did not exist, Shepstone was prepared to 'create' such a person himself. In his evidence, however, he also mentioned that the power of the hereditary chiefs should be retained and new chiefs should not be created. He used the Fodo story to underline the need to retain chieftainships in their traditional form, and to show that 'manufactured chieftainship' would not work.

As far as the A.Z.M. was concerned, Shepstone's Zulu policy could only make their task more difficult since it was aimed at political control with little regard for the development of education or civilization. The missionary work of the A.Z.M. would have to take place in locations or near to areas where Shepstone had grouped the Zulu. In Shepstone's system, the breaking down of the power of the chiefs was of paramount importance and the intellectual development of the Zulu had no place in it. It is ironical that his policy, which was created to serve the interest of the colonists, in the sense that they had less to fear from powerful and well-organized chiefs, had caused dissatisfaction among them and had led directly to the appointment of the Land Commission by Pine.

There was considerable discussion about the extent to which the Zulu could be civilized and the direction in which these efforts should be made. The Commissioners failed to distinguish between the conventions of a society and those actions which offended general moral codes.

The possibility of civilization developing through changes in farming methods had an appeal, but also posed a

threat because it impinged upon the hopes that Zulu land-use would be curtailed. The arguments about the land issue were difficult to follow. The Commissioners felt that four acres was sufficient for the Zulu to subsist on, but 20 acres had already been shown to be inadequate for the Byrne settlers. How the Commissioners expected the Zulu to implement European agricultural methods on such small land allocations is difficult to understand. At the same time as recommending settler agriculture as a Colonial Government policy, the Commissioners noted that the nature of the land was rugged. The land was so broken, in fact, that it was ideal for rebellious attacks upon white land. If this was the case, it is difficult to see how the Zulu could use it effectively for extensive cultivation.

The Commissioners believed that the colony could be secure and its economy could develop, only when the tribal organization of the Zulu disappeared or was curtailed. They believed the work of the missionaries could only be effective if the hold of chiefs on the tribal customs was broken. They also felt that the Zulu youth should labour for the colonists and, through this labour, come into contact with the civilization and norms of the white man. This should make the task of the missionary much easier.

Lieutenant Governor Pine agreed that "digest of the rules and principles of Kafir Law" was essential but at the same time pointed out "that the government of natives even with the best of systems depends so much on the man who administers and comparatively so little on the system" (Pine to Secretary of State, 5/9/1854, cited in Young, 1941, p. 115). He also accepted the report's claims about the "enormous and inconvenient" locations, and was prepared to accept Shepstone's pleas for the removal of many Zulu to the south. But he felt that the Commission had portrayed the character of the Zulu in a poor light. He was convinced that it would be a great error of judgement to make the availability of the white colonists of native labour a prominent feature of legislation, although he accepted the colonists' pleas for

more labour. He advocated moral persuasion rather than making it compulsory by law (Young, 1941, p. 115) and recommended a considerable increase in the numbers of schools and hospitals. Although he disagreed with many of the recommendations of the Commission and put forward a number of suggestions to bring about a better relationship between the Zulu and colonists, these did not come to fruition, since he left the Colony of Natal before his suggestions could be implemented.

The British Government totally disagreed with the main recommendations of the Commission. John Scott, who succeeded Pine as Lieutenant Governor of Natal, made very unfavourable comments about its findings. Twenty-five years after the Commission had submitted its report, a Natal magistrate could complain that:

The Commission of 1852-1853 thoroughly exhausted the subject of how the natives should be governed and taught, and suggested plans for their civilization and education, but nothing came of the labours of the Commission (cited in Brookes, E.H. & Webb, D., 1965, p. 70).

Despite any concrete Government action on the Report's recommendations, the investigation, the evidence and the reaction of the report must have left the A.Z.M. with few illusions about the antipathy to the cause of the Zulu or about the difficulty of finding local support for their work.

After Pine left Natal, the colony fell for a short period under the influence of Sir George Grey, a colonial administrator whose previous experience and personal conviction led him to encourage in a practical way the presentation of civilizing institutions to a tribal society. The following chapter, therefore, deals with the relationships between Grey and the missionaries, and gives examples of missionary responses to tribal customs.

## CHAPTER 6

CHRISTIANITY, CIVILIZATION AND TRIBAL CUSTOMS:  
SIR GEORGE GREY AND THE MISSIONARIES

The American Zulu Mission had up to the middle of the 'fifties been unsuccessful in making any significant penetration into the heathen population and could thus not make any effective future plans. What they desperately required was title to mission land and a fixed group of Zulus amongst whom they could, in a consistent way, carry out their work.

The need for title was recognized by Dr Adams as early as 1839 when he asked the Volksraad of the Republic of Natalia for legal title to land at Umlazi (Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 75). This he obtained without any difficulty but it was only for a smallholding and not the extensive land grant which he regarded as essential.

Between Natal becoming a British colony and 1851, when Pine became Lieutenant Governor, the A.Z.M. continued unsuccessfully to try to obtain legal title to larger tracts of mission land from the Colonial Government. Two delegations were sent to Pine between 1851 and 1852. On the first occasion, Pine's response was that because the missionaries were foreigners he could not allow them title in the colony but he offered them long leases instead. On their second visit he intimated that the A.Z.M. mission lands would be broken up since he had agreed to reduce the size of the locations (as pointed out in Chapter 5), so the Zulus could be placed among the colonists (Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 77). Fortunately for them, Pine had no opportunity to implement his suggestions for subdividing lands as he left Natal in 1855 before he had an opportunity to bring about any radical changes in the A.Z.M. status and land occupation in Natal.

Sir George Grey, the Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner of South Africa 1854-1861, who visited Natal in 1855 after Benjamin Pine, the Lieutenant General, had left, gave a more sympathetic response to the A.Z.M.'s

request for title. Before he came to the Cape, Grey had experienced a long period of colonial service in Australia and New Zealand. Grey was sent to Australia as Governor in 1840 where he was confronted by both a financial and a 'native' problem. His main object "was to familiarize the natives with the practices of civilized peoples by inducing the adults to take some share in regular industry" (Henderson, G.C., 1907, p. 46). The Governor's aspirations of civilizing the natives were dependent on his work with the children (Henderson, G.C., 1907, pp. 46-47). On this aspect of his work in Australia, Grey wrote: "... that no means are more likely ultimately to bring about the civilization of the aborigines than bestowing a useful education on the children, and having them carefully brought up in quiet and respectable European families" (Henderson, G.C., 1907, p. 47).

The natives had by this time practically disappeared from the settled districts of Australia, "leaving the white man in undisputed possession of the more fertile lands which they themselves failed to use to the extent demanded by the world's progress in civilization" (Henderson, G.C., 1907, p. 49). Grey was appointed Lieutenant Governor of New Zealand in 1845. As he moved into his new appointment he declared that:

... his native policy in New Zealand would be to adopt the system of policy regarding the natives as being as much interested as ourselves in putting down disturbances, in fact considering both the Europeans and natives as inhabitants of one country, subject to one Government, whose object it was to promote equally the happiness of both races, and which Europeans and natives had therefore an equal interest in supporting (Henderson, G.C., 1907, p. 107).

He continued: "I could neither successfully govern, nor hope to conciliate a numerous and turbulent people with those language and manners, customs, religion and modes of thought I was quite unacquainted" (Henderson, G.C., 1907, p.

109). He developed plans for the "educational, industrial, and religious improvement" of the Maoris, by subsidizing the schools which were established by Anglican, Wesleyan and Roman Catholic missionaries. Based upon his approach in Australia, "... his highest hopes were for the civilization of the Natives and were centered mainly in the education of the children" (Henderson, 1907, p. 112). He also, however, had "plans for the improvement of the adults, which were part of his scheme for the peaceful settlement of the country" (Henderson G.C., 1907, p. 112). Since the "Maoris were an agricultural people", Grey tried to encourage them to farm more extensively and to apply improved methods. He tried to influence them not to alienate their land but to use their farms for subsistence (Henderson, G.C., 1907, p. 113).

Grey had attempted to get the co-operation of the Maoris in law and order by getting them involved with the administration of justice. "A native police force was organized, and he intended to make use of the more intelligent on juries, and in the most elementary branches of judicial work when they had qualified by attaining sufficient knowledge of English law" (Henderson, G.C., 1907, p. 114). The involvement of the Maoris in judicial work was difficult, however, since there was a big gap between their moral code and that of the English (Henderson, G.C., 1907, p. 114).

In a dispatch from New Zealand in 1852, Grey gave a detailed account of his native policy to the Colonial Secretary in which he made reference to the difficulties experienced by the Colonial Government on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony. He mentioned "that if some such scheme as he had adopted in New Zealand were applied to South Africa the result would be a great saving in the experience of blood and treasure" (Henderson, G.C., 1907, p. 128). Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary, praised Grey for

the success he had achieved in "uplifting" the Maoris in civilization. He expressed the opinion that if the 'Kaffirs' were handled with the same firmness, "they also might have by the time become useful subjects instead of carrying on with us a war of extermination" (Henderson, G.C., 1907, p. 129). The manner in which he handled colonial native policy in New Zealand and Australia must have no doubt influenced the Colonial Office in appointing him in 1854 as Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa.

When he assumed duty at the Cape on 5 December 1854, he immediately outlined his plans for future native policy. For the benefit of the Africans he intended to spread British rule over the tribes, who up to that time were independent and who occupied the land between the Cape Colony and Natal; to build educational institutions for the African child; to begin civil institutions which could cater for their present needs; and by these methods he hoped he could gradually influence the Africans "to civilization and Christianity and thus to change by degrees our at present unconquered apparently irreclaimable foes into friends who may have common interests with ourselves" (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 304). According to Smith, Grey's policy was clearly "to penetrate native areas by a European population and European institutions, to supersede the chiefs as rapidly as possible by European magistrates and bring the African within the European system" (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 304). In contrast, Shepstone's policy had been to set up large areas which were for exclusive African occupation where they could be ruled by their own chiefs, to develop on their own away from European influence "although selecting that which was progressive of Western civilization" (Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 304).

On the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, Grey attempted to bring into operation "the maximum socio-integration of black and white on the frontier" in the hope that the Xhosas could become "'a part of ourselves, with a common faith and common interests, useful servants, consumers of

our goods, contributors to our revenue'" (Davenport, T.R., 1977, p. 101). Grey proposed to settle a number of Europeans in British Kaffraria in order to teach the Xhosa "the Christian religion and the arts of European farming, and give them an understanding of the white man's law" (Davenport, T.R., 1977, p. 101). Grey erred (in Davenport's view) in attempting to apply a similar policy to that which he had implemented in New Zealand where he had ample land available, but which was not the case in British Kaffraria (Davenport, T.R., 1977, p. 101). One of the main tenets of Grey's native policy was gradually to reduce the powers of the Chief, in which approach he had the backing of a Government agent among the Thembu who stated in 1856 that:

... As so many untoward events have happened in our intercourse with these people, and so many clashing interests now exist; and as the Kaffir tribes have now become so thoroughly imbued with hatred to the 'white man', and appear so resolutely determined on his destruction, or to lose their political existence in the struggle, and above all as they have so resolutely and so perseveringly refused to give to the Gospel even an alternative hearing, it seems to me that the sword must first ... break them up as tribes, and destroy their political existence; after which, when thus set free from the shackles by which they are bound, civilization and Christianity will no doubt make rapid progress among them ... (Wilson, M. & Thompson, L., 1975, p. 264).

Grey's native policy was in sharp contrast with Natal's location policy and with Shepstone's policy. The essence of Grey's policy was to give the tribes day-to-day experience and interaction with the "civilized whites". Under these circumstances the missionary societies, such as the A.Z.M., should be scattered among the tribal lands and introduce useful "civilizing" activities to the "native" tribes. Although certain aspects of Grey's policy of assimilation between the African and European were good, C.W. de Kiewet is of the opinion that Grey "abetted and advanced that great and disastrous revolution by which the Europeans were

possessing themselves of native land, turning the former inhabitants into servants, or forcing them into a hideous congestion" (De Kiewet, C.W., 1940, p. 404).

From this brief account of Grey's native policy, it would seem that the A.Z.M. would be likely to receive a more sympathetic response regarding title, than from previous Colonial Governments. The society lost no time in arranging interviews with Grey when he visited Natal in 1855 in his capacity as High Commissioner of Natal.

Daniel Lindley informed the Board in Boston on 16 November 1855 of these interviews which he and his fellow missionaries had had:

We found him a remarkably prompt, straight forward, businessman, and wholly kind in his manner towards us. With reference to the fact that a few little people called us 'foreigners', I remarked during one of our interviews that Americans have the English language and substantially the English laws and literature, and that, when far removed, as we are, from any immediate sympathy with the political questions and interests of our country, we hardly deserved the name of foreigners. He replied, 'Yes, and you omitted to say that we have a common faith, which is the most important of all' (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 306).<sup>1)</sup>

Grey's interest in industry appeared clearly in Lindley's account:

During our conversation, Mr A. Grout said that he had encouraged his people to plant about twelve acres of sugar cane, because he had faith that some way would open by which they would be enabled to turn it to a profitable account (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 306).

Grey replied: "Now you see the way is opening; I am glad to hear you say that you had faith; on that principle I have

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<sup>1)</sup> Compare Pine's reservations about the status of the Americans.

acted a great deal myself, and have never been disappointed" (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 307). Lindley continued that Grey's plans for "schools are now to be tried, and missionaries are to be supported. The Natives are to be enlightened and from ignorant enemies are to be converted into intelligent, Christian friends" (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 307).

The American missionaries brought to Grey's attention their disabilities through no legal control over the mission lands they occupied. They emphasized that "... if anyone, of any colour or character, should step into one of our houses and take possession, we have nothing by which we could show that his right to be there was less than our own" (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 308). The sympathetic attitude Grey showed to the A.Z.M.'s need for land title must be seen in the light of the broader perspective the High Commissioner had for the Africans of South Africa. Grey was not only responsive to the A.Z.M.'s request for land title but also to other methods they proposed to use to civilize the Zulu.

Grey realized that the previous measures taken by the Colonial Government and the colonists towards the Zulu could cause tension and possibly unrest. Grey immediately had a deed drafted which was sanctioned by the Colonial Secretary and put into action officially by an Ordinance No. 5 dated 1856 - "To empower the Lieutenant-Governor to make Grants of land to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and to enable it to hold the same" (cited in Switzer, L.E., 1971, p. 80). The colonial authorities had no hesitation in implementing the policy of setting aside mission reserves in the vicinity of each station occupied by the Board. The size of the mission reserves was from 7 000 to 12 000 acres. Grey also agreed "... within each Reserve, (that) the Board received a legal title to 500 acres, embracing the mission premises, and known as glebes" (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 33). The original grants of mission reserves which were allocated to the part trusteeship of the A.Z.M. are reflected in the following table.

These were in the same areas as the mission station of the A.Z.M. (See map on page 92).

TABLE 2

## A.Z.M. MISSION RESERVE LANDS IN COLONY OF NATAL IN 1856

NAME OF MISSION	SIZE (ACRES)
Umtwalumi	12 922
Inanda	11 500
Mapumulo	8 196
Amanzimtoti	8 077
Infume	7 498
Amahlongwa	6 965
Ifafa	6 209
Umvoti	6 207
Table Mountain	5 623
Umsunduzi	5 595
Esidumbini	5 500
Intafamasi	5 500
TOTAL	89 792

(adapted from Christofersen, A.F., 1967, p. 78).

The Boston Board's gratitude to Grey was shown in a personal letter to him:

In our missions to the heathens of Southern Africa and India, we labor with British Christians as fellow subjects in the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and his co-operation is rendered the more agreeable by the oneness of our origin, language and literature, and by the fact that everywhere under British rule we have enjoyed the same protection from the Governments, which

has been awarded to missionaries from the British Isles (Anderson to Grey, Boston, 20/1/1858, A/3/49).

Once the mission reserves had been surveyed and handed over to the A.Z.M. trustees, they drew up a constitution which served as a guideline or set of principles on which the reserves would be governed and how land allocations would be made. This constitution is given in detail since it provides some insight into later land disputes between the colonists and the A.Z.M. There were five main provisions:

1. The main aim of the Reserves would be to promote Christianity among the Zulu and "to discourage and ultimately eliminate them from all native customs".
2. The Reserves would not be alienated without the approval of the A.Z.M.
3. The Reserves would further be exclusively for use by the Zulu, "and shall be allotted by title to suitable applicants, being Natives".
4. The functioning of the Reserves would be accompanied by the diminution of the powers of the Chiefs and the removal of "heathen rites and ceremonies inconsistent with the Christian religion".
5. As far as education was concerned, the Reserves "shall be so managed as to promote the education of the young, (their) general intelligence, industry and thrift".

(Minutes, March 1899, A/3/49).

The battle to 'obtain title' to mission land was not the only obstacle which confronted the smooth running of the missionary activity of the A.Z.M. There would be a head-on clash between Christianity represented by the A.Z.M. and the traditional tribal customs of the Zulu. This would in turn

affect the educational work of the A.Z.M. The attempt to change the traditional social organization of the Zulu produced a pronounced reaction from them. They became more resistant to the demands the missionaries made on them. Initially, the response by the heathen to the Gospel, as presented by pioneer missionaries such as Adams and A. Grout in the 1840's, was great. At times they reported the presence of large congregations which numbered on occasion 1 000 people. However, this enthusiasm and curiosity decreased radically in the 1850's and the large congregations of earlier years no longer attended the services:

... the Sabbath audiences range from 170 down to 30, and are made up chiefly of those who are regarded as station people; while the latter are despised and persecuted for adhering to the missionaries and their new found faith (Jubilee Volume, 1886, p. 31).

Some indication of the slow growth of the number of converts can be seen from the following table:

TABLE 3  
AMERICAN BOARD MISSION MEMBERSHIP 1850-1858

YEAR	ADMISSIONS	TOTAL CHURCH MEMBERSHIP FROM THE BEGINNING (i.e. 1846)
1850	45	136
1851	50	?
1852	50	166
1853	8	?
1854	11	?
1855	14	?

YEAR	ADMISSIONS	TOTAL CHURCH MEMBERSHIP FROM THE BEGINNING (i.e. 1846)
1856	10	191
1857	?	200
1858	10	186

(compiled from Tabular Views, A/3/48)

It can be seen that in 1858, at the end of eight years' work, only 50 additional members had joined the church. There was, moreover, very little correlation between the number of admissions during each year and the total membership of the church. This is an indication that during this period a number of converts must have either left the church due to disillusionment or were excommunicated (discussed in more detail later in this chapter) for breaking the rules of the Church (Switzer, L.E., 1971, p. 20).

Friction must have existed between two completely different cultures interacting with each other, the one represented by the American missionaries and the other by the traditional tribal customs of the Zulu.

In many cases, this friction occurred over what, in 20th Century terms, might be regarded as comparatively superficial causes. In 19th Century terms, however, these causes were interpreted as symbolic of graver and wider gaps in values. Missionaries' concern over dress (such as loin cloths or naked breasts) has been commented upon by many historians. Concern was also expressed about the Zulu type of housing, which might seem to be an entirely neutral characteristic. A reaction from Pine, however, shows how the low-doored, dark Zulu hut became a symbol of darkness and evil.

They live ... in conical shaped grass huts with a door so low as to oblige a man to crawl into them on his hands and knees. It is a true remark that men are much influenced by the places in which they live, ... the dark dens in which the Kaffirs live foster many of their barbarous and sensual habits (Pine, to Secretary of State, Young, 1951, p. 320).

In subsequent chapters, several examples will occur of missionary hopes that the beehive hut would be replaced by square houses, which in turn had become a symbol of the abandonment of heathen or pagan or immoral customs. Such a change in living patterns would also be useful in that it would include the need to use Western materials, which would have to be purchased, rather than the traditional materials which were freely available from the land.

A typical illustration of a more serious point of friction is represented in a conversation reported by Lewis Grout:

Meeting a company of natives, old and young, one of them advised him thus, 'teacher, white man! We black people do not like the news which you bring as we are black and we like to live in darkness and sin. You trouble us, you oppose our customs, you induce our children to abandon our practices; you break up our kraals and eat up our cattle; you will be the ruin of our tribe. And now we tell you today, if you do not leave, we will leave you and all this religion, and go where the Gospel is not known or heard (Jubilee Papers, 1886, pp. 31-32).

Another statement gives an idea of how some Zulu felt about the life which their Christian countrymen had to follow; and the new or "unnatural" demands which were made upon them:

See what your new religion costs you. You must buy clothes to wear, which are only an impediment to all action, and buy soap to wash them, and thread and needles to patch and mend them. You must be always building upright houses, which are cold and uncomfortable, while our houses are warm ... (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 32).

Sometimes these confrontations with the concepts of Christianity raised some thought-provoking questions. A number of curious Zulu who had attended talks on Scriptural history given by American missionary Aldin Grout, asked him some questions, which proved difficult to answer:

If David was eminently a good man, how should he have had so many and such bitter enemies? What could have given him occasion to complain so much of his enemies?

How can his goodness be reconciled with his prayer for the destruction of his enemies?

His excitement at the thought of triumphing over his enemies? His strong wish to trample them down, and that God would curse them?

How is it that David sometimes speaks so confidently of his righteousness, and boasts of it.

Will infants, dying in infancy be saved?

Is it right to take the life of another in self defence? If God is perfectly good, almighty, and really desires the salvation of all men, why does he allow an enemy to afflict men, lead them into sin, and destroy so many of their souls?

It is said of Abraham that he was both a good and rich man. How or why is it hard for a rich man to enter heaven?

Why was the young rich man in the gospel required to sell and give away all he had, and not keep anything for himself?

In view of the gospel is war ever justifiable?

(A. Grout, Umvoti Station, 1855, cited in Etherington, N., 1978, p. 57).

Another Zulu questioned the relationship between belief and the external evidence of adopting Western norms, when he noted:

... one God presided over black and white but had given each group a different set of commandments, in the following way:

I am a believer. I do not, like others who profess to believe, come to the station, put on clothes, and deceive you by saying I am a Christian when I am not. But I live at my kraal, go without clothing myself for God does not take notice of these things ... God looks at the heart. (Mellen, Umtwalumi Station, 1857, cited by Etherington, N., 1978, p. 57).

One of the American missionaries, James Bryant, was left completely bewildered when he took part in a dialogue, which he subsequently reported to A. Grout:

I asked a man, 'Do you know that you have an undying soul?'

'Yes, my soul tells me I am hungry, and I want you to give me food.'

'You have heard that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners.'

'Yes; I go naked and I wish you would give me a blanket.'

'You have heard that the Bible says, God is angry with the wicked everyday?'

'Just see (point downwards) what a great sore I have on my foot.' (A. Grout, Umvoti Station, 1848, cited in Etherington, N., 1978, p. 57).

The nature of questions and comments such as these clearly indicates that the Zulu were in no way going to accept blindly Christian dogma without being provided with complex insight into the essence of the Christian religion. Etherington comments that "many Africans soon ceased to enter into metaphysical arguments with missionaries and made it abundantly clear that Christian theories about creation, sin, and damnation were supremely irrelevant to their needs" (Etherington, N., 1978, p. 57).

Sufficient evidence was available to show that for the American missionaries to be successful among the Zulu, they had to follow a difficult and compromising road between the complex metaphysical concepts of Christianity and the traditional tribal customs. During the 1860's there was a growing conflict between the A.Z.M. and the Zulu converts regarding traditional tribal customs such as polygamy and labola. Switzer noted that "there was a continual process of adaptation between various traditional customs and taboos and the Western Christian culture being introduced by the missionaries" (cited by Switzer, L.E., 1971, p. 21).

For the purpose of this study, two major (polygamy and lobola) Zulu customs will be isolated. The term 'Ukulabola' was a traditional Zulu custom "in which the bride's family receive a gift of cattle from the bridegroom's family as part of the marriage contract" (Switzer, L.E., 1971, p. 29). Polygamy was a tradition in the Zulu society in which a man should marry more than one wife. More details concerning labola and polygamy will be discussed later in this chapter.

Conflicts came into the open when the Zulu converts were no longer confined to the protected environment of the mission station. Thus "intermingling with the newcomers, the Africans learned that Christianity had an infinite variety of practices and policies" (Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 107). The Kolwa (Christian Zulu) "discovered that many of the customs which the non-christian practised did not seem as sinful to them as the missionaries had warned" (Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 168). There were, moreover, divergent views amongst the pioneering missionaries (Lindley and Grout) and those who arrived in the 1840's and later, concerning what attitude the A.Z.M. should adopt towards polygamy and, in particular, lobola. The opinions of some of the missionaries were so extreme that they felt that only those Zulus who rejected the traditional customs in their entirety could retain their membership of the Church:

The polygamy of this people, with all its soul-polluting and soul-destroying fruits; their idolatry without idols, or their worship of the shades of the departed and their attachment to a thousand lying varieties; the superstitious observance of numberless customs and traditions of a foolish and debasing character, and their belief in witchcraft, are the four pillars on which their whole system of error and iniquity rests (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 32).

Switzer suggests that this statement which was made in the 1850's seems to indicate that "the missionaries were unable to exactly pinpoint what was to be abolished and what

methods were to be used in breaking down the tribal system" (Switzer, L.E., 1971, p. 29).

In the accounts given by the earlier missionaries, such as Lindley and Grout, not much opposition is given to the practice of the Zulu custom of labola. However, their attitude to polygamy was different. Bishop Colenso, a prominent Anglican missionary of the day, encouraged "some tolerance of polygamy and the reception of polygamists into the Church". However, "the American missionaries have set their faces resolutely against polygamy in any form" (Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 366). L. Grout wrote a pamphlet in which he criticized the support Colenso had given to polygamy in his mission church. Grout argued "that (the) commercial, compulsory elements enter very largely into the polygamy system . . . ., and so go to make it a most bitter thing for the family (Grout, L., 1861, p. 167). Two examples are given in which American missionaries sought advice from the Secretary of Native Affairs, Shepstone, on how to handle instances of the practising of "heathen" customs by members of their congregations.

In 1864, the missionary in charge of the mission at Umtwalumi wrote to Shepstone complaining "that some of the natives who have become owners of land have left the station and returned to heathen customs, but still legally and in fact retain possession of the land granted to them". The missionary wanted Shepstone to formulate some regulation whereby any Christian native who returned to heathen customs would be forced to relinquish his ownership of the land. There is no evidence whether such a regulation was implemented (letter from Umtwalumi to Shepstone 30/11/1864, A/3/49).

Another example of an American missionary who wanted to penalize two young Christian men who had become polygamists by coercing them to leave the mission station, was reported from Umvoti Station 1871. The missionary wanted to know from Shepstone if "a member of the station who become a polygamist be allowed to continue his residence on the station?"

He reported that:

... two young men who connected themselves with the station while young boys, who have been taught in the schools, one of whom became a member of the church, both were married by Mr. Grout according to Christian rites, the wives of both were members of the church; both obtain land, rural allotments and building sites in the village, have built upright houses, planted a little sugar cane, etc. Since Mr. Grout left they have each taken a second wife (letter from Umvoti to Shepstone, 4/7/1871, A/3/49).

These cases clearly indicate the missionaries' dilemma about implementing rigid regulations against traditional tribal customs. Lindley, for example, found much in its favour. It "has been on the whole, a great blessing to the people. If today one word from my mouth would instantly annihilate the custom, I would not spread that word" (cited in Christofersen, A.F., 1967, p. 39). On another occasion he claimed that it lay "at the foundation of the structure of native society here and has been productive of a world of good. By means of this custom families which intermarry are bound together in a closer firmer bond than otherwise would be, and the girl married, her children and her children's children are benefitted by it (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 29).

Mrs Katie Lloyd, widower of one of the American missionaries, wrote to the Board (apparently in 1865):

We as a mission have tried too much to make Americans of our Zulus and not enough to make Christians of them. Very many things they gave up when they became Christians are making them more like our own Nation, not affecting their Christianity in the least (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 395).

She argued further that "it would be well if white women's fathers had power to aid them that a Zulu father has, when I remember suffering and ill-treated wives in New York". The

Kolwa, she commented, "have many better laws and customs than ours, white and civilized as we are ..." (Smith, E.W., 1949, pp. 396-397).

Christofersen noted "that the missionaries in the field were very worried lest the African Christians would depart from morality" (Christofersen, A., 1967, p. 61). He continued that from the 1850's some missionaries showed their opposition to ukulobola, basing their arguments on the premise that they considered it as a means of buying wives and saw it as an abnormal form of slavery (Christofersen, A., 1967, p. 61).

Etherington claimed that lobola "created relationships and bonds of mutual obligation that were at once more complex and more binding than those embodied in European marriage contracts". One great difficulty, however, was that most missionaries saw it merely as a "purchase" (Etherington, N., 1975, p. 63). Lindley commented in 1866 to Dr Clark, Secretary of the Board, on the attitude of some of his colleagues to uku-lobola:

We have in our mission good men, and to me beloved brethren, who are radical purists, whose minds are not satisfied by anything short of perfection. The fault may be mine, but I cannot always see as they see (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 393).

Because of this dissension among the missionaries, the Board was requested in 1868 to give a ruling on the matter. The Secretary of the Board, Clark, replied giving insight into the Board's philosophy on the customs of indigenous people and showed both flexibility and modernity:

The proper work of the missionaries ... is to introduce the new divine life, not the forms it shall assume ... A morality enforced upon unwilling minds is of little value ... Your work is not to make American but Zulu Christians ... The great thing is to bring men to Christ, not to change their social customs, their natural usages, or to lead them to adopt all the practices of civilized nations in their domestic life ... If the native Christians are, almost without exception, in

favour of retaining the custom, how is discipline to be effected? By whose authority? As missionaries, your relations to the native churches are only temporary. Your work is to plant the institutions of the Gospel and then leave them to native hands. As fast as churches are truly constituted, pastors set over them, you have no control, no authority over them. You will of course be looked up to for council; but you will have no authority (Boston to A.Z.M., 2/6/1868, A/2/16).

The opinion of the pioneer missionaries Grout and Lindley, together with the warning of Clark (Secretary of the Board), influenced temporarily the approach of those missionaries who were opposed to all traditional customs (Switzer, L.E., 1971, p. 30). However, in 1874, the A.Z.M. conference could gather enough votes for a resolution that all Zulu converts who received cattle for marriage would be disallowed church membership. This was possible because Lindley had retired in 1870, and Aldin Grout had already returned to America (Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 30). The passing of the resolution did not prevent the practising of lobola among some of the Zulu converts, however, and the campaign against the practising of the traditional customs intensified:

... excommunications became very common, and there was a new spirit of stifling opposition ... At least one missionary arrived at a new station and promptly excommunicated the entire church, receiving them back one at a time when they learned what he wanted (cited in Switzer, L.E., 1971, p. 33 and Christofersen, A., 1967, p. 67).

In June 1879 the missionaries of the A.Z.M. took a firm stand when they met for their annual meeting at Umsunduzi Station and drew the "Umsunduze Rules" which appeared in the books of the mission. Many of these were rigidly applied while others were neglected until the 1880's. Because of the impact it had on the work of the mission, these "rules" are given in full:

1. No one who is a polygamist shall be received into any of the churches connected with the American Zulu Mission, and no one who shall become a polygamist after his or her admission to the church shall be allowed to remain in the same.  
 Remark -- Any man living with more than one wife, or any woman living with a man who is the husband of more than one wife, shall be regarded as a polygamist.
2. No member of any of the churches connected with the American Zulu Mission shall be allowed to lobolisa (verb form of lobola).  
 Remark 1 -- The demanding of cattle or money or goods of any kind, for a daughter or sister or any other female friend, as a condition of marriage, shall be regarded as nkulobolisa (lobola).  
 Remark 2 -- The calling of cattle or money or goods of any kind by the mother of the girl or one standing in place of her mother shall be regarded as Ukulobolisa.
3. In no church connected with the American Zulu Mission shall a man, who is a widower, be allowed to live with any woman, as his wife, before he has been formally married to her; and no woman who is a widow shall be allowed to live with any man as her husband, before she has been formally married to him, in a Christian way.
4. No member of any of the churches connected with the American Zulu Mission shall be allowed to participate in, or encourage in anyway the making of, beer drinks.  
 Remark 1 -- The calling of a party to drink beer, or the attending a party where beer is drunk, or the furnishing of beer for such a party, shall be regarded as a violation of the above rule.  
 Remark 2 -- Wedding parties are no exception to the rule.
5. No member of any of the churches connected with the American Zulu Mission shall be allowed to use, as a beverage, any intoxicating drinks whatsoever.
6. No member of any of the churches connected with the American Zulu Mission shall be allowed at any time to smoke the intsangu (marijuana or wild hemp). (Minutes of A.Z.M., 1879, Umzunduze, A/1/7)

In this chapter it has been shown that the A.Z.M. remained rigid in its stand against the practising of their customs by the Zulu converts even when it seemed that they could face revolts from their followers. Initially, when the missionaries were firmly in control, "the A.Z.M. was willing to abide by the institutions of Congregationalism and rule by informal segmentary organization" of the comparative independence of each congregation (Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 120). However, when the Zulu mission church members began to bring pressure on the authority of the missionary, the A.Z.M. was firmly of the opinion that "even if the spirit of God is in them they were not capable of judging for themselves". The American Zulu Mission, therefore, "abandoned the Congregational system and resorted to centralized, formal control in order to keep the power in their own hands" (Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 120).

Although there were differences between the A.Z.M. and the Zulu converts, a small but distinct Christian community gradually developed in the glebes and part of the mission reserves where the A.Z.M. was actively busy with its missionary activities.

At the start of this chapter, the A.Z.M. still did not have legal title to mission land and thus they did not have any firm basis from which to operate. The refusal of successive colonial governments to grant title gave the A.Z.M. no sense of permanency in the colony of Natal. Although they did not make the progress they wanted to, they were in no way discouraged. An accumulation of circumstances, including the fact that after more than fifteen years in the mission field they were able to convert so few heathen to Christianity, seemed to make them even more determined to continue their work. They were fortunate that Sir George Grey found a situation in the colony of Natal in which the American missionaries could be used in order to further his plans for colonial expansionism and control of tribesmen through Western European influences rather than through British military forces.. Grey saw the missionaries not as

foreigners but as bearers of Western civilization who could play an effective role in controlling the Zulus. He was instrumental in giving the A.Z.M. title to their mission land, as he felt that previous Colonial governments had erred in not doing this.

As the A.Z.M. had waited so long to obtain title to mission lands and access to mission reserves, it is to be questioned whether it was a wise strategy to formulate such stringent conditions before the Zulu could be allowed to enter or remain on the mission reserves. To expect the Zulus to leave their customs, rites and ceremonies and be converted to Christianity in such a short time was not feasible. In any case the A.Z.M. did not have the manpower to implement the regulations they had drawn up.

After the issue of title was solved the A.Z.M. could undertake their missionary activities uninterrupted among the Zulus. The real problem was that the clash between two totally divergent cultures was bound to take place and it was destined to affect the missionary work. In the late 1840's and 1850's a number of new missionaries had arrived in the colony from America. Full of zest and will to Christianize and preach the Gospel, they unfortunately did not take time to acquaint themselves with the full implications of the tribal customs, rites and ceremonies of the Zulu.

The initial curiosity of the Zulu about what missionaries preached produced large congregations in the early days. For the Zulu with their own tradition and customs it was difficult to assimilate the principles of the Christian Gospel in the manner in which it was presented by the missionaries. It seemed that the process of Christianization would take much longer than many missionaries had hoped. The pioneering missionaries (Lindley and Grout), who had arrived in the colony in 1835, had been exposed to the Zulu customs for a longer period than the other missionaries and had greater insight into the Zulu way of life. They had no difficulty in accepting into the churches the Zulus who

practiced lobola. There is no doubt that the "newer" missionaries believed that they were the representatives of a dominant culture. They made no attempt to work out a middle-of-the-road solution in which both sides were prepared to come to some compromise and in which both cultures could have a place in the Christian philosophy.

The younger missionaries succeeded in 1879 in having a set of stringent rules drawn up which made the practising of all traditional customs taboo for the Kolwa. This led to many prominent Kolwa being excommunicated from the church and it made a compromise between the two cultures impossible. It might have been easier to develop Christian communities if a partnership could have been created between Western civilization representing Christianity and tribal customs.

The educational work of the A.Z.M. would also be influenced by this rigid stand on tribal customs. Any schools erected on mission stations might be viewed with suspicion and doubt by many Zulu who might otherwise be keenly interested in the education offered by the missionaries. The response to the missionaries' ideas about appropriate schooling became more unpredictable as varying purposes of schooling were debated and experimented with. Literacy, religious and vocational education were all considered. In one instance, however, Lindley expressed doubt about some of the plans Grey envisaged for the Zulus, such as the building of industrial schools, although when he was a member of the 1846 Commission, he had agreed with the proposal that "model mechanical schools" should be built in all the locations. On another occasion, he questioned any possibility of general educational advance to civilization in a letter to the Secretary of the Board, Rufus Anderson, written in 1856:

The great majority of the heathen of this country would as soon consent to send their cattle as their children to school. In Africans the elements of improvement are, it seems to me, fewer and feebler than in any portion of mankind. Their degradation is unfathomable - it has no bottom.

But Christ died for them. His love, too, is unfathomable - this is enough to know (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 308).

Having examined the attitude of the American missionaries towards the customs of the Zulu, it is important now to see how they would approach their work of education under the circumstances which they themselves had created.

## CHAPTER 7

PERPETUATING THE MISSION : THE PROBLEMS OF  
TRAINING TEACHERS AND PREACHERS

This chapter will consider the growth in numbers of A.Z.M. schools, the curriculum and the availability of books; the start and early closure of the first seminary to train teachers; the stimulus to the A.Z.M. work offered by small numbers of black preachers; the reopening of the teachers training seminary and some problems of the training and use of black preachers.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, the A.Z.M. obtained title to mission land with the assistance of Grey. He was influenced in his decision by the desire to get the American missionaries involved in the process of civilizing and christianizing the Zulus. In order to reach these goals the A.Z.M. would have to provide schools, teachers and preachers.

One perspective on how the American missionaries would approach this challenge in their missionary work among the Zulus can be obtained by tracing the development and growth of schools, the number of scholars in them and the effect these schools had on the Zulus. In the general letter of the A.Z.M. to Boston of 13 June 1853, the progress of the missionary activities of the mission, particularly in the field of education and civilization is given. "The natives living at our stations have made sensible progress in civilization. Several have procured carts and are industrially and profitably employed with them." Specific mention of new house-building methods was made: "Several new dwelling houses have been built for themselves by the Christian natives in English style - some of burned bricks. More and better clothing is worn by church members, and better furniture is in their houses" (General Letter, 13/6/1853, A/3/46).

The A.Z.M. continued to report on progress in the external trappings of civilization. By 1860 they could claim that: "The rapidly advancing civilization, the improvement in the manner of cultivating the ground, the increasing number of foreign implements of labor, the upright houses erected filled with more and better articles of furniture - the gradual change of native customs", were to be found among the Kolwa (A.Z.M. to Boston, May 1860, A/3/38). In short, "The station people are every year, improving. They are gaining in intelligence, they wear more and better articles of clothing, and are assuming, more and more the appearance of civilized men and women" (A.Z.M. to Boston, May 1860, A/3/38).

In the 1850's and 1860's the missionaries' activities were centred around churches and schools. Although the missionaries established the first schools in their homes, they later built separate primary schools on all of their mission stations. The enrolment, both in the schools and churches, of the Kolwa grew so rapidly that it was soon impossible, with the limited resources of the mission, to run them effectively (Switzer, L.E., 1971, p. 23). From a practical point of view they were forced to make use of the manpower of their Zulu converts.

Progress was claimed in schooling as well. "Sabbath schools are sustained at all our stations. While at the newer stations none but those who are employed in the mission families attend, at the older stations the attendance is from 50 to 60. Day schools are conducted at all the existing mission stations." However, "None of the heathen send their children and, except for those living on the stations, none but those who work for us are instructed in reading" (General Letter, 13/6/1853, A/3/46).

The increased desire of the Zulu for education continued, as can be seen in an extract from a General Letter to the Board in Boston in 1862:

At some of our stations the number of children attending our schools from heathen kraals has been

larger than in former years, giving evidence that the tide is beginning to ebb even among those who have hitherto loved the darkness rather than the light. It is not so unpopular now for a heathen to read as it once was, when the idea generally prevailed that to know how to read was to be a believer, and to be believer was the worst thing that could befall a man (cited in General Letter, A.Z.M., 1862, A/3/38).

The Christian communities in the vicinity of the A.Z.M. stations reacted favourably to the increased attention the Zulu mission was giving to education. In a report to the Prudential Committee in May 1860, a reference was made to the work of "native teachers":

At five of the stations day schools conducted by native teachers have been sustained and in these an increasing interest is manifested. The station people are perceiving more and more the importance of having their children receive a religious education, and are beginning to show a willingness to aid in supporting teachers for their schools. At two or three of the stations the natives have contributed for this purpose while at Amanzimtoti the native teachers have been wholly supported by the station people during the past year (A.Z.M. to Boston, 3/6/1860, A/3/39).

By 1861, recognizing that converts were "very desirous to have their children instructed," it was suggested that parents should make a contribution to the cost of schooling. This, it was claimed, "met with success" (A.Z.M. to Boston, 29/5/1861, A/3/39). This was confirmed in the 1886 retrospective reports, which recalled that by the 1860's the early converts "had now children of their own, whom they wished to see educated, and strange to say, were willing to pay for it" (Jubilee Paper, 1886, p. 36).

By the end of 1863, eleven schools existed, one at each station, with a total number of 306 pupils. The breakdown of the number of church members, the average number attending the church, and the number of pupils attending the mission schools for that year is given in the following table:

TABLE 4  
AMERICAN ZULU MISSION ACTIVITY UP TO 1864

STATIONS	SABBATH CONGREGATIONS	PUPILS	CHURCH MEMBERS
Mapumulo	40	12	7
Umvoti	248	62	12
Esidumbini	50	18	5
Umsunduzi	50	12	12
Inanda	140	39	54
Amanzimtoti	130	54	55
Ifumi	65	29	37
Amahlongwa	38	14	4
Ifafa	39	8	4
Umtwalumi	85	33	15
Umzumbi	50	25	-
TOTAL	935	306	205

(Ireland, W., 1864, p. 22).

It was shown in Table 3 in the previous chapter that full Church membership in 1858 was confined to a very small number of Zulu. This table also reflects that the slow rate of conversion was still being maintained.

The picture for schooling was more optimistic. The mission report for 1864 mentioned "that the people, not only at, but around the stations, are waking up, as never before, to the need and value of education" (Annual Report, 1864, A/3/41). It should be noted that it was only in 1865 that a system of grants-in-aid was instituted by the Natal Government for the mission schools. In other words, up to

that time, the cost of education had to be found almost exclusively by the Zulu parents.

Two examples of the cost and organization implied in the creation of schools can be given from the Mission's Report for the year 1864. A mission school had been established at Umvoti "with sixty-seven scholars, taught by a respectable Colonist, whose salary was £75 per annum; all paid by the parents of the pupils". In the same year, "the school at Amanzimtoti had fifty scholars, and was run by a worthy young man. The annual expense of this school was about £50 of which the parents paid £45" (Annual Report, 1864, A/3/41). It was recognized that this was a comparatively new development in Natal, for the Report continued,

Heretofore we have found one of our greatest discouragements, not merely in the apathy of the heathen around us in regard to instruction, but to their decided unwillingness to receive it in our schools or elsewhere ... (Now) a great and happy change has taken place in the minds of many ... We are seeing and enjoying an intellectual revival, and have strong faith that this will, in due time, be followed by one of a spiritual character" (Annual Report of A.Z.M., 1864, A/3/41).

Boston was asked to be aware of two further implications of this growing interest. The first concerned the advantages of those who had had some education: "We suppose the great superiority of most of our converts over the un-instructed is beginning to make the latter feel that they must advance or be left shamefully behind". If this awareness continued to grow, it was clear that there would be ever-increasing demands upon the provision of school places.

This, in turn, would exacerbate a problem already present: "At ... (some) stations the people are doing more than ever towards the support of schools, ... and still more would be done if suitable teachers could be obtained for such salaries as the people are able to pay" (Annual Report, 1864, A/3/41). In the Report, Grout felt that he could sum up progress in the year 1864 with some optimism:

The members require watching, and at times discipline; but, all things considered, I think the evidence of a saving change wrought in their hearts is as satisfactory and conclusive as we find in civilized countries (Annual Report, 1864, A/3/41).

From the Annual Report of two years later, it is possible to deduce some details of the curriculum:

Our day schools (are) ... of great importance and ... on the whole they are in a more efficient and satisfactory condition than they have ever been here to fore ... The progress which these pupils have made in reading and writing their own language is very encouraging. A few have made considerable progress in reading and writing English - understand the outlines of Geography and the primary rules of Arithmetic. The schools are not maintained by the Board but are sustained by local contributions and by grants in aid from the Colonial Government" (Annual Report, 1866, 28/5/1866, A/3/41).

The initial exposure to literacy in Zulu, with only a few progressing in reading in English, presupposed reading material in Zulu. It will be recalled that some pioneering work in Zulu translation was described in Chapter 3, with special mention being made of the work of Champion. In 1865, Ireland recalled the urgency of work in mastering the language and translation. One of the first duties of the American missionaries "was the work of reducing the language to a written form" and as time allowed, attention was given in translating the Scriptures and preparing educational and other religious material into Zulu (Ireland, 1865, A/3/38).

As early as 1853 it was reported that "two books called the 'African Servant' translated by Mr Tyler and a small spelling book of sixty pages prepared by Mr Wilder have been published since our last annual meeting. Several books and translations are in course of preparation for the press which will be published as soon as ready, or the wants of the people demand" (General Letter, 13/6/1853, A/3/46). In 1864, it was calculated that "more than three millions of

pages have been printed and published in the language, under the direction of the mission". The published material included "Genesis and the Psalms, together with more than two thirds of the New Testament" as well as "an Arithmetic, Geography, Spelling book, Catechism ... for the use of schools; a Hymn book containing more than one hundred and fifty hymns, a translation of the 'Tract Primer', the 'Daily Food' and several tracts" (Ireland, W., 1864, p. 23, A/3/38).

A major contribution had been made in 1857 by Rev J.L. Dohne when he published a Zulu Kaffir Dictionary, "a volume of 459 pages octavo, double columned with more than ten thousand entries, all explained and used in sentences" (Ireland, W., 1865, p. 23, A/3/38). Three years later in 1860, Grout had "during the past year by the assistance of the English Government, and private subscriptions completed and published a new and valuable Grammar of the Zulu language, which will be of great aid to translators and to new missionaries" (A.Z.M. to Boston, May, 1860, A/3/39).

This progress had been made despite very serious doubts which had been expressed by Boston in a letter in 1852 about the costs of the mission's printing press. The belief was that printing presses should be located on mission stations only if printing could not be done elsewhere. Several American Board presses in the Near East, Bombay, Madras, Canton and the Sandwich Islands had either been closed or their futures were in question. Although presses could provide employment, the costs were likely to outweigh that advantage. Not even the need for the printer to know the indigenous language well was an appropriate argument, as Boston had found with its printing in a Red Indian language. Natal was, however, eventually allowed to keep its press (Boston to A.Z.M., 16/3/1852, A/2/16).

It is apparent therefore that by 1865, when small Government grants for schools began to be given, materials and books were available for at least elementary schooling purposes. What was lacking was a steady supply of teachers. Although the missionaries, particularly Adams, his wife and Champion, had served as teachers in the day and Sabbath schools during the early years of the A.Z.M. in Natal, the establishment of more day schools made it impossible for the later missionaries to act as teachers in all the schools on the mission stations (Christofersen, A.F., 1950, p. 39). From the onset of its work among the Zulus, the American Board had anticipated the development of a "native agency", which was expected to train Zulu converts to assist the missionaries and gradually take over the leadership of the churches. This was not put into practice during the early years of the mission, although the instructions given to the pioneer missionaries by the Board included their need to assess "the measures to be adopted to raise up native assistants in sufficient numbers for the mission, and the whole subject of schools, boarding schools, and high schools" (Instruction of Prudential Committee to A.Z.M., 22/11/1834, A/2/16). This idea was repeated again and again in the first years of American Board work in Natal and was particularly stressed by Rufus Anderson, the Secretary of the Board, in a very explicit statement in 1836:

Heathen nations must be rendered independent of Christiandom for their religious teachers as soon as possible. In no other way can this be done, than by endeavouring to raise up men in every place ... who may be ordained as pastors of the churches (Annual Report of Board, 1836, cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 134).

This need was repeated in a letter written in 1840 by Anderson to A.Z.M.: "I do not believe in the ultimate success of any scheme of mission, in which this (the training of native assistants) is not an important feature" (cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 134). In 1856, Anderson propounded

the philosophy which would serve as the basis of all the Board's foreign missions. He felt that the missionary "was to be an evangelist who gathered people into churches. He should not become their Pastor, except perhaps temporarily". The missionary should rather "raise up others to take this charge and burden" (Anderson, R., Boston, 1856, p. 15, cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 135).

Three years before this, the Natal missionaries had described the work of their five "native helpers" who had been recruited in the past year.

These have held station services at outstations on the sabbath. We feel very much the need of many and more efficient native assistants. But very few are qualified and few are willing to devote their time and talents to preaching the gospel to their heathen countrymen. The few we have employed are as efficient as could (be) expected considering the advantage they have had and we hope they are doing good" (General Letter, 13/6/1853, A/3/46).

Yet, when the Natal missionaries raised the matter of creating a seminary, Boston became hesitant. It felt that its hesitancy was justified because "the money, labor and time spent on (it was) out of proportion with their results" (Dinnerstein, M., 1971, pp. 137-138). They added that "past experience had made us averse to entering upon the expenditure for such an institution, until you should know, as a mission, what kind of an institution you need to have, and can describe it to us, and give an estimate of the building and outlay it will require" (letter Boston to A.Z.M., 16/3/1852, A/2/16).

The early optimism about the "native helpers" expressed by the A.Z.M. did not continue. In describing the history of the Seminary in the 1886 Jubilee Papers, the Natal missionaries recalled that the:

Zulu Christians, even the most stable among them, had not yet sufficiently grown out of their old habits of thought and mode of life to be entrusted with the grave responsibilities ... and that, however promising they might appear while they had

a missionary near to council and guide them, they might falter, if not fall, if left without such moral support (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 40).

Switzer (1971) records that Rufus Anderson,<sup>1)</sup> Benjamin Hawes and James Dube (whose contributions are further described later in this chapter) did not last long as "native pastors". In 1877 Rufus Anderson was excommunicated from the Church as a result of being found guilty of committing adultery; Benjamin Hawes was for a time relieved of his religious duties as a result of "insubordination"; and James Dube "died within a few years after they were ordained and (was) not replaced". The situation became so critical that by as late as 1878, the A.Z.M. only had one ordained Zulu pastor operating in its mission field (Switzer, 1971, p. 30).

Despite Boston's doubts and its demand for detailed planning, the Natal missionaries were given permission to set up the seminary "where your more promising young men of piety can be advantageously trained for different departments of mission service" (Letter, Boston to A.Z.M., 16/3/1852, A/2/16). The seminary's work commenced in 1853 at Amanzimtoti under the sole charge of the Station Missionary, Rood. In the first year only nine pupils were admitted, and by the fourth year of its existence the number of pupils had risen only to twenty-five (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 31). The seminary students were mainly grown men with families and thus they moved onto the mission with their wives and children. The institution was called a "high school", although "the curriculum consisted primarily of an elementary introduction in reading, writing, geography and arithmetic" as well as a daily lesson in Bible history. It can be seen that such a curriculum was more suited to the preparation of a teacher than that of a preacher. Every pupil had to devote

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<sup>1)</sup> Switzer stresses the fact "that many of these pastors adopted European names suggests that these Christians were already beginning to construct an identity of their own within the confines of missionary culture" (Switzer, L.E., 1971, p. 24).

a few hours to manual labour on a daily basis in order to cover expenses for food. The treasury of the mission covered the other expenditure, which included books and clothing (Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 138).

Considering the nature of the curriculum and what the Board and the A.Z.M. mission wanted to achieve with the seminary, it was difficult to see how it could be successful if it was left to be run by one man. Thus it was not surprising when Rood had to give up the work (which he carried out from 1853-1855) because of ill-health. As a result of this, "the seminary was operated, for eighteen months, by Messrs. Wilder and Mellen at Umtwalumi, and again in 1858-9 it was operated at Esidumbini by Mr. Tyler". The work of the seminary was however continuous despite changes in locality. In 1859, however, it was closed, although it was hoped that this would be merely temporary. In May 1860 the A.Z.M. reported on the continued closure of the seminary:

We should be happy, could we announce at this time the reopening of the Seminary; but ill-health on the part of Bro. Rood and McKinney<sup>1)</sup>, and the difficulty of procuring a suitable native assistant have compelled the mission to continue the suspension. Thus for want of men the aid of this auxiliary is lost and a number of young men who we hoped would ultimately become native teachers or preachers have gone into other employment and their influence for good greatly diminished or entirely lost (A.Z.M. to Boston, May 1860, A/3/38).

A significant aspect of the missionaries' endeavour among the Zulu had failed with the closing of the seminary. The Zulu converts had clearly shown interest in the seminary to the extent that they were willing to leave their occupations and those who were married were prepared to move in with their families, but this interest in itself could not keep the seminary going. Some of the Zulu converts who

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<sup>1)</sup> McKinney was an American missionary who worked first at Amahlongwa in 1848.

were the earliest leaders in the Church, "James Dube, Rufus Anderson, Benjamin Hawes and John Hlonono received training at the abortive seminary, and showed an amazing determination to receive an education against discouraging odds" (Wilder to Clark, 17/1/1872, cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 140). Such men were used in the outer stations which otherwise would not have been served at all, while the Americans remained at the more populous and active mission stations (Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 143). Dinnerstein, nevertheless, points out that "the new roles given the Africans were thought of as temporary until more missionaries came from America".

The seminary's closure, in other words, forced the immediate future planning to be based upon a supply of white expatriates rather than a flow of native workers. The missionaries themselves sometimes doubted the potential of black teachers and preachers even if they had been able to be trained. Switzer comments that a number of reasons existed why the very first attempts by the A.Z.M. to initiate independent Zulu pastors ended in failure. Many of the native pastors were placed in charge of mission churches which had been abandoned by the A.Z.M. due to lack of missionaries. Therefore, these pastors were left to work on their own with only a "narrow theological education" and with no "training in administration, supervision of out-stations and lay preaching, Sunday Schools, counselling and all the other duties expected of an ordained minister" (Switzer, 1971, p. 31). Dinnerstein notes that: "The question of whether the Africans could ever assume permanent roles of leadership was rarely considered, when it was, it was quietly dismissed" (Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 143). An example is given of a Zulu convert by the name of Umsinganpansi who took the place of an American missionary at Ifumi. A. Grout, a senior missionary of the A.Z.M., praised him for his work but questioned whether there would be any permanence in his appointment by asking: "Would he do it, is he equal to it, would people accept him?" (A. Grout

to Clark, Umvoti, 17/2/1829, cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 141). It should be noted that Grout felt he needed to ask these questions four years after the seminary had been reopened.

Such doubts as those expressed by Grout had been partly answered by a development in 1860. In that year some Zulu converts of the A.Z.M. assumed certain church responsibilities in the Christian community when they established their own Homes Missionary Society which "originally was composed entirely of Zulus who were allowed a great deal of freedom in the management of the Society. They collected money from the churches, employed and paid their own missionaries" (Switzer, L.E., 1971, p. 24). The native society had initiated their first project in 1860 by collecting the sum of £30 to sponsor a missionary (Umbiyana) from among themselves to set up a mission station in an area which was "in a thickly settled, though wild and almost inaccessible region" but which was not far from Esidumbini which was the mission station of Mr Tyler (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 36). Contrary to expectations, the people in the surrounding area "received him kindly, gave good attendance on the Sabbath, and sent their children to him to be taught to read, and he soon seemed to win their confidence and esteem" (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 35).

At a meeting of the "Native Society" held at Amanzimtoti in June 1862, it was decided to accept Benjamin Hawes "who was for a long time the efficient teacher of the Umvoti School", and a product of the abortive seminary, as the second missionary of the Society. The sum of £58 was collected at this meeting towards the funds of the Society and in 1863 it could be reported that the sum of £100 had been raised for that year to assist the work of the Society. By the end of 1865 the Society had achieved the objective of having three missionaries under its jurisdiction and paying

each one the sum of £36 a year completely independent of the funds of the A.Z.M. So successful was this work of the Society that in 1864 a committee of the A.Z.M. agreed to grant to Umbiyana and Benjamin Hawes "a formal lease to preach the Gospel" (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 35). In 1865 a memorable occasion was celebrated at Inhlumbiti, Umbiyana's station, when a church with a membership of ten was organized and formally recognized by the A.Z.M. Rev Tyler described part of what must have been a moving service:

Nothing seemed to mar the interest or solemnity of the occasion. The day was fine, the audience large, and as we partook of the emblems of the Saviour's love in the open air, in that wild and almost inaccessible locality, shut in by high mountains, we felt that God was with us, and that angels were performing over the scene. We thought too of our sainted brother M. Marsh, who less than twenty years ago found Umbiyana, a careless heathen boy, instructed him, brought him to the Saviour, and first administered to him his ordi- nate, and we felt that if he was looking down upon us from his heavenly home, he also rejoiced, with a joy finer and more exalted than ours (cited in Jubilee Papers, 1886, pp. 35-36).

It will be remembered however, that Hawes was removed from his duties in 1877 for 'insubordination'. This difficulty had clearly been forgiven (or forgotten) by the time of the 1886 Jubilee. In the General Letter of the A.Z.M. to Boston of 1862, the work of Umbiyana and the Home Missionary Society was viewed optimistically and was used as an argument for the reopening of the seminary:

We regard the case of this young preacher ... with the society which supports him, with peculiar interest, as the beginning of a new era in African missions in modern times. It is certainly an indication that important steps have been taken by this people ... They would cheerfully support more if suitable persons could be found to offer themselves. One of the great wants now is a school where young men can be educated with special reference to the work of the ministry and teaching (General Letter, A.Z.M., 1862, A/3/39).

Dinnerstein is of the opinion that the formation of the Homes Missionary Society was an indication of the willingness of the Zulu convert to take up a leadership position. They "gained experience in organizing and conducting their own affairs within the framework of a Westernized institution. Such activities ... reinforced the Africans' confidence and convinced them that they could manage on their own" (Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 149).

The success of the Home Society must have positively influenced plans for the re-establishment of the seminary. Much letter-writing and discussion occurred in 1864. The clear growth in demand for teachers by the Zulu and their willingness to raise their own funds caused Boston to begin to put pressure on the Natal missionaries to think again about reopening the seminary. In 1864, Anderson wrote:

It is believed, in view of this state of things, there will soon be many more calls for instruction than can be met; suitable teachers will be wanting, and the Mission feels the importance of recommencing a High School or Seminary for the training of such at an early day (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 36).

Dinnerstein (1971, p. 149) cites a plea from Missionary Wilder to Anderson for some form of teacher training in a letter written to America in November 1864. Anderson noted however, in his December letter that the Board had recognized "some diversity of opinion with regard to the proposed institution. One of the older members of your mission think there has not yet been sufficient elementary training in day schools, as a preliminary measure. He objects, too, to the entire support of the pupils, when their parents are able and might be induced to support them in part" (Anderson to A.Z.M., 24/12/1864, A/2/16). Nevertheless, the Board supported the idea of seminaries with the promise that they

"should be purely missionary institutions, educating the pupils in the hope they might become teachers and preachers ... and not planters or traders, or government employers: but requiring from them no pledges beforehand" (Anderson to A.Z.M., 24/12/1864, A/2/16). The Board also felt that "such institutions are indispensable to our success in missions, and we have felt that, in your mission, they have probably been too long delayed". Since much money had been wasted on the establishment of seminaries in some of their other missions, the Board required a very detailed description

of the proposed nature of the institutions; of the buildings they will need, the estimated cost of the same, and the supposed annual charge of the pupils on the mission on the mission treasury. At what age would you receive the ... pupils" (Anderson to A.Z.M., 24/12/1864, A/2/16).

Further information required by the Board was "how far would you make the credible evidence of piety a condition of membership? To what extent would you make the instruction purely biblical ... how far theological and practical, with avowed design of training for the pastoral office?" (Anderson to A.Z.M., 24/12/1864, A.2.16).

The Board wanted to know: "When would you license them (the native pastors) to preach, and when ordain them as pastors? Would you ordain native pastors over the church at your stations? How do you propose to make way for native pastors when you have the educated men?" (Anderson to A.Z.M., 24/12/1864, A/2/16).

The Board was interested to know whether English would be the medium of instruction in the seminary since it pointed out that the use of English in their seminary in Ceylon had resulted "in giving the young men a value in the English market, leading them to prefer trade and government employ, as more lucrative than school teaching and preaching the gospel" (Anderson to A.Z.M., 24/12/1864, A/2/16). The Board suggested that it might "be better to pay the whole cost of your native pupils ..., to teach them wholly in the

native language, than to have parents pay half or the whole cost, on condition their sons were taught English" (Anderson to A.Z.M., 24/12/1864, A/2/16).

The seminary of Amanzimtoti reopened in 1865 with Ireland as its principal. Before its opening, the Committee of the A.Z.M. wrote a long letter to the Board in Boston, giving an outline of the manner in which they were going to operate the institution. Arguments about cost were carefully considered. They reported on the presence of financial support: "We have through the liberality of friends in Durban who sympathise with our work been able to complete a building at Amanzimtoti for the accommodation of boys school in which are two convenient school and lecture rooms and 6 dormitories which will accommodate about twenty pupils" (Committee Report 1865 to Boston from A.Z.M., A/1/7). Financial support was also forthcoming from Dr Mann, Superintendent General of Education who agreed "to make an annual contribution of £100 in aid of the current expenses of the school on such terms as we may mutually agree upon" (Committee Report 1865, A/1/7). This financial support was in no way sufficient, since the necessary furniture for the rooms was still required.

Further money, however, would come from the pupils' parents, for the Committee planned "to urge upon parents the duty for paying for the education of their children in these schools up to the extent of their ability. Some will be able and willing and others willing but not able to pay all expenses of their children" (Committee Report, 1865, to Boston from A.Z.M., A/1/7). They were also prepared to assist students who had become Christians against the wishes of their parents and who were keen to take advantage of a "higher education". Some further money might come from the pupils' own efforts since "all the members of the school should be required to work at some kind of manual labour a portion of each day and the efforts of such industry should directly ... go for the support of the school" (Committee Report, 1864, A/1/7). In other words, they did "not propose

to ask for any large sums from the Board for the funding of current expenses of these schools" apart from "the salary of the teacher" (Committee Report, 1864, A/1/7).

The primary purpose of the seminary "as strength and grace are given us, is to make this school a most efficient means towards the evangelization of these people. Our training will be such as in our judgement will be adapted to this end" (Committee Report, 1865, A/1/7). The Report explained that the long-term future of the Zulu people was dependent upon their acquiring "the English civilization (which) is the only one before the people (who are) left to choose between bare nakedness and pure barbarism and the European style of dress and living" (Committee Report, 1865, A/1/7). The seminary, therefore, "will not be wholly a Theological school nor will it be wholly biblical but practical and scientific combining both through logical and scientific instruction, in such proportions as we may judge best adapted to prepare the pupils for their future work" (Committee Report, 1865, A/1/7). The direct purpose of training was clearly stated: "we do propose that it should be a purely missionary institution ... directing pupils ... in the hope that they might become teachers and preachers".

It is quite clear that the A.Z.M. hoped that they could send out Christian ambassadors to spread the Gospel among their Zulu brethren. Since the A.Z.M. could not accommodate Christian concepts to some of the traditional tribal customs, they must have lost many possible candidates for advanced studies at the seminary. For this reason they felt that "While we would prefer those who are christians and whose purpose at the onset is to become teachers and preachers we would not exclude any who are not personally pious for that reason alone nor would we require pledges beforehand" (Committee Report, 1865, A/1/7). The Report tried to explain why it was proposed to "teach (English) in the High Schools and to make it so far and as fast as we can the medium of instruction". Boston, it will be remembered, was concerned that the students with skill in English would

be enticed into commercial employment. "We do not propose to teach it as a prime object but as a means of making the pupils better prepared for the work on which we hope they will enter" (Committee Report, 1865, A/1/7). The writer explained that the presence in Natal of a large number "of well-qualified white candidates would preclude the government from considering blacks, no matter how well-qualified, for these positions" (Committee Report, 1865, A/1/7). It was hoped that a man who could speak fluent English could spread the language among his brethren once he had qualified as a teacher or preacher.

It would seem that the Natal missionaries were not pleased with the comments and the demands made by Anderson. They referred with some asperity to the observations one of the older members of the mission made about the inappropriateness of re-establishing the seminary by assessing that "it is now unanimous opinion and earnest feeling of the mission that the [time] has arrived for the establishment of a male training school and it is our great regret that it was not established years ago" (Committee Report, 1865, A/1/7).

Finally it seems that some of the asperity of their first draft (from which these quotations have been taken) was removed from the final version sent to Boston. They recognized that they had not given attention to all Anderson's questions. "The questions on page six of your letter which have not been answered we are not now prepared to answer as specifically as you have asked them. It seems much to us like attempting to count chickens before they are hatched" (Committee Report, 1865, A/1/7). This sentence was however crossed out in the draft which was used for this research.

Details of the curriculum of the seminary were not given in the Committee's 1865 Report, other than their intention to make English the medium of instruction, but in the principal's report of 1869, it was listed as "arithmetic, reading, writing, spelling and translation". During

the evenings "the boys studied the Gospel and a chronological catechism of the Gospels which [Ireland] hoped would fix in their minds an important part of Biblical history" (Ireland, W., Annual Report, 1869, A/3/41).

It can be argued that there was no clarity in the Natal missionaries' minds about the main purpose of the seminary. It has been shown that Boston seemed to stress very frequently the need to train preachers and so relieve the missionaries of day-to-day church duties. The missionaries, in their pleas and plans for reopening the seminary in 1865, spoke of the shortage of both preachers and teachers. In practice, however, the training of teachers seemed to dominate thinking in Natal. When details of the curriculum were available, the purpose seemed to be more closely related to teaching. There were no systematic theological studies offered and even the study of the Bible was relegated to the evenings.

In the first years of the re-established seminary, Ireland, the first principal, was able to catalogue progress in student numbers and in straight forward academic studies. In 1875, Ireland noted how urgent had been the need for teachers when the seminary was reopened in 1865. "The great want in 1865 was a corps of well-trained native teachers - school masters. There was scarcely a man in our entire field fit to teach in a school and it was with special reference to this class of helpers that our first efforts were directed" (Letter, Ireland to Boston, 1/12/ 1875, A/3/38). At the beginning the numbers enrolled in the seminary were small. The Jubilee year of 1886 encouraged Ireland to look back on the early years of the seminary:

Our first class was composed of sixteen bright lads, between the ages of thirteen to seventeen -, the best that could be sent from four of our larger stations. Twelve of the boys became hopefully pious, and an equal number, after having spent, on an average, three years and eight months in school, we usually employed as teachers of our station school (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 37).

The small annual intake did not increase rapidly, but the 'graduates' began to have a cumulative effect. In 1886 Ireland summarized developments over the first sixteen years to 1881:

Since the first year, and up to the end of 1881, we had received an average of thirteen-and-a-half boys during each of the succeeding fifteen years, making a total of 217. At the end of the first seven years, ninety-seven boys in all had been received, of whom fifty-seven were then, at the end of 1872 in school. Seventy-two out of the ninety-seven, or more than 74 per cent, remained in school, on an average, over four years; and, of these latter, fifty-five, or 76 per cent; afterwards became teachers in our stations.

Ireland was able to account for the origin of 181 of these 217 pupils. They came from nineteen different out-stations, as is shown in the following table.

TABLE 5  
ORIGINS OF STUDENT INTAKE 1865-1881

MISSION STATION	NUMBER OF STUDENTS
* Amanzimtoti	47
* Inanda	33
* Infumi	29
* Umvoti	21
* Umtwalumi	14
Verulum	7
Newspaper	5
* Esidumbini	3
* Infafa	3
New Leeds	3

MISSION STATION	NUMBER OF STUDENTS
Umbumbulo	3
Umzimkulu	3
* Intafamasi	2
High Flats	2
Dumisa's	2
D Bishopstowe	1
Emshane	1
Delagoa Bay	1
Ilova	1
TOTAL	181

(Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 37)

\* It should be noted that these eight mission stations were under the jurisdiction of the A.Z.M.

Although the intake area was wide, it can be seen that 144 (nearly 80%) of the pupils were drawn from only five mission stations, with Amanzimtoti alone accounting for slightly over 25% of the pupils. It can also be argued, however, that even from the smaller and poorer stations, some pupils could be recruited. It is interesting to note that 29 of the students came from mission stations under the jurisdiction of various other missionary societies. Ireland's pleasure, that 76% of those who remained in the seminary for a reasonable length of time (and so could benefit from the instruction offered) had become teachers, was backed by some detailed figures of their postings, as shown in the following table.

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS WHO QUALIFIED AT SEMINARY  
BETWEEN 1865 AND 1881

STATION	NUMBER OF TEACHERS
Amanzimtoti	22
Inanda	16
Infumi	11
Umvoti	10
Umtwalumi	4
Umsundusi	4
Amahlongwa	3
Umzumbe	3
Mapumulo	3
Infafa	3
I Esidumbini	2
Intafamasi	2
TOTAL	83

Of these teachers, 17 were posted to schools which were linked to the A.Z.M., but which had not sent pupils on to the seminary. Nevertheless, the picture drawn by Ireland was encouraging. By 1881 every one of the twelve schools affiliated to the American Mission had been able to receive some teachers trained at the seminary. As early as 1875, just ten years after the seminary had reopened, he could claim that: "At the present time nearly all our station and out-station schools are manned by those who have been trained in this Institution" (Letter, Ireland to Boston, 1/12/1875, A/3/38), which was very different to his memories of the situation ten years earlier.

In Ireland's 1886 description, he gave no account of those who had attended the seminary but had not become teachers. It is indeed possible that some had entered employment in the colony, but he had hopes that "an equal number of others received permanent benefit, and would exert a more favourable influence on the cause of Christ and on the welfare of their race, than if they had not been connected with the school" (Ireland, W.I., 1886, p. 37, A/1/2). The Natal missionaries soon became concerned that their education work was one-sided as the seminary at Amanzimtoti catered only for boys. Women were needed as teachers and as Christian wives for Christian men (Ireland, W.I., 1886, p. 38, A/1/2).

A seminary for girls was established at Inanda on 1 March 1869 under the Principalship of Mrs Edwards, who served the institution for more than fifty years (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 49). The A.Z.M. thought that "If (young girls) could, just at this time, be taken right away from their homes, and night and day be under the care of a Christian woman, in the atmosphere of a truly Christian home, it would mean much in the development of true Christian womanhood" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 49). Twenty-six students enrolled for the advanced course of study in Inanda's opening year.

As the Inanda Seminary grew, so the number of students increased: "Of the young women who, have completed their studies at the school, fifty-six have been engaged in teaching and sixty-two are married; their husbands in many cases being graduates from the other Seminary (Amanzimtoti)" (Ireland, W.I., 1886, p. 38, A/1/2).

The provision of teachers was clearly being taken care of, yet no serious attention seemed to yet have been paid to the training of preachers. Boston began to be concerned at this neglect as early as 1869, only four years after the revival of the seminary. A long letter was written to Natal in March 1869 on the need for "evangelistic work". It was noted that the Natal men were claiming that their churches

comprised "nearly four hundred (full) members" and that there seemed to be "from ten to twelve men who are prepared to act with more or less efficiency as native preachers". Boston felt that "a yet larger number" of people might be recruited to serve in this way. The need for active recruitment was great as "several of your number (of American missionaries) are beginning to feel the infirmities of age and ought to be relieved ... of preaching and pastoral care they have hitherto exercised" (Boston to A.Z.M., 23/3/1869, A/2/16).

The A.Z.M. was reminded, as Anderson had urged so often in the past, that it was "never the idea ... that missionaries should long, if ever, hold the proper pastoral office. This has been done by you quite as much and even for a longer time than the (Boston) Committee feel to be for the advantages of the churches" (Boston to A.Z.M., 23/3/1869, A/2/16).

A firm instruction was then given that "immediate measures" for further recruitment from the existing churches should be undertaken so that native pastors could be appointed to native churches as soon as possible. "These churches should be asked to provide initially at least a quarter and possibly a half of their salaries and eventually to assume full responsibility (possibly with the example of the Home Missionary Society in mind)" (Boston to A.Z.M., 23/3/1869, A/2/16).

Boston expected that the white missionaries should retain and the churches "admit of, a healthful supervision", especially while those churches were receiving some financial aid. Such supervision would counter the "experience of the pastors or the hasty and ill considered action of the churches". Seven mission centres were suggested to begin this scheme: Umvoti, Inanda, Amanzimtoti, Ifafa, Ifumi, Umtwalumi and Umsinduzi (Boston to A.Z.M., 23/3/1869, A/2/16).

A further proposal was for some form of "in-service" training for the few existing pastors and others. This

training should last a month and should cover "lectures on the evidence of Religion, natural theology, systematic theology and pastoral care and homilectics", and could be repeated each year "with great advantage". Such recruitment and training, apart from freeing the expatriate missionaries for "proper evangelistic work", could also allow for a more efficient rationalisation of their work. One man could assume responsibility for native churches and the common (i.e. elementary) schools, another for the "high schools for both sexes", another for the publication of texts, and so on (Boston to A.Z.M., 23/3/1869, A/2/16).

It is likely that Boston expected that the Natal men might be reluctant to move rapidly in the direction outlined in this letter for a gentle reminder was given: "Native Christians in other fields, as in India, China and the Pacific Islands of no greater ability, intelligence or Christian training, have been put forward as preachers and pastors with manifest good result" (Boston to A.Z.M., 23/3/1869, A/2/16). Part of this suspicion could have come from letters and reports from missionaries such as Tyler who in 1854 had commented that "when a Zulu becomes interested in the truth he proclaims everywhere his new experience with astonishing volubility, but, I regret to say, sometimes with little discretion" (Tyler to Board, 1/2/1854, cited in Dinnerstein, 1971, p. 154). But in 1867, Tyler was prepared to recognize that "in many respects an African Missionary was better to advise and watch over the Africans than a White, because he knew so perfectly the language and the peculiar temptations which assail them" (Tyler to Boston, 11/12/1867, cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971, p. 153). However, he still had doubts about the wisdom of full ordination. In response to a query as to why a black missionary, Umbiyani, had not been ordained, Tyler was quick to explain: "He lacks education. He is I believe a good man and has been successful as a missionary but he has not received sufficient knowledge to give him the character we desire to

see in ordained missionaries" (Tyler to Boston, 30/1/1869, cited in Dinnerstein, M., 1971 p. 154).

One of the pioneer missionaries, Aldin Grout, shared Tyler's doubts. He responded to Boston's letter about the training of preachers (March 1869) by declaring that he foresaw difficulties in obtaining suitable candidates for the pastorate. According to him (writing later in 1869): "Some of our best men are so deep in worldly affairs that I hardly see how they can creep out from under the load they are now carrying" (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 398). In fact, he believed that no mission church would choose a Zulu pastor unless circumstances compelled it; he wrote (in 1869):

They will all say: We must have someone over us to whom we can look up with more respect and reverence than we can feel for one taken from ourselves; the Amakafula are not like other people, we must have an inkosi. (In spite of this he was convinced) it is time that we should begin to teach them to take care of themselves. In our mission we have more or less respectable preachers, and I am ready to hold up both hands to have some of them pastors of churches (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 398).

He was, in fact, deliberately challenging Boston's (1869) instructions. Lindley, who was much more generous in his assessment of the potential of Zulu preachers than many of his fellow-workers, explained to Boston (July 1869) that Grout saw the Zulus as individuals who "wore two shilling shirts instead of the costly ones they now put on with an addition of hat, coat, waist coat, trousers, stockings, and shining black shoes" (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 398), or in other words as men who had merely the veneer of civilization and little genuine ability to accept or to preach Christianity.

Lindley was far more positive in his response to Boston's 1869 instructions. He had caused a stir in missionary circles when he suggested that a converted Zulu

pastor should be placed over his mission station at Inanda when he retired. He commented, "... it was something new to ... (their) ... minds" (Lindley to Clark, Inanda, 10/8/1869, cited in Dinnerstein, 1971, p. 155).

In July 1869, Lindley wrote to Clark, the Board's secretary in Boston: "For sometime before your suggestions (of March 1869) about the ordination of pastors were received, I felt that we were coming to a standstill ... Those suggestions came to me as light to one in darkness" (cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 397). He claimed in the same letter, in fact, to have anticipated the Board's instructions:

Before Dr Clark's suggestions reached us, I had said that some of our native Christians ought to be made pastors and at our General Meeting in May offered to take one as co-pastor with me at Inanda. As my mind had for some time been running in that direction, I was prepared, perhaps better than some of my brethren, to welcome the instructions from Boston (Lindley to Clark, 9/7/1869, cited in Smith, E.W., 1949, p. 398).

Despite doubts in Natal itself, a Theological School was established in 1869 as a special department attached to the Amanzimtoti Seminary, where an attempt was made "to give special Bible training to several of the older pupils in the Seminary" (Ireland, W., 1886, p. 39, A/1/2). The first ordinations occurred in the year the Boston letter was received. The first church consisting of seven members was organized at Umzumbe, and Rufus Anderson was installed and ordained as the first pastor of the church. Others who were ordained and placed as pastors included Msingaphansi Nyuswa at the Infume Church and James Dube, Lindley's co-pastor, was placed in charge of the church at Inanda. In 1872 two additional men were ordained, Ira Adams Nembulu at Amanzimtoti and Benjamin Hawes at Itafamasi.

The views of the three men, Tyler, Grout and Lindley, have been presented as examples of the missionaries' atti-

tudes towards the prospects of Zulu converts becoming preachers. Dinnerstein (1971, p. 153) claims that the negative views of the first two of these men were more typical than the more positive views of Lindley:

The A.Z.M., secure in its patriarchial role which the colonial system in Natal reinforced, could not conceive of a shift in the status quo which would remove them from the head of the church and community and move the converts up from somewhere down below.

Before Dinnerstein's interpretation, which clearly has some weight behind it, can be unquestioningly accepted, however, it is worth considering some comments made by Ireland, who, in the first years of the Theological School was also its Principal. He recalled that:

When the school was started, not a solitary young man in our churches, could be found who was willing to join the school. Nor did we succeed in getting a pious student to enter the school during the first 3 years ... Of the 127 who had been with us up to ... 9 months ago, only 12 entered as professed Christians and of these 8 were married men (Letter from Ireland to Boston, 1/12/1875, A/3/38).

He explained the school's problem by saying, later in the same letter, "that the trouble has not been, the want of organization, or the want of a suitable course of study, but of the right sort of material, out of which to form a Theological class worthy of name. There is no way of getting such material, but to educate such boys as are found available at the missionary seminary" (Letter from Ireland to Boston, 1/12/1875, A/3/38). In 1875 the Theological School became a separate entity under the principalship of Mr Robbins. It was beset by many difficulties including the low academic standard of the students who wished to follow the course offered by it. This will be dealt with in part in Chapter 11.

In this chapter the origins of what would eventually develop into the Amanzimtoti Institute and from the early years of the 20th century, Adams College, have been traced. In order to spread the Gospel among the Zulu it was essential that they be able to read and this was one of the reasons why the A.Z.M. turned their attention to education and the provision of teaching materials. Primary schools were established at all the A.Z.M. mission stations where, owing to the lack of white manpower, they had to rely on the services of more talented Kolwa as teachers, provided they had received at least elementary training.

There was a clear indication of the general acceptance among white missionaries of preparing teachers but a reluctance to accept the implications of preaching, despite pressure over many years from Boston. The preference of the missionaries of the Zulu mission for training teachers is seen in the curriculum offered and in the attention given to the girls' seminary and the successful pleas for financial help, especially from the Colonial Government to finance schools beyond the level of literacy. This was in sharp contrast to the fear expressed by Boston about any form of financial dependence on the Colonial Government (discussed in Chapter 3). Clear evidence is present of the paternalistic attitudes of the A.Z.M. with regard to the granting of "pastoral powers" to the Kolwa. There is also a continuous emphasis on the trappings of civilization, i.e. the construction of square houses and the wearing of clothing. Under pressure from Boston, the A.Z.M. provided preacher training at a theological institute but they did not consider industrial, technical or vocational education. But circumstances in the colony would virtually force them to look at an educational programme which included this type of education. Pressure from the colonists had always been for the provision of labour, although there were fears about the extent to which competition with white artisans could be dangerous.

In the 1870's and early 1880's there was rapid economic development in the Colony of Natal which made the efficiency of labour in the form of more artisans a necessity for the prosperity of the colony. This issue as well as the emphasis on the civilizing of the Zulu in order to establish a way of removing the physical danger he posed to the colonists, came strongly to the fore in the 1880-1881 Commission. This is one of the reasons for this Commission being discussed in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 8

A THREAT, A COMMISSION AND THE MISSION'S TASK :  
THE NATAL NATIVE COMMISSION, 1882

The commission to be considered in this chapter is the Natal Native Commission of 1881-1882 which took place in that period of the history of the Colony of Natal when tensions existed on its borders. The Zulu in Natal were to feel the effect of Shepstone's Native Policy, as displayed in the Langelibalele affair and the manner in which the powerful Zulu, Chief Cetshwayo, was conquered and exiled as a result of the outbreak of the Zulu War in 1879.

Chief Langelibalele's confrontation with Shepstone will be discussed since from it some perspective of the practical effects of the implementation of Shepstone's Native Policy (already outlined briefly in earlier chapters) on the Zulus in the Colony of Natal can be gained.

The Hlubi tribe under the chieftainship of Langelibalele had lived on the foothills of the Drakensberg ever since they had been forced out of Zululand in 1848 (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 113). The tribe soon adapted to Natal's colonial economy and the hoe was soon replaced by the plough and according to J.R. Hansen, a German missionary living near Langelibalele's kraal, "three quarters of all their arable land had been brought under the plough". The Hlubi were also successful pastoral farmers who, Hansen maintained, had more than 15 000 head of cattle in their possession by 1873 (Erthington, 1978, p. 20). Erthington points out that Hlubi prosperity was also reflected "in the clothing, pipes, horses, and rifles which young men brought back from Kimberley diamond fields where they worked as diggers and wagon drivers" (Erthington, 1978, p. 20).

Such evidences of adaptation to civilized ways of living, however, were easily forgotten when guns (another mark of civilization) seemed to suggest that the Hlubi had borrowed dangerous as well as acceptable aspects from

Western civilization. For instance, the Magistrate of the area, Macfarlane was disturbed at developments in the Hlubi tribe and reported to Shepstone that he had found evidence which led him to believe that Langelibalele and members of his tribe "exhibited an independence and impatience of control which might lead to difficulties" (cited in Erthington, 1978, p. 20).

Shepstone, directly involved as Secretary of Native Affairs, clearly demonstrated that he would not tolerate any nonsense from any individual who would dare pose a threat to his carefully controlled native policy. He held the reins of power with an iron hand, and Brookes says of Shepstone that he was "possessive" of his native policy (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 58).

Shepstone knew the effect an air of superiority had on native responses and having received Macfarlane's report, he went out of his way to present an imposing figure. "He therefore put on the mantle of a patriarch - a nineteenth century Moses - ... He humbled the man squatting before him with the coldness of his eye. Each slow and deliberate nod of that leonine head was a confirmation of omniscience ..." (Herd, N., 1976, p. 8). The next event in relationships between the Natal Government and Zulu tribes occurred in 1873. The increasing demand for labour at the diamond mines along the western reaches of the Vaal had attracted Africans from all areas of the subcontinent including Natal (Guest, W.R., 1976, p. 31). It was common practice at the time to supply workers with guns, generally of inferior make, in lieu of payment. The possession of a firearm was perfectly legal in Griqualand West, but in Natal there was an ordinance requiring the owner to register a weapon and obtain authorisation from the Governor legalizing ownership (Herd, N., 1976, p. 6).

Word had spread among tribesmen, however, that the Magistrates had ways of cheating the owners of guns handed in for registration. Guns, it was believed, were either confiscated, held indefinitely or returned to owners in un-

serviceable condition (Herd, N., 1976, p. 9). The tribesmen therefore stopped handing in their rifles. Herd states that rumours had reached Macfarlane that the Hlubi had acquired a sizeable arsenal of illegal weapons (Herd, N., 1976, p. 9). It was this news which prompted Macfarlane to demand the "immediate submission of eight unregistered firearms" (Herd, N., 1976, p. 9).

The gun issue, more than anything else, provided the authorities with the pretext for direct confrontation with the Chief. Macfarlane knew that a chief who had encouraged his men to accept guns as part of their wages, would not demean himself in the eyes of his tribe by insisting that they register the guns when there was no guarantee that they would be returned. The gun to the Hlubi was more than a status symbol, it was the hard-earned reward for months of labour away from his family. Langelibalele was summoned on three occasions to appear before the Governor to face charges that members of his tribe had failed to register their guns. Later, in his evidence which he presented to the court, he stated it was because he feared he would be executed that he had failed to appear to face the charges made against him. Guest suggests that "... in defence of his own disobedience, Langelibalele pointed to the fact that years earlier his own brother had been summoned to appear before a Zulu King and had been killed on arrival" (Guest, 1976, p. 35).

In what has been called the Matyana incident, John Shepstone (Theophilus Shepstone's brother) had actually hidden his pistol and later had pulled it out and had fired it at that chief during a supposedly unarmed parley (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 135). Langelibalele, remembering this incident, claimed he had some reason to distrust the good faith and honour of the Government.

An armed force "consisting of 200 British troops, 300 Natal volunteers, and about 6,000 Africans" moved towards the Hlubi locations, where at the Bushman's River Pass, several Europeans were killed and wounded "which seems to

have turned this legitimate and justified protective action into something like a war of revenge" (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 116). The white colonists "howled with rage and fear". Langelibalele and the members of his tribe "were remorsefully hunted down and returned for punishment according to Shepstone's Native Law". The result was that the "Chief was exiled, the tribe was disbanded, its lands were redistributed, and its cattle were sold" (Ertherington, 1978, p. 21). The scale of fortune had swung heavily in favour of Shepstone and his native policy, since he now had the support of most of the colonists and the press, the very people who had been critical of him before (Ertherington, 1978, p. 22). Shepstone's uncompromising action in the Langelibalele affair is further emphasised by his attitude to the Zulu in Zululand:

It has always been admitted that the Government of Natal is the Superior, and the Zulus the inferior power ... This position carries with it the right to advise or remonstrate as the case may require, and the right has been freely used. It might be extended much further ... (T. Shepstone, Report of expedition to install Cetshwayo, 1975, cited in Erthington, p. 23).

What was regarded by Brookes as the mishandling of the Langelibalele affair, provided the Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon, with an unexpected reason for advocating ideas for federation of Southern African states into the British Empire. The Langelibalele affair was a clear indication that the Natal authorities were not capable of handling their own native affairs. For this reason, Brookes states, "it could be argued that Natal must not be given the responsible government which the Colonial Legislature desired; instead it must be induced to accept a return to quasi-crown Colony rule" (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 117).

The handling of the Langelibalele rebellion also resulted in Lieutenant Governor Pine being recalled to England where his career in colonial affairs ended when he

was placed on pension upon arrival. According to Brookes & Webb, Pine left Natal "with the praises of Natal Colonists ringing in his ears but his career was abruptly and finally terminated" (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 118). To the colonists, Pine was a man who could be expected to deal firmly with any Zulu threat and they were critical of the British government which had apparently questioned his handling of the rebellion. The events which surrounded the Langelibalele affair also resulted in the delaying of self government for Natal, a development which at the time was supported by a number of colonists. With considerable diplomacy, the Lieutenant Governor, Garnet Wolseley, got the introduction of responsible government scrapped in 1874 (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 120). It is interesting to note that, according to Brookes & Webb, Cetshwayo's concern about the treatment of Langelibalele by Shepstone "may well have been the first rift in the lute of harmonious relationships between him and Shepstone" (Brookes & Webb, p. 120). Cetshwayo had made several attempts to have Langelibalele placed under his care. Shepstone, however, paid no heed to these requests (Brookes & Webb, p. 120).

In the 1870's there were also fears among the colonists in Natal about what they regarded as the "Zulu menace" from Zululand across the Tugela River. This fear was particularly pronounced in the isolated farming areas and was expressed more by farmers in the vicinity of Pietermaritzburg than towns-people in Durban (Brookes & Webb, p. 120). The Langelibalele affair made this fear even more pronounced and resulted in the Colonial Government's decision to establish a permanent semi-military mobile police force "which could handle similar affairs in the future" (Brookes & Webb, p. 122). In 1874, the Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon, began to express his visions of a federation of the various states and colonies in South Africa within the British Empire. For this reason, Shepstone was invited to attend a "Confederation Conference" in London in October 1876, where he was given the necessary authority "to annex any territory (in

Southern Africa) with the consent of a sufficient number of its inhabitants" (Brookes & Webb, pp. 125-126). Shepstone, on his return to South Africa, reacted quickly to the mandate he received in London, and on 12 April 1877 he annexed the Boer Republic of Transvaal. According to Brookes & Webb, the significance of this action in the history of Natal is the fact that Shepstone "worked himself out of a job" and also succeeded in destroying "the diplomatic equilibrium which he himself had created between Natal, the Transvaal and Zululand" (Brookes & Webb, p. 126).

In the past, Shepstone who, with his diplomatic skills, had succeeded in getting Cetshwayo to agree to maintain a friendly relationship with Natal also maintained "a hold over the Transvaal because of his restraining influence over Cetshwayo, Transvaal's most dangerous neighbour" (Brookes & Webb, p. 126). Shepstone's Transvaal annexation had resulted in his losing his popularity with Cetshwayo who at one time regarded him in high esteem. According to Brookes & Webb, Shepstone's annexation action was not only "a crime it was a blunder".

In 1877, the new High Commissioner for South Africa, Sir Bartle Frere arrived in Cape Town with the express purpose of carrying out Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnavon's "Confederation Policy" (Brookes & Webb, p. 127). The sights were now firmly set on the annexation of Zululand. Before the incident of Sihayo's sons (July 1878) which will be discussed later, Frere declared to Commodore Sullivan of the Royal Navy that it seemed "certain that serious complications must shortly arise with the Zulus which will necessitate active operations" (cited in Brookes & Webb, p. 129). Brookes points out that Frere could have justified the annexation of Zululand only "by making himself believe that the Zulu King was a blood-thirsty tyrant and the Zulu army a perpetual menace" (Brookes & Webb, p. 129). It is therefore clear why he described Cetshwayo in a dispatch to Carnavon in 1878, as a "faithless, cruel character" and continued that the Zulu King's main object was "to get rid of the

white man and his influence" (cited in Brookes & Webb, p. 129). Only five years before, however, Shepstone had been invited by Cetshwayo to crown him as Zulu King and, on 25 July 1876, Sir Henry Bulwer wrote to Cetshwayo: "This Government trusts that Cetshwayo will maintain that ... moderation and forbearance which he has hitherto shown" (Frere - Colenso Correspondence, cited in Brookes & Webb, p. 129). Nevertheless, by 18 November 1876, Shepstone was virtually echoing Frere's sentiments: "At this moment the Zulu power is a perpetual menace to the peace of South Africa, and the influence which it has already exercised, and is now exercising, is hostile and aggressive". This is not a statement he would have made before 1876. Concerning this state of affairs, Bishop Colenso claimed, with a certain amount of justification, "It is very plain that the desire to pacify the Boers so as to get them to settle down under British rule and thereby advance the scheme of 'Confederation' led to the policy of the Zulu war" (Frere - Colenso Correspondence, cited in Brookes & Webb, p. 129).

Once again there was no doubt that these fears and suspicions of the Zulu menace were equally strongly held by many Colonists. The scene was thus set in which any areas of friction between Zululand and Natal would most likely lead to war between them. Frere paid particular attention to an incident in July 1878 in which "some of the sons of Sihayo Ka Xongo, Chief of the Quagebe people over the Buffalo River from Rorke's Drift, crossed the river into Natal in pursuit of two of their father's adulterous wives" (Laband, J., 1985, p. 2). These two women were dragged back into Zululand where they were put to death. On 16 July, Lieutenant Governor Bulwer informed Cetshwayo that the leaders of the party of Zulu responsible for the death of the two women had to return to Natal for trial (Brookes & Webb, p. 133).

According to the account of this affair given to Captain Poole, Custodian of Cetshwayo while captive at the Castle in Cape Town in 1880, the Zulu King reported:

The English demanded Sihayo's sons. Cetshwayo sent to Sihayo to tell him to collect cattle and hand them over to the English as a fine or punishment in lieu of the young men. Sihayo replied he had no cattle ... All the Chiefs advised Sihayo to give up his sons, but the father's feeling was too strong and he would not (cited in Laband, J., 1985, p. 5).

In his reply to the Governor, Cetshwayo stated that the Sihayo sons:

... were only boys, and that it was a wild freak of theirs, and on the score of their youth begged mercy for them. At the same time he admitted they were wrong and that the English had good cause to be angry ... but he then heard nothing more of the affair until the ultimatum (cited in Laband, J., 1985, pp. 2-3).

This ultimatum from the Natal Government was delivered on 11 December 1878 to Cetshwayo's emissaries. Its conditions were particularly harsh and were "designed so that it would be impossible for the Zulu to accept them and retain their independence" (Laband, 1985, p. 3). One of the stipulations in the ultimatum was that the sons of Sihayo should surrender themselves as well as handing over a large fine in cattle. Cetshwayo later informed the Governor that the Chiefs along the lower Tugela River were dismayed at this condition:

The Zulu said, 'You mean to say you are going to destroy Zululand for the sake of two foolish children? The King begs you to show him a favour by allowing him to pay for the crime of the boys. The King begs you to desist from laying Zululand waste for the sake of two foolish children (cited in Laband, 1985, p. 3).

Even if the case of Sihayo's sons could have been overlooked, the Governor's suspicions were further aroused by the case of Smith and Deighton. In September 1878 these surveyors crossed the Tugela River into an area which the

Zulu regarded as their territory. Bearing in mind the tensions existing between Zululand and Natal, it was an indiscreet act by Smith and Deighton. Cetshwayo was justified in sending some of his men to guard the river crossings, "and these troops captured and hustled Smith and Deighton and talked to them excitedly for about an hour and a half" but left them to return to Natal unharmed (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 133).

This episode unduly alarmed Frere who reported it to the Colonial Secretary and to Colenso as "only one of many instances of insult and threatening" and which deserved "severe notice" (Frere-Colenso correspondence, cited in Brookes & Webb, p. 133). Frere also complained to the Colonial Secretary about Cetshwayo's unfriendly attitude to missionaries and the Christian religion. The Zulu King might have felt justified in not being enthusiastic towards a religion which according to him ran counter to Zulu traditional tribal customs. There was no concrete evidence that he had unduly persecuted Christian missionaries. Frere, however, felt strongly about the allegations and in December 1878 wrote to the Colonial Secretary that "with a single exception, the whole body (of missionaries) had been terrified out of their country" (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 133).

When Cetshwayo did not meet the conditions of the ultimatum, the English felt justified in beginning the Zulu war and on 11 January 1877 the British forces entered Zululand (Brookes & Webb, 1965, pp. 134-135). Brookes comments that "the Zulu military monarchy had to come to an end sometime, but whether it needed war in 1879 or whether responsible men could have supported war at that time if 'Confederation' had not been in the air may well be doubted" (Brookes & Webb, 1965, p. 135). The Zulu war destroyed the might of a once proud nation.

Even though the final victories of the war went to the British forces, the implications of the devastating defeat at Isandhlwana were, as far as Natal was concerned, proof that their fears of the tribal Zulu were justified. These

fears were further increased because they now had to contend with large numbers of unsettled Zulu. The fact that a number of colonial troops had been killed as well as the presence of displaced Zulu from Zululand in Natal, made the colonists more concerned than ever about the need to formulate a native policy which could keep the Zulu in check and could offer security to the Colony.

During the 1870's and 1880's the colonists were also preoccupied with the issue of responsible government which was strongly debated in all available forums, especially during the preparation for the elections held in 1881. The candidates for the Legislative Council were expected to state clearly whether they were in favour of Responsible Government or not. Partly as a result of reactions to the Zulu war, the main body of colonists were very apprehensive of ending their close relationship with Britain, even though the colony was experiencing an economic boom. This fact was borne out by the election results and the issue of Responsible Government was left in abeyance until 1887 (Limerick, I.B., 1975, p. 47). According to Limerick, the colonists' fears of severing their ties with Britain were connected to the unsolved issue of a feasible native policy for the Zulu within and near the borders of the colony.

Thus the elections of 1881 must have in some way influenced the calling of the Commission of 1881-1882, even though some colonists were in favour of Responsible Government and were eager to demonstrate to the British Government that they could do something positive to solve the "Native Problem" (Limerick, I.B., 1875, p. 47). Sir Henry Evelyn Wood (who was the administrator of the Government in the Colony of Natal and the Supreme Chief over the Native Population) brought the Commission into being. The necessary government notices were issued by the Colonial Secretary, C.B.H. Mitchell, in the Government Gazette of 6

December 1881 (Limerick, I.B., 1975, p. 48). The notice of the Commission was addressed to eighteen leading members of the community. Sir Henry Connor (Chief Justice of the Colony of Natal) was nominated President, and Michael Henry Gallaway (His Majesty's Attorney General), Vice President. The Bishop of Natal, John William Colenso, was also on the Commission, but did not become a prominent member of the National Native Commission (henceforward abbreviated to N.N.C.) (N.N.C. 1881-1882). An analysis of some aspects of the background of the members of the Commission is given in the table below (taken from Limerick, I., 1975, p. 49).

TABLE 7

## BACKGROUND OF MEMBERS OF 1881-1882 NATIVE COMMISSION

ADMINISTRATORS AND OFFICIALS	MINISTERS OF RELIGION	LEGISLATIVE C MEMBERS	JUSTICES OF PEACE USUALLY LANDOWNERS
Sir Henry Connor Chief Justice of Natal	Bishop Colenso	J.W. Ackerman Speaker	C.G. Cato P.A.R. Otto
M.H. Gallway Attorney General of Natal	Rev T Green Rev F Mason	J.C. Walton T. Reynolds R.A. Green	J.E. Fannin G. Turner D. Stainbank
G.M. Rudolph Resident Magistrate for Klip River Division			P.R. Botha
W. Campbell Administrator of Native Law			
J.W. Winter assumed to be official veterinary surgeon			

The terms of reference of the Commission, an "inquiry into the present condition of the Natives of this Colony, and into the working of the Laws and Ordinances peculiarly affecting them", are amplified in a list of seventeen problem areas included in the Government Gazette of 6 December 1881 (p. 1).

Since the primary purpose of this thesis is concerned with the education of the Zulu and the factors which had an influence on it, emphasis on the Commission in this chapter will be in the following areas:

... the education, training and qualification of interpreters of the Kafir language; ... the progress of the native population since 1875 in the direction of civilization ...; the question of Native education ...; ... the effect of the present state of the law as regards ... polygamy; to what extent this practice, and that of ukulabola, have retarded ... the progress of civilization among the Natives ...; To make any suggestions ... of improving the condition of the Natives, and of advancing their civilization (Government Gazette, 6/12/1881, pp. 1-2).

A thematic approach will be used to present the evidence given to the Commission, and will concentrate on five types of witnesses; that given by colonists (Adendorf, Donavan, Pieterse); that given by government officials (T. Shepstone); by uneducated Zulus (Chief Tinta); by Kolwas (Mini) and by American missionaries (Rood and Ireland). The themes which will be isolated are: Traditional tribal customs; civilization; law and land; religion and education.

The evidence of the colonial farmers concerning traditional customs was characterized by the opinion that it would not be advisable to abolish labola and polygamy since it "would tend to produce other social evils among the natives" (N.N.C., 1881 Evidence, p. 299). No evidence was presented by Shepstone and Chief Tinta on labola and polygamy, but Mini (a Kolwa) had some views on these traditional tribal customs.

Mini accepted that polygamy was an undesirable practice but he felt that it would not be abolished suddenly. Instead, ways should be sought by which the practice could be gradually reduced. He explained:

If I give my girl in marriage without ukulabola and her husband chooses another wife for whom he pays ukulabola, my daughter is in an inferior position. Besides the Law says that in this matter although I am a Christian I am like the natives outside, and to fulfil the Law I must take ukulabola. I submit to this compulsion. It is not what I desire. I have all along desired the abolition of ukulabola (N.N.C., 1881-1882, Evidence, p. 137).

In fact Mini claimed that Kolwa women, in general, preferred to be the only wife since:

It is compulsory upon them. They are broken down to it. It is designed by God that there shall be only two in the marriage contract; having more is man's act. Women can never be satisfied where there are a number of them the wife of one man (N.N.C., Evidence, p. 137).

The conflict among the Zulu themselves about ukulabola is illustrated in a later portion of Mini's evidence where he adds his own plan for a gradual abolition of the practice rather than its sudden termination. His concern about the narrow interpretation of labola merely as "wife payment" occurred toward the end of this part of his evidence. The number of cattle paid as ukulabola might be reduced to five head for people in position of authority, and two or three head for the common people. "It is not according to native usage that the number of cattle should be the same in all cases. Under the old Native Law there was no dissatisfaction caused by this ukulabola, but now there are unnumerable cases brought on because the White Chiefs have made it a payment for women" (N.N.C., Evidence, p. 138).

It is possibly unfortunate (from the point of view of 20th century understanding of the imposition of European

values upon Zulu customs), that Mini's ideas (representing a man himself in a transition stage), were given no further consideration by the Commissioners.

The evidence of the A.Z.M. concerning traditional tribal customs was presented by two American missionaries, D. Rood and W. Ireland. Ireland remarked that "to reduce polygamy would be to recognize the children of the first wife only as legitimate" and that, therefore, ukulobola should gradually be done away with. He informed the Commission that the A.Z.M. had made a ruling that anyone who practiced ukulabola would not be admitted as a member of the mission church (N.N.C., Evidence, p. 364). Rood's comment on the question of ukulabola was that it should be abolished although he admitted that although "Natives generally approve of it", he felt that "the system ... does great harm. The women look upon themselves as the property of their husbands, and have not the self respect they otherwise would have. While the system exists the females will never rise to a high state of civilization" (N.N.C. 1881-1882, Evidence, p. 267).

Rood, in giving evidence on the morals of the Kolwa, felt that there was an increase in immorality owing to "their mixing more with the white people about the towns". Rood admitted that some of the Kolwa still practised ukulabola: "Some years ago they had entirely given it up, but it was found there could be at that time no legal marriage without ukulabola". He continued "I think many of the Natives would be better under English law, especially those who have property. I should consider it unfair, though, if once they had come under English Law they were allowed to return to heathenism" (N.N.C. 1881-1882, Evidence, p. 269).

The matter was also raised in a letter the A.Z.M. presented as written evidence to the Commission. It mentioned ukulabola and the laws of inheritance, which, it claimed, brought endless difficulty for their mission policy.

The(se) subjects which have doubtless received, much attention from the Commissioners have been

likened to a triple chord - which bind this people to (their) heathen past. Destroy either one of these strands, so to speak - and this potent bond of heathenism - this barrier to all useful progress - will eventually we dare to hope, be overcome by a natural and easy progress - and leave this people free ... and untrammelled to advance in the scale of civilization and enlightenment (Letter from A.Z.M. to Commission, 1881, A/3/49).

These customs, the A.Z.M. claimed,

are based upon the principle not only that (a) woman is subordinate and subservient to man but that the chief end of woman's life is to feel the necessities and gratify the passions of man. Under Native law her status is that of property. It may serve no good or useful purpose to express our surprise that the tap root of this objectionable system, the custom of ukulabola should be (abolished) (Letter A.Z.M. to Commission, 1881, A/3/49).

It was pointed out in earlier chapters that both missionaries and colonists felt that any movement of the Zulu away from this traditional tribal way of life was to be an advancement in civilization (which meant Western civilization). Nevertheless in other evidence some of the negative aspects of this "civilization" had to be admitted.

This belief is clearly echoed in other evidence given to the Commission. The evidence of the Kolwa, Mini, and the two American missionaries, for instance, was concerned with the question of the use of intoxicating drink by the Zulus. Ireland gave the Commission information obtained from a canteen keeper, that "the Law forbids him to sell direct to the Native, but permits him to sell to 'coolies', who retail it to the Natives at a profit". He stated that because intoxicating drink, including Native Beer, was prohibited on the Adams Mission Station, there were very few cases of drunkenness (N.N.C. 1881-1882, Evidence, p. 323). This was confirmed by a Kolwa at Adams Mission Station, who claimed that drunkenness had only recently increased among the Natives, not as a result of abuse of traditional "Kaffir

Beer" but rather of "grog" purchased illegally from canteens of the "Coolie agency" (N.N.C. 1881-1882, Evidence, p. 266).

Considerable attention was given by the Commissioners to the questions about the inheritance of land and "native law". Some of this evidence also included comments on labour supply. As might be expected, the colonists were, broadly speaking, in favour of tribal ownership of land. A colonist, Frederick B. Adendorf from the Division of Newcastle, was very forthright in his opinions: "I am against Natives becoming owners of land; especially where such land is surrounded by other lands occupied by Whites. One reason for my objection is that Natives congregate in large numbers on such land so purchased" (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 298).

Another colonist, Donavan, "would not recommend ... individual titles of land to natives, but would prefer tribal ones. The former is calculated to breed insubordination" (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 298). The colonist C.L. Pieterse linked land and labour in his evidence: "The natives do not now work as well as formerly. They are more careless and disobedient now, being too rich to need to work: I do not think natives should have the right to purchase land indiscriminately in small lots, especially where White people have settled" (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 326).

J.C. Adendorf of Hope Farm, Newcastle, was another colonist who gave evidence to the Commission. He linked land ownership to the need to continue the principle of Native Law, under which he believed the Zulu should remain, since: "Natives are satisfied with the Chiefs that rule over them. They prefer their own land to those of the White people; because under the former they remain polygamists" (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 299).

Just as the colonists' attitudes in favour of tribal land ownership were not unexpected, it is equally not surprising that those Zulu who were in a state of transition

from tribal to Western culture, placed great store by individual title to land. According to Mini, the Kolwa found no difficulty in purchasing land. To the non-Christian, however, there were distinct problems, not in purchasing land for private persons, but "in purchasing Government land ... there are many obstructions in the way. One of these is that if we want to buy land we are told that we have to go and outbid each other for it at an auction sale. In this way I do not think the native has the same chance as the white-man, who is richer" (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 133).

A traditional chief's response to land ownership was that it should remain in tribal lands, but that the area available should increase. Chief Tinta from the Klip River Division was concerned about the disadvantageous labour alternatives available to Zulu who did not have sufficient tribal lands. He reported that the Dutch farmers in his area had caused him and his people much hardship. "They take our young children into their service, and often send them into the Free State and into the veldt with their sheep and stock, besides making our women weed their gardens, and also beat them." He asked: "Why do not the Government give us land to live on, as we would be willing to pay for it? The Boers pay us very small wages, and irregularly". Tinta preferred the possibility of purchasing land from the Government and not leasing it, to prevent it from being taken from tribes when the White landowners required more land (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 294).

American Board missionaries themselves appeared to be in an ambivalent position about individual ownership. Ireland explained to the Commission that the size of the Mission Reserve on which he served was about 7 000 acres, of which the Board had title to 500 acres, with the remaining land in the hands of trustees of whom the A.Z.M. was one. He had to admit, however, that none of the mission reserve land had been allocated to any individual or used by the A.Z.M. to conduct missionary activities. Although these were the current circumstances, Ireland was of the opinion that

individual natives should be allowed to own land provided no "Natives on mission stations could become 'freeholders' unless they became exempt from Native Law" (Evidence to N.N.C., 1882, p. 364). Rood, another American missionary, acknowledged that : "There are a few Christian Natives who have (purchased land); they have individual titles . . . , (but) I know of only a few wild Natives buying land" (Evidence to N.N.C., 1882, p. 364).

Shepstone's earlier policies about control of the Zulu in the colony had centered on the retention of chiefly power and by implication, land remaining in tribal ownership. In his evidence to the Commission there is some indication that he too was beginning to think of a transition of the Zulu to Western views of land ownership. "Their present idea seems to be to buy land as tribes; this will of course lead to trouble hereafter, when the question of personal rights arises". He continued, "If a man appreciates personal property in land I think it desirable that he should be assisted in buying it at a reasonable rate and in a safe manner. If the purchase of land by Natives becomes general it could do away with much of the power of the Chief" (N.N.C., 1882, evidence, p. 288).

The dissatisfaction of colonists with uncertain contracts can be illustrated with Adendorf's evidence. He explained that: "Natives will not make written contracts with the owner of a farm, but merely a verbal agreement, under which they reside on our lands rent free, but bind themselves to supply us with all the labour their several kraals can afford". His monthly payment, based on age and ability, to "natives" employed by him, varied from 4s to 15s (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 298).

Closely linked to the question of land ownership was that of Native and European law. Witnesses elaborated on the problems of the retention of Native law (and its administration largely by Chiefs) or on the ways in which European law could be introduced.

John Clarke Donavan, a colonist who had been resident in Natal for fourteen years, returned to arguments similar to those used in the Locations and Land Commissions of the 1840's and 50's. He argued:

I do not think it would be advisable that strips of White settlers should be settled among the locations. I think wherever there is a large collection of natives in the locations or elsewhere a Magistrate or Administrator of Native Law should be stationed amongst them to exercise authority and act with the Chief in maintaining order and improving their state (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 298).

Much of the evidence, however, pointed in the direction of a gradual transition to European law, especially for those who had become Christianized. By implication, such an acceptance by a Zulu meant that he had to assume responsibility for the full range of morals and values of a Christian or European community. The Kolwa, Mini, for instance, argued for the exemption of the "natives" from Native Law. He felt that, as Kolwa, they should be exempted as a group and not one by one since: "In giving up our native habits, and assimilating with the White man, and accepting their beliefs and ways, we thought that we had left Native Law, and did not know there was any further barrier (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 136).

The A.Z.M. letter emphasized the problems of those in transition, when they recommended that the Kolwa should come under a different set of laws than those of the non-Christians: "It seems to us desirable and important that for the natives residing upon mission stations there should be established as soon as practicable a modified system of government adapted to their state of transition, from barbarous to civilized life" (Letter A.Z.M. to Commission, 1881, A/3/49). Rood commented upon the possibility of diminishing powers of the Chiefs over their followers who had moved onto mission lands and begun the transition to a Western way of life. He stated that:

although they still maintained contact with the tribe by visiting relatives and friends, they could be regarded as people who had not been expelled from their tribes, but gradually left the authority of the Chiefs.

He claimed further, the Chiefs did not take an aggressive attitude towards those of their tribes who had decided to live on the missions stations as Kolwa. In other words, the missionaries tended to emphasize that the transition process was not completely painful.

Shepstone was concerned with some of the administrative problems that came with the European law. He had noticed a diminution of Chiefly power, but not necessarily an increase in that given to magistrates. Instead: "It has become distributed amongst the members of the tribe. It is becoming so evenly distributed that one has not much more authority than another" (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 282). Clearly if the source of power is uncertain, the efficiency of the law is likely to be undermined. He obviously did not feel that there was no solution to the problem. He confidently claimed that: "As a rule Natives are a law-abiding people, but they like to have their say about any law that may affect them, and to feel that they have been consulted" (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 287).

Shepstone placed considerable emphasis upon consultation, a feature of the original relationships between Chiefs and elders which anthropologists and historians now recognized as being characteristic of tribal life of both the Zulu and the Sotho. He stated that his attitude, when new regulations were issued, was to inform the natives what the Government desired and then allow them to express their feelings freely. He discovered that they "took exception when laws were made concerning them, without there being prior consultation with them", but added: "I do not say all their objections should be allowed, but they should be listened to. I do not think that there is a more reasonable

people in the world, if they are only reasonably treated" (N.N.C. 1882, Evidence, p. 287).

Shepstone also commented upon the interpretation of contracts and the master and servant relationship. There was, he believed, a need for greater clarity and reform in this area:

There are great complaints on both sides. The Native not fulfilling their contracts because they do not like continuous work. The agreement usually is that they shall work six months out of twelve, but from the fact that their wives are there too they are often kept back (at their kraals) by the women. They have too many demands at their own kraals. There is also confusion amongst the women as to which child shall be sent out to work (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 133).

In Mini's opinion, the detailed administration of justice had deteriorated in the colony. He noted that when a Zulu appeared before a White magistrate: "There is no hearing between the White chiefs or magistrates and Natives. The interpreters often do not understand the words of the Native or do not convey them to the magistrate ... Many of the words are lost because the magistrate never hears them". There was in fact, Mini claimed, a distinct suspicion of some characteristics of European law:

The Natives are also discontented that lawyers should go into their cases. This is often the cause of their losing what they brought their case for, and also the property at home. Both plaintiff and defendant often lose in a case. This is grievous (to the land). The land thinks it is not as it was in the old time when Natives could speak with those who understand them. (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 133).

It is clear that, while there was reasonable agreement in many witnesses' minds about the need for adaptive approaches to those Zulu in transition from tribal to European culture, few concrete recommendations were made about how dual systems of law and its administration could be imple-

mented. This lack of precision is clearly illustrated by the concluding comment of the A.Z.M.'s written evidence, "it is to be hoped that the united wisdom of the Commission aided by the oral and written statements and opinions of so many experienced and competent witnesses - may suggest a solution" (Letter A.Z.M. to Commission, 1881, A/3/49).

An important aspect of Native Policy In Natal was the question of education, which received considerable attention from the Commission. Education will be considered similarly to the other themes already discussed and additional material will be used from a thesis by I.B. Limerick which included a detailed analysis of the question of education as it was considered by the Commission. According to Limerick, the questions asked by the Commissioners concerning education, covered a considerable range of topics, which can be tabulated in the following way:

TABLE 8

## TYPE OF QUESTIONS CONCERNING EDUCATION AS ASKED BY THE COMMISSIONERS

NO.	TYPE OF QUESITON ASKED	TOTAL NUMBER OF TIMES ASKED
1	Do the natives want education?	23
2	Should the education be industrial/college?*	11
3	Should education be compulsory?	10
4	Can Natives learn trades?	6
5	Should education be centred in the locations?	6
6	Should education be elitist?	6
7	Is an education system feasible?	6
8	Should Natives pay for education?	6

NO.	TYPE OF QUESITON ASKED	TOTAL NUMBER OF TIMES ASKED
9	Do the Chiefs object to the schools?	5
10	Are the educated the leaders?	5
11	Are Natives moral?	4
12	Should it be a Christian education?	3
13	Should the Government establish schools?	3
14	What can they do with their education?	3
15	Is education advancing?	3
16	Should education be given in English/Zulu?	2
17	Why don't they want education?	2
18	Is there general objection to education?	1
19	Can they be educated?	1
20	Would they be useful as interpreters?	1
21	How long should they stay at school?	1
22	Are there Native teachers available?	1

(Limerick, I.B., 1975, p. 55).

\* In the Natal context, college seems to mean an elementary education.

To obtain a general picture of the types of answers given to the questions, Limerick attempted to classify the answers in a broadly based table, which contained the key issues involving education and produced the necessary framework in which the evidence could be placed. In the following table the evidence given to the main commission is analysed.

TABLE 9

## WITNESSES' RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON EDUCATION

Code Y = Yes  
 U = Undecided, perhaps, maybe, conditional  
 N = No

TYPE OF ANSWERS GIVEN	Y	U	N
There is a desire for education	8	3	10
Education should be:-			
Industrial education only	1	0	1
Industrial followed by elementary	1	0	0
Elementary followed by industrial	8	0	0
Elementary only	1	0	0
We could enforce education	6	0	3
Natives can learn trades	3	2	1
Educate chiefs first	5	0	0
Government must express desire for education	4	0	0
Chiefs must express desire for education	2	0	0
Natives will pay for education	4	0	2
Chiefs object to schools if government schools	2	1	4
Chiefs object to schools if missionary schools	4	0	0
Civilised/educated Natives are important	0	0	4
The Natives are moral	1	1	0
It must be religious education	1	0	1
It is the Government's duty to establish schools	3	0	0

TYPE OF ANSWERS GIVEN	Y	U	N
With education Natives work:- at trades	1	0	0
in stores	1	0	0
for the government	1	0	0
The Natives are advancing	2	0	1
Education should be given in:- English and Zulu	1	0	0
English (or Dutch) only	5	0	0
Zulu first	1	0	0
Education is right even if not liked	7	0	0
General objections:- Missionary Africans spoilt	1	0	0
Missionary industrial schools failed	2	1	1
Natives are capable of education	2	0	0
Natives would be useful as interpreters	0	0	1
Length of time at schools:- 2-3 years	1	0	0
5 years	1	0	0
Native teachers could be found	1	0	0

(Limerick, I.B., 1975, p. 59).

It must be pointed out that, in addition, three Sub-Commissions were set up in order to interview as wide a cross-section of people in Natal as possible. One met in the Weenen and Klip Rivier Counties, the second was centred on the Coast Districts and the third met in Umvoti County (Limerick, I.B., p. 72). A table giving a brief analysis by

Limerick of the evidence collected by these three Sub-Commissions is tabulated as follows:-

TABLE 10

WITNESSES' RESPONSES TO EDUCATION QUESTIONS ANALYSED IN  
TERMS OF GEOGRAPHICAL AREA

Key W stands for Weenen and Klip River Counties Sub-Commission;  
C stands for Coast Districts Sub-Commission;  
U stands for Umvoti Sub-Commission.

Code Y = Yes  
U = Undecided, perhaps, maybe, conditional  
N = No

TYPE OF ANSWERS GIVEN	AREA	Y	U	N
Desire for Education	W	14	3	3
	C	10	0	2
	U	2	0	10
	TOTAL	26	3	15
Industrial Education	W	20	0	1
	C	10	0	0
	U	7	0	0
	TOTAL	37	0	1
Industrial and Academic	W	2	0	0
	C	0	0	0
	U	1	0	0
	TOTAL	3	0	0
Compulsory Education	W	6	0	0
	C	1	0	0
	U	0	0	0
	TOTAL	7	0	0
Education for Chiefs	W	1	0	0
	C	0	0	0
	U	0	0	0
	TOTAL	1	0	0

TYPE OF ANSWERS GIVEN	AREA	Y	U	N
Pay for Education	W	9	0	3
	C	8	0	1
	U	0	0	3
	TOTAL	17	0	7
Education increases dishonesty	W	0	0	1
	C	0	0	0
	U	3	0	0
	TOTAL	3	0	1
Education is duty of Government	W	3	0	0
	C	2	0	0
	U	0	0	0
	TOTAL	5	0	0
Education in English	W	2	0	2
	C	7	0	0
	U	0	0	0
	TOTAL	9	0	2
Education is right	W	3	0	0
	C	0	0	0
	U	0	0	0
	TOTAL	3	0	0
Missionary Education	W	1	0	5
	C	0	0	0
	U	0	0	1
	TOTAL	1	0	6

(Limerick, I.B., 1975, p. 71).

Several inferences from these tables deserve consideration. The first aspect is the desire for education by the Zulu. The evidence of the colonists was, in general, very vague, but they seemed to claim, however, that the Zulu had no desire for education (N.N.C., 1881-1882, p. 218).

Although the Chiefs did not give a definite yes or no for education, the commoners, whether educated or not, were

adamant that education should be provided. The majority of Zulu wanted to be educated and those who did not were "people in darkness who had to be brought to the light":

Other people are being brought into the light, but we are kept in the dark. We look to the Government to deal with the matter of education. The Natives have had intercourse with the White people in Natal for a long time now, yet they are the most backward of any Natives. I have heard, and it is right, there should be education for them (N.N.C., 1882, John Kumalo from St. Marks' Mission Station, cited in Limerick, p. 60).

Jacobus Matiwane, an educated Kolwa from Verulum Mission, replied in the same vein:

Let there be education, and let the Magistrates see that it is carried out. There can be no comparison between the White parents, who see to the education of their children, and the Native parents, because the former are living in light and the latter in darkness (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, cited in Limerick, p. 60).

Mini stressed the value of education to the "natives" and felt that their ability to learn had increased tremendously from what it previously had been (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 268). It must be pointed out that all three commoners whose views have been given, were all mission-educated Zulus.

According to Limerick, the geographical area from which the witnesses came, determined their 'desire or lack of desire' to be educated. Those Zulus who were located near towns (Durban and Pietermaritzburg) and along the South Coast, where most of the American Missionary Stations (including Amanzimtoti or Adams) were situated, showed a positive attitude towards education (Limerick, I.B., 1972, p. 60). This was in accord with the point of view expressed by the A.Z.M. who, in their letter to the Commission, pointed out that from their experience with the Natives who had established themselves along the coastal districts of the

colony, there "is a willingness, and in the case of some even a desire, that their children be instructed" (Letter, A.Z.M. to Commission, 1881, A/3/49).

In contrast, the farmers who spoke on behalf of the Zulu who lived on their farms (especially in the Umvoti area near the Zululand border), showed an unfavourable attitude towards education (Limerick, I.B., 1975, p. 60). In those areas where the Zulu knew something about education, they felt the Government should provide it regardless of the form it would ultimately take. This ideal is clear from the evidence of Stephanus Mini (Edenvale) and John Kumulo:

They might not like it (education) at first because they are blind but the time is coming when they will. I think they are more anxious to learn than they used to be ... (N.N.C., 1882, Mini, cited in Limerick, 1975, p. 68)

and

The black people may have sense, but they are still in great darkness and do not know what is for their good (N.N.C., 1882, Kumalo, cited in Limerick, 1975, p. 68).

Of particular significance was the role the government and the missionaries would play in the control, management and providing facilities for the education of the Zulu. The Chiefs were particularly concerned with their tribal authority which could be threatened if education and Christianity were not separated (Limerick, 1975, p. 70). Ntabeni, the head of the Zulu police in Newcastle, expressed the following sentiments:

We would like our old customs to be retained entirely, and none of the new regulations to exist. I do not know whether our children are sent to school by the Government but they are induced to attend. I know some mission stations which are sins of iniquity. We do not object to our children learning to read and write; but we do object to our women cutting off their top-knots from their

heads, adopting European garbs and calling themselves believers - as though it were possible for grown-up people to learn to read and write (cited in Limerick, 1975, p. 73).

An extreme view about Zulu at mission stations is given by a Chief near Greytown: "They do no good. After going to mission stations they become thieves and rogues" (cited in Limerick, 1975, p. 78). Chief Tinta of the Klip River Division stressed in his evidence that government had a specific role to play in preference to that of the mission:

I consider that the Government ought to take the children of us Chiefs and leading men to educate them, we being loyal Government people in the land, in order that they may communicate to us the wishes of the Government, as we are at present in the dark regarding such matters ... (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 294).

He expressed his dissatisfaction with what some young people had learnt from a mission station not far from his location: "I would readily send my children to a Government school to be instructed in writing and reading. I do not care about religious instruction for the children, but I wish them to know how to read and write (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 294).

Shepstone was questioned by the Commission on the attitude of the Chiefs to education. He felt that the Chiefs "would object if the establishment was like a mission station and a large slice of land was taken from them". Since the locations were already overcrowded, they would not object if a school was established as long as they did not lose any of their land. The Chiefs would be satisfied if the children were taught to read and write and the white man was given preference as teachers (N.N.C., Evidence, 1882, p. ).

The suspicion amongst some witnesses about mission education was clearly strong. The missionaries of the A.Z.M. would, in contrast, obviously express favourable views on the educational and other civilizing activities which took

place on mission stations. Rood claimed: "There would be an indifference on the part of the parents regarding sending their children to school, but if looked after the children would come". At the schools of the A.Z.M., he continued, "they come at the age of six and in two or three years they can read and write in their own language". Although the pupils had difficulty in learning the English language, both Zulu and English was taught in the mission schools (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 268).

As far as the availability of Zulu teachers was concerned, he contended that the A.Z.M. had Native teachers who taught at the mission schools with great success. Evidence for this claim was given of Native teachers who had trained at the Amanzimtoti Seminary, taught in a mission school with a class of 96, at a monthly salary of £3.0.0 which was the highest scale which the mission was prepared to pay Native teachers (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 268).

In their letter to the Commission, the A.Z.M. reminded its members of the past history of the mission and of the fact that their missionaries "lived in close and daily intercourse with the Native of the country, and had made it their life work to elevate them in the scale of moral and social being, in the endeavour to plant among them the institutions of the Gospel" (Letter A.Z.M. to Commission, 1881, A/3/49).

It is important to note the A.Z.M. opinions about the role of the Government in Zulu education. Rood thought "that the advancement of education among the natives would be enhanced if an officer of the Government be appointed to see after their education, and make himself acquainted with those engaged in Native Education" (N.N.C., 1882, Evidence, p. 268).

The key question of the A.Z.M. to the Commission was: "Could a system of education be inaugurated, whereby the active agency of the government would be united with the efforts of missionaries in the matter of education among the Natives?" (Letter A.Z.M. to Commission, 1881, A/3/49).

The question of Industrial Education also received considerable attention from the Commission, although the issue was somewhat confused because no clarity was given about what was really meant by the term. The missionaries and educated Zulu considered that elementary education followed by industrial education was the answer to the problem of the most effective way of implementing industrial pursuits (Limerick, pp. 61-62). When Shepstone was questioned on whether the "native" wanted to learn trades, he answered in the affirmative, adding:

Generally they were boys without homes or those whose fathers appreciated the benefit of trades. I am sorry to say, however, that I have found few stick to their trades afterwards.

He stated further:

I think if the Government were to express their desire for it to the Chiefs, the boys would come to any industrial school that might be established provided the instruction were of such a nature as to make it worth their while to learn. All the industrial schools on the mission stations had failed (N.N.C., Evidence, p. 280).

Rood claimed that there were many natives who expressed the desire for this type of education but he did "not know many cases where they have really practised trades" (N.N.C., 1881-1882, Evidence, p. 268). He also informed the Commission that he knew of no industrial school which existed for "natives" in the colony and indicated his desire to see vocational training being offered to the students who attended the A.Z.M.'s seminary at Amanzimtoti.

When reporting on the education of the Kolwa, Mini stated that ... "it is a good thing and right that the black people should be taught to read and write, and learn trades". He suggested "that magistrates be placed in the locations, and that with every magistrate there should be a missionary, and with every missionary there should be a

schoolmaster, and also someone to learn the natives' trades" (N.N.C., 1881-1882, Evidence, p. 134). In this claim, his opinions clearly coincided with the main thrust of the missionaries' evidence.

After the evidence was presented to the Commission, a report was drawn up which included recommendations and advice. This will be discussed under the five broad headings used to analyse the evidence itself: Polygamy and lobola; civilization; laws and land; religion; and education.

On the influence of polygamy on the Zulu family structure and on matrimonial quarrels, the Commission was of the opinion "that Native husbands are disposed to the cruel, while they do - and rightly - expect cheerful submission; but how far the system of polygamy operates adversely to sufficient attention being paid by husbands is another question" (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 5). The Commission had further established that

the rule for securing that girls are not to be forced into marriage against their will has worked beneficially. Evil may no doubt, as well as good, be connected with the system of freedom in these matters for the girls but as that system must be maintained we have only to try to lessen any such evil.

They added:

We think that it is right that up to a certain age the girls' parents or guardian's consent to a marriage should be a requisite, but that this necessity should cease when the girl attains twenty years of age (N.N.C., 1881-1882, 1882, p. 12).

They recommended a process of gradualism to the solution of the problem of polygamy:

While ... unable to recommend any plan for its immediate or direct suppression, we venture to throw out the suggestion as to whether it would not be desirable after a certain time to refuse to recognize in the Law courts polygamous unions occurring after that day (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 12).

The process of gradualism was also extended to the offspring "in the case of persons who, being unmarried, shall hereafter, without coming out from Native Law, adopt the principle of monogamy, by marrying according to Christian rites, their offspring shall, with them, be under the ordinary law of the Colony in respect of polygamy" (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 12).

The Commission commented that "African labola was in its origin, and indeed till comparatively lately, regarded as a symbolic visible recognition, as it were, of the relationship brought about by the marriage" (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 13). However, it was also of the opinion that in the custom of labola nothing was transacted to the material benefit of the married couple. "Hence the transaction has assumed the appearance of a sale and purchase of the intended cattle as her price" (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 13).

To gradually eliminate lobola, the Commission advocated that it be left "to the parties to the marriage to determine whether lobola should be essential to marriage, and if required, whether it should be in cattle or some equivalent" (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 13). In other words, voluntaryism was recommended. In a dissenting memorandum, Ackerman, the Speaker of the Legislative Council, felt that neither the policy of gradualism or voluntaryism should be adopted to lobola and polygamy but that these customs should be completely done away with, and referred to them as "those Native practices which enthrall the people in sensuality and degradation (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 20).

The Report was often pessimistic about progress being made in civilization by the Nguni and claimed that it was "so slow that we can hardly expect to be able to trace it as

having in any very sensible degree taken place during the period that the law of 1875 has been in operation". They observed that an important aspect of that law "that (provided) for the appointment of the Natives as Administrators" was never implemented (N.N.C. 1881-1882, 1882, p. 7).

On other occasions a more positive attitude was taken. The Report felt that the Zulu had made some progress in civilization during the period of the last 25 years which could be observed in:

the success or influence of missionary settlements, in the acquirement of property, both immovable and movable, in the general increased wearing of clothing, in the use of ploughs and wagons, in the diminution of forced marriages of girls, and in the more extensive purchase of manufactured goods. Among, the last, no doubt we have to regret increased consumption of ardent spirits (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 15).

In his dissenting memorandum, however, the Speaker, Ackerman, expressed his disappointment at the "insignificant amount attained by the Natives of real improvement in their social condition during many long years of British rule" and expressed the fear that:

with the large increase amongst the Natives of wealth and possessions, consequent on their contact with industries, wants, and enterprises of the White race, coupled with the lapse of unconsidered time, there has sprung up among them, ... a spirit of self-importance and assertion which, if further supported by lands in freehold, either tribally or individually, or if not subjected to efficient control, must, I fear, sooner or later eventuate in disaster to both races (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 19).

Considerable attention was given in the Report to matters of land and law.

The Commissioners explained that locations had been set aside for occupation by the Zulus and held in trust for them. This land could, in their opinion, present security to the Zulus when "land became comparatively scarce for purchases such pressure might be brought to bear upon the Colonial Government to bring the Location lands into the market for sale ..." (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 7). The Commission regretted "that the Locations were not originally so arranged so that the inhabitants should have been in a less degree separated from the White population than they are, and less congregated in masses" (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 8).

The Commissioners complained, however, that the Native Trust for the locations had done very little towards their effective running. The poor supervision is reflected in the following example:

We are informed that until very recently the beacons and boundaries of these locations had not been defined or pointed out to the Natives and ... the boundaries of one or more of them are still unsettled. The effect of this on the Native has been to cause him to settle down on what he had supposed was Location land ...

Inaccurate and incomplete surveying could also lead to loss of location lands:

in certain cases, from time to time, slices and plots of these lands have been sold by the Government to White people, the Native occupier has been turned off, and he has left with the firm impression in his mind that he had been set apart for his use, and a great grievance has thus been created (N.N.C., 1881-1882, 1882, p. 8).

Because of these problems, the Report felt that it was absolutely essential that proper supervision be exercised in the locations, in a manner that suggested that agricultural education should be developed:

for the purpose of instructing the Natives to utilize the land more fully than they do at present -

by living in larger communities, cultivating a greater variety of crops, manuring and irrigating (where practicable) their arable land, and separating it from that used for grazing, and by planting trees (N.N.C., 1881-1882, 1882, p. 8).

In a separate memorandum, Dean Greene considered the existing locations as ample for the Zulu since "the large majority of the Natives are not only capable of mixing but do mix with the White settlers, and therefore they do not require to have lands specially reserved for their use on account of their inability to associate with the European" (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 23).

In another memorandum to the Report, G.C. Cato commented on the separate problem of squatting and the possibility of charging rent for land occupied in this way:

Define, plain and clear, the boundaries of the Locations; tell the Natives they will have to move from the lands on which they are squatting; fix the time. As the Crown Lands will be required for sale, say to both White and Black, that will stimulate the Native to work. It is bad plan trying experiments with Natives, and then correct your own blunders by charging the Natives money for your own fault (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 25).

Cato reacted vehemently to the question of Natives purchasing land: "I oppose strongly (to) Natives having Freehold Title to lands while under Native Law. There is a great fuss made about Ukulabola and Polygamy, which cannot be touched direct ... " (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 24).

The Commission felt that there should be a gradual transition from Native Law to European Law: "The Natives have to be raised gradually, and we think that their cases being conducted in an orderly court may be a part of his uplifting process" (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 3). The Commission felt that everyone would be informed that Chiefs had no authority in criminal cases. Further, "it should be urged on them that their duty in respect of such cases is to report them to the magistrate; and we hope that they would more

readily discharge this duty when they had become accustomed to make reports in reference to civil cases brought before them" (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 4). Although the Commission felt that the powers delegated to the Chiefs held no threat to the security of the colonists, they pointed out that the loyalty of the Zulu to their Chiefs should not be underestimated. Since friction between the colonists and Zulus would be enhanced "by undue taxation, by harassing legislation, by practical denial of justice or by want of watchfulness and firmness in requiring due submission", it was suggested by them that such actions should at all times be discouraged (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 6).

From the evidence which was presented to it, the Commission found that in general the ordinary Zulu had no desire to be exempted from Native Law. It was noted in the Report, however, that an "educated Native" made a complaint to the Commission "that when they wished to obtain exemption from Native Law they found that they had to do so individually instead of being able to effect it as a community" (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 12). Although the Commission felt that this complaint was "sentimental", they suggested that when a group of Zulu felt the need to be exempted from Native Law, a Magistrate and Justice of Peace should travel to the group to put the exemption procedure into operation (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 20).

In dissenting memoranda, two Commissioners rejected the gradual transition to Western law. Ackerman felt that the changes in law and customs in Natal had grave disadvantages for the Zulu. The changes in these laws and customs were "nearly all the coveted 'sweets' of Native Law and Customs which have been conserved, while the 'bitters' have been eliminated; the result of which we too painfully now see. Legislative patchwork of such a kind appears to me to be injurious to everyone" (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 19). He expressed his concern at the way the Government had dealt with the Zulu population: "In dealing with and speaking of them, the Government had led the Blacks to believe that not

only is a duality of law necessary, but their right and inheritance" (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 20). Ackerman was also critical of the way Native Law had been exercised, "The cruelties and checks of Native Law proper would induce many a heathen in his own country to listen to a teacher; but in Natal these cruelties are forbidden, and by so much is the power of persuasion to change lessened" (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 20). Ackerman was clearly in favour of a stringent set of laws for the Zulus and he felt "the practical continuance of two sets of laws in so small a country as Natal is highly inconvenient and injurious, an evil which land tenure in freehold by Natives must intensify ..." (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 20).

In his dissenting memorandum, Dean Greene felt that, "It is anomalous and adverse to progress in the direction of unity that there should be two systems of courts in the Colony, independent the one of the other" (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 21). He believed that the "Supreme Court should control and guide every other Court" (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 21) and so could fairly easily be eliminated. Greene pointed out that Native Law "is confined, or nearly so, to marriage and its accompaniments, e.g. ukulabola, to the inheritance of property, and the guardianship of women and children" (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 21). Apologising for so little reference made concerning Christianity in the report, the Commissioners expressed their satisfaction in "the one great element for the civilization and happiness of our Natives ... a real Christianity". They believed "that the instrumentality of Christianising the Natives must be left to the exertions of religious bodies and private individuals". They felt "that in every Government School for Natives the work of the day should be begun with some simple form of worship" (N.N.C. 1881-1882, 1882, p. 15). Equally brief, was the set of recommendations on education. The Commission felt, according to the evidence presented to it, "there is little desire among ordinary Natives for education" but they did not anticipate any difficulty or oppo-

sition to schools being established in the locations. They recommended that the schools be begun among tribes which were favourably disposed to the Government:

but as these might be few we should also further propose that schools should be placed in some of the small tribes partly because any opposition would be of less moment, partly the distances for the children attending the school would be more manageable and partly because it might lead to Chiefs of larger tribes volunteering to ask for schools for their people (N.N.C. 1881-1882, 1882, p. 11).

With regard to Industrial Education, the earlier Commissions had seen much of it being acquired, incidentally, by the Zulu who worked for the colonists on farms or in towns. On the farms they "learn to plough and harrow, and to sow crops at proper distances, and to use various tools". In the towns they "are taught orderliness in domestic arrangements and to cook, and in a degree become acquainted with and take part in many of the developments and accomplishments of an advanced civilization, and it is but fair to the Natives to say that many of them are easily broken in to all this" (N.N.C. 1881-1882, 1882, p. 11).

In their report they stated, however, that these examples could not be regarded as true industrial pursuits "in what are ordinarily called trades, such as masonry, carpentry, and iron and leather work". They thought "that the best mode for instructing in these would be by apprenticing selected youths to tradesmen in towns working at the various crafts", but "it would also be ... desirable to have a school or schools in which such youths might be taught the elements of the above mentioned trades, so as to know something of them before they are apprenticed". They felt that the moral and further education of the apprentices should not be neglected and recommended that the Government should appoint a special Superintendent for Native schools which were supported or aided by the Government (N.N.C. 1881-1882, 1882, p. 11).

In the Report of the Commission, broad suggestions were made concerning a gradual transition of the Zulu from tribalism to civilization, particularly Western Christian civilization. The Report was somewhat thin and expressed in general terms, with very little concern for detail or explanation. This clearly reflected the uncertain nature of the evidence submitted to it. Subsequent claims that the recommendations of the Commission presented more problems than solutions, are to a certain extent valid. In fact one of the Commissioners himself, G.C. Cato, expressed his frustration with the vagueness of the final recommendations. In doing so, however, he also revealed his own particular point of view.

Cato suggested that the Report be "referred to a Select Commission to pick out and codify the workable portion, as the Report failed in 'The Great Expectations', namely, to make Native labour plentiful, cheap and permanent" (N.N.C. Report, 1882, p. 25). It was certainly likely that this frustration was also felt by many other colonists. It is in fact interesting that nowhere in Brookes & Webb (1965) is any reference made to the Commission or its findings.

The Colonial Government and the Commissioners were hoping to collaborate with the A.Z.M. and other missionary bodies in attempting two distinct tasks: to keep the Zulu in subjugation and to help them accept Western Civilization. Behind these broader aims, however, were repetitions of the old established concerns. The Zulu were seen largely as a source of cheap labour. This need permeated all the recommendations on customs, land, law, religion and education. No clear cut evidence or detailed policy suggestions emerged from the Commission which could point to how these tasks could be tackled, or how easily the Zulu might be persuaded to abandon some or all their customs.

A disappointing aspect of the evidence and recommendations of the Commission was the relatively minor contribution of the A.Z.M. The A.Z.M. had not been asked to serve on the Commission and therefore it should have used every

available opportunity to state its point of view on the Commission's terms of reference. Considering the fact that it had been operating in Natal for about fifty years, a more comprehensive written report might have been presented and more extended answers to important issues affecting their work could have been given by Ireland and Rood in their oral evidence.

The most important issues the A.Z.M. had addressed itself to were the exemption of the Kolwa from Native Law, a partnership between the mission body and the Government in providing a system of education for the "native", and the abolishing of polygamy and lobola. None of these recommendations was considered by the Commission. The Commissioners did not see their way clear to recommend the complete abolition of polygamy and ukulobola, although they admitted it was injurious to the development of the Kolwa.

There is no indication in the documents consulted as to what the official response of the A.Z.M. was to the final recommendations of the Commission. However, much could be inferred from the evidence of the American Missionaries, Ireland and Rood, and the letter written by the A.Z.M. to the Commission (already referred to). One of the main results of the 1881-1882 Commission was the passing of Law No. 1 of 1884 which gave the Council of Education (established in 1877), seven specific functions regarding education for the Zulu. To facilitate this new role, the Council's original membership of ten was increased to twelve, by the addition of two people who were "acquainted with the Zulu language and Native habits and customs and taking interest in Native education" (Loram, C.T., 1917, p. 56).

The Council was firstly given the power to appoint teachers in those schools which the Government would establish for the "natives" and "to pay grants to the existing mission schools provided they conformed to the syllabus, rules and regulations of the Council". Secondly, the controlling body of the Native Reserves (the Natal Native Trust) was given the power to make land available to the

Council for the express aim of advancing "native" education. Thirdly, authority was given to the Council to appoint an Inspector of Native Schools to check that the Council's Native education instructions were carried out. Fourthly, an annual report which included "the report of the Inspector of Native schools and a financial statement" was to be presented to the Legislative Council by the Council of Education. Fifthly, funds from the £5,000 reserve were to be used annually for the provision of 'native' education, as well as further sums which would be made available by the Legislative Council. Sixthly, pupils could be admitted to the "native" schools provided they were between six and fifteen years old. Of particular importance was the seventh point which listed the components of a compulsory curriculum in "native" schools. Seven subjects had to be included:

- (i) Reading and writing in the English language.
- (ii) Reading and writing in the Zulu language.
- (iii) Arithmetic, up to and including the 'rule of three'.
- (iv) The elements of industrial training.
- (v) Sewing and plain needlework in girl's schools.
- (vi) Instruction in the principles of 'morality' in a manner adapted to their capabilities.

(Loram, C.T., 1917, pp. 56-57)

Some attention had been given to Industrial Education in the Commission, despite the confusion which existed about what was really meant by it, both in the evidence presented to it, and in the Report's recommendations. The 1884 Education Law, however, was to give the impetus to the development of an Industrial Department at the Amanzimtoti Seminary. It is therefore important to discuss Industrial Education in the next chapter and to emphasise its origin, development and significance at Amanzimtoti Seminary.

## CHAPTER 9

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION : MISSIONARY EDUCATIONAL POLICY  
IN MICROCOSM

From the outset in this chapter it must be pointed out that the Prudential Committee of the American Board had, in approximately 50 years that they had been directing operations in Natal, adopted in the main, a restrictive policy towards Industrial Education. In their instructions to the pioneer missionaries in 1835, the Board stressed that attention should be given "to the introduction of the mechanical and other useful arts among the natives" (Prudential Committee to missionaries, 22/11/1834, A/2/15). As will become clear in this chapter, the Board later showed less keenness about Industrial Education being offered at the mission stations of the A.Z.M. One of the main reasons for this change in attitude was the question of cost. Since Industrial Education is expensive to operate, there is always uncertainty and hesitancy about introducing it into any educational system. This aspect of cost would influence considerably the success of Industrial Education at Amanzimtoti and other institutions.

Another important issue which would influence the success of Industrial Education among the Zulu, would be the likelihood of qualified Zulu tradesmen competing for the same jobs with the white artisans in Natal. This factor would influence the Government's and colonists' attitude.

On the other hand, the exposure of the tribal Zulu to Industrial Education could bring them into the orbit of Western civilization and increase the demands and needs for commodities such as better clothing and more conventional ("square") houses. These economic advantages often conflicted with fears of labour competition, and so policies and their application were not always consistent. A further factor was the frequency of changes of details within colonial industrial training legislation. This was ap-

parently an attempt to formulate a reasonable system of Industrial Education which could work and yet not be too expensive.

Another problem will have to be considered. From the outset the Board in America, the A.Z.M. in Natal and the Colonial Government found it difficult to define and thus to implement vigorously, industrial, vocational and technical education. An attempt will be made to clarify the confusion which existed at Amanzimtoti Seminary concerning Industrial Education.

The development and implementation of Industrial Education at Amanzimtoti was characterized by nearly a decade (1884-1892) of Government intervention, which at times adopted an overambitious approach. This attitude went side by side with an enthusiastic but disappointing contribution by the A.Z.M. during 1886-1894. The period 1895-1910 was one of fluctuating fortunes, however, and some progressive steps were made to build up a successful Industrial Department at Amanzimtoti.

The American Board had raised the matter of Industrial Education again in 1864. In outlining the educational programme which should be followed at the seminaries (Amanzimtoti and Inanda) which were to be established in 1865, the Prudential Committee instructed that these seminaries "should be purely missionary institutions" to train students to become teachers and preachers "and not for planters, or traders or government employees" (Boston to A.Z.M., 24/11/1864, A/2/15). (For more detail see Chapter 7).

Early in the 1880's, when the seminary was about twenty years old, the A.Z.M. had still not been able to establish a regular Industrial Department, although a start had been made with rudimentary training in printing and carpentry (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 8). During the decade of the

1870's the students of the seminary, as part of their extramural activity, were involved in manual labour to help maintain the extensive grounds (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 8).

At this time the American Board again reminded their missionaries that "they could not let (their) money be spent on teaching trades to the natives seeing that it was subscribed for evangelistic purposes only, and that funds for that purpose must be obtained from outside" (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 8). The A.Z.M. continued to keep to this policy. In the early 1880's, funds for industrial training at the Amanzimtoti Seminary were promised by the Colonial Government. When the A.Z.M. informed the Board of the Government's intention, the Prudential Committee replied that they would support the initiation of Industrial Education with the distinct understanding that the A.Z.M. should never expect any financial assistance from the Board for this branch of education (Boston to A.Z.M., 18/8/1884, A/2/16). They were, however, also concerned about another implication of this development, namely that the A.Z.M. should guard against any secularization of their education work and that the missionary should not be allowed to neglect his religious work to participate in "the industrial experiment" (Boston to A.Z.M., 1884, A/2/16).

This viewpoint influenced the missionaries working in Natal. Two years after the Board's cautions had been expressed, the Jubilee celebrations of Amanzimtoti Mission were held. On this occasion, several speeches about the wisdom of limiting industrial training were delivered. One was by a guest speaker, Mason, from the Wesleyan Mission. The Jubilee Papers' summary of his contribution read:

He did not believe industry was going to change men's hearts and characters. At home (England) it was decided that the working men were becoming increasingly irreligious and he felt that Christianity was the basis of civilization and not civilization the basis of Christianity.

He was prepared, however, to recognize some possible advantage "in combining industrial with religious training, but progress must be slow with both kinds of training, if it was to be thorough" (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 11).

Rev D Rood of the A.Z.M. commented on the same occasion upon "the difficulty the missionaries felt in understanding what the government meant by the term industry", but he claimed that they "were all in favour of such practical industries as carpentry". He used, as an example of appropriate mission work in the industrial field, the development of the sugar mill built as early as 1860 near the Umvoti Mission under the guidance of Aldin Grout, who had encouraged the Zulu to plant cane. The Colonial Government had provided funds for the mill, and Grout had claimed that the link between sugar farming and a nearby mill, would prevent tribesmen from travelling around "too much under the influence of bad men" (Grout to Anderson in Boston, 14/8/1860 cited in Dinnerstein, 1971, p. 122). Rood believed that over the years, this development had contributed "largely to their industrial training", and for this the Government's "forethought and liberality" was to be praised (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 11). Other American missionaries such as Wilcox, Wilder and Goodenough, all of whom were influential members of the mission in 1880's, stressed that the A.Z.M. could now with renewed vigour exploit the economic potential of the mission reserves and glebes (Jubilee Papers, 1866, p. 11), but again they did not produce any detailed scheme.

The Government's viewpoint about Industrial Education in this period was reflected in a series of laws which it passed. These laws were summarized in the early paragraphs of a report on native education" concentrating on Industrial Education, will be given later in this chapter.

The first legislation of Industrial Education was Ordinance 2 of 1856 which authorized the Lieutenant-Governor "to establish ... and to contribute towards the support of schools otherwise established", and "... that religious education, industrial training and instruction in the

English language shall form a necessary part of the system to be pursued in such schools" (Committee Report, 1892, pp. 1-2). With the passing of Law No. 1 of 1884, the Council of Education (which had been set up under Law 15 of 1877) was given powers to control native education in Natal. As was shown in the previous chapter, the Council could now "establish and maintain government schools for Africans, assist approved mission schools, frame rules and regulations for these institutions, appoint and support the teaching staff, prescribe the curriculum to be followed in (Native Schools)" (cited in Switzer, 1971, p. 242). The curriculum of all the schools under the control of the Education Council was to include reading and writing in the medium English and Zulu, Arithmetic, elements of industrial training, and with the girls doing sewing and plain needlework.

The exact form of this Industrial Education element, however, was not very clearly defined, although the teaching of this subject was prescribed for any school (including mission schools) claiming a government grant. Law 13 of 1885 slightly modified these requirements by excluding those schools which were in existence before 1884, and confining the subject only to any newly-established schools, since it was felt that missionary societies such as A.Z.M. would not have had the necessary funds to purchase expensive tools or hire good artisans (Emanuelson, O., 1926, p. 117). Further modifications were made through Law 38 of 1888, which allowed "manual" training as an alternative to "Industrial Training", and which awarded grants according to the extent and type of training provided by a school. Three kinds or classes of schools were recognized:

Class 1: Industrial Schools at which regular instruction is given in trades or handicrafts, to be eligible for the highest scale of grants.

Class 2: Schools at which manual or field labour, approved by the Council of Education, is regularly done by the scholars, to be eligible for the second scale of grants.

Class 3: Schools at which no regular instruction is given in trades or handicrafts or in manual or field labour .... (Committee Report, 1892, p. 3).

The grants within each class of school "shall be decided upon by the Council of Education."

Since 1892 represented a significant stage in the development of Industrial Education for the Zulu and the seminary, it is necessary to examine the position of the 1892 Committee's Report. This Committee was called upon to investigate Native Education since (and as the Commission confirmed) "there is a difference of opinion between those who are engaged in religious instruction and education of the Natives and those who are not so engaged, it was felt to be desirable that the enquiry should be exhaustive as possible (Native Committee Report, 1892, p.1). There was also controversy between the colonists' and the Council of Education's pressure to place greater emphasis on manual labour and less on trades. These factors lead to the "Report of the Special Native Committee of the Council of Education appointed to consider the question of Native Education".

Little information is given about those who served on the committee. The nature of the issues to be investigated, however, and the fact that the Council of Education was a body which consisted of colonists, suggests that its members were likely to be people who were sympathetic to the cause of the colonists.

The Committee sent a list of eighteen questions about Native Education "to various Missionaries, Magistrates, and others, from most of whom replies have been received" (Committee Report, 1892, p.1). The Committee also "visited certain of the schools for the purpose of eliciting information and of ascertaining ... the state of the Missionary Institution and the views of the Missionaries" (Committee Report, 1892, p.1). The schools included the A.Z.M.

seminaries at Inanda and Amanzimtoti. The questions to be considered, the summary of received evidence and the final recommendations of the Committee were presented in a rather thin document (20 pages). These are examined under seven headings: Education provision; compulsory attendance and efficiency; types of industrial training schools; financial aspects of Industrial Education provision; educational control; a group of miscellaneous questions such as language medium, role of religion, literacy and Native attitudes and principles that underlay Industrial Education.

The first heading was concerned with the question of the efficiency of the existing laws on Native education as well as the most efficient manner of conducting this type of education. To the Committee the feasibility of applying a system of compulsory education was an important problem. Some of the witnesses believed "that an attempt to compel parents (to let their children attend school) would be resisted". The possibility also existed that "a prejudice against Christianity" could develop as the "bulk of the Natives" could not "distinguish between secular and religious instruction" (Committee Report, 1892, p.4). Evidence showed that "the attendance of Natives at Missionary institutions appears to be very largely due to the personal influence of the Missionaries", therefore even if the Government were to bring pressure upon the Natives to let their children attend school, "very little can be effected by Government except to strengthen the hands of the missionaries by encouraging the natives to send their children to such schools" (Committee Report, 1892, p.7).

The second question to be considered was the type of industrial training to be provided. This established the classification of schools based on the kind of training, control schemes and the length of time of training. The witnesses were asked to consider some possible approaches towards the classification of schools which had been suggested by the Inspector of Native schools. Provision was made for girls to be given Industrial Education in which

they received "not less than thirty-five hours industrial training and twelve hours school teaching per week, under competent teachers". The industrial activities involved "cutting out and making ordinary articles of clothing for both sexes, washing and ironing, making and baking bread, and cooking meat and vegetables, together with general housing cleaning" (Committee Report, 1892, p.17). Boys could be taught: "Brickmaking and burning, stone quarrying and dressing, bricklaying and plastering, carpentry, thatching, or general operations ...." (Committee Report, 1892, p.17).

Also under consideration were farm schools in which facilities would be made available for pupils to obtain "a general knowledge of agricultural work" which included "fencing, irrigating, ploughing, planting and reaping crops", as well as "brickmaking, or quarrying, or dressing stone, (which) may in the winter months take the place of field work" (Committee Report, 1892, p.17). Nowhere in the Report does any evidence from any witnesses appear about this classification of schools. Nevertheless the Committee recommended that financial aid should be granted to schools which would be classified into the following three classes: In Class 1 schools (kraal or co-education elementary schools) industrial activities should include: "weeding, matmaking, digging, the growth of vegetables, mealies etc., washing, ironing of clothes, housework" (Committee Report, 1892, p.12).

In Class 11 schools, for boys, activities were to include: "Ploughing, harrowing, manuring, tilling of the ground generally according to European methods (and) gardening". Other industrial pursuits should be "printing, tailoring, brickmaking, bricklaying, plastering, carpentry, wagon-making, blacksmithing, tinsmithing, making and repair of saddlery, making and repairing of shoes, horse-shoeing, oil cake making, fencing stone work (and) tree planting" (Committee Report, 1892, p.12).

Girls were to be taught: "housework, sewing, tailoring, cutting out or making clothing, washing, ironing cooking ..." (Committee Report, 1892, p.12).

In Class I schools (Training Institutions), the programme would be similar to that of Class II only on a more advanced scale, with the primary aim of teaching "others how to work and how to teach" (Committee Report, 1892, p.13).

Thirdly, the financing of the recommendations was considered. The crucial issue was to what extent the Government was prepared to finance so extensive an industrial training programme. One important issue was whether grants would be considered on per capita basis or whether support should be based on total expenditure. Important also was what would be the contribution of missionary bodies themselves towards financing Industrial Education as Colonial support would have to come from the annual £5 000 grant which had been reserved for Native affairs. The possibility of Missionary Societies having to bear the costs of such training seems to have been unanimously rejected by the Missionary witnesses:

Missionaries appear to be quite willing to superintend the manual and industrial training, but they not unnaturally insist that the cost should be borne by the Government, or in any case, should not be borne by the missionary bodies to which they belong (Committee Report, 1892, p.5).

Missionaries did not have money "to employ competent tradesmen to give instruction at each school", and they accepted that most missionaries could not serve as industrial instructors as they had not been sent out for that purpose, and were in any case not usually qualified to give such instruction" (Committee Report, 1892, p.9).

The Report recommended four types of financial support. Firstly, the Council of Education should "make grants in aid for the purpose of purchasing tools and machinery" (Committee Report, 1892, p.13) and secondly, that it might be prepared to pay at least half the costs of buildings subject

to its approving the plans. Thirdly, the Committee believed that the Council of Education could be expected to pay the salary of a competent industrial - teacher at an approved institution. The final recommendation was that Government should grant £5 per pupil, with a maximum of £150 per institution.

The report next considered the question of whether the schools and training institutions should be under the control of the Government, or Missionary bodies, or both. Differences of opinion along precisely these lines existed between the missionaries themselves, "some being of the opinion that manual and industrial training should be under the sole control and direction of the Government, while others think that in the interests of the Government as well as of the Natives, this is not desirable" (Committee Report, 1892, p.4). The majority of witnesses, however, suggested that there should be limited but effective Government control. The general concensus was "that the teaching of the Natives of this Colony should be conducted only by missionaries, subject to Government inspection, which should be as thorough as possible" (Committee Report, 1892, p.4).

The Committee itself finally suggested "that no Government system of education, pure and simple, is likely to succeed at present, and that even if it were possible to make it a success, the expenditure, if a large number of children were to be brought within its influence, would be enormous" (Committee Report, 1882, p.7). The Committee explained the reasons for their recommendation. Exclusive Government control would not succeed since "Government education must of necessity be almost entirely secular, and even if not secular, must be non-denominational, and speaking generally it would appear to be difficult to obtain the services of enthusiastic non-denominational teachers" (Committee Report, 1892, p.7). It added that: "It is not desirable that the Government should unduly control or direct the religious desires of the people. State instruction in religion would

of necessity, be imperfect and colourless" (Committee Report, 1892, p.7).

The Missionaries and other Christians who were engaged "in teaching the Natives, receive practically no remunerations beyond their board and lodging, and in most cases the personal involvement is very small". The missionary was dedicated and devoted to his work "and continues to work under the influence of a Divine calling and without the hope of reward other than of the conversion and civilization of the Natives under his ministerial care" (Committee Report, 1892, p.7). Therefore, "Education conducted in such a spirit must of necessity sooner or later produce better results than any other system of education ...." (Committee Report, 1892, p.7).

Differences existed about "whether instruction should be given in the English or Zulu language". Most of the witnesses were in favour of Zulu being taught first, followed by English. Some felt "that by instruction in English the Natives would be more rapidly brought under the influence of civilization". One of the reasons "given for instruction in Zulu first is that it is a phonetic language, besides which it is naturally easier for a Native to acquire knowledge through Zulu than through a foreign language" (Committee Report, 1892, p.6). The Committee believed that it would be preferable to establish single-sex schools, except perhaps in the cases of elementary schools, and that "especially where the pupils are over 10 years, they should be separated, and indeed we would prefer, if it were possible, in the case of Training Instructions, that only one sex should receive instruction at one station" (Committee Report, 1892, p.11). No other conclusive recommendations were made on this matter.

The sixth theme to be considered entailed the question of the Zulus' attitude to their children receiving education. It would seem that the Committee had received some evidence about Zulu parents' wishes for their children's education:

Natives send their children to school not for the purpose of being taught how to work, but of being taught how to read and write, but they are not unwilling in consideration of their receiving instructions in such subjects, to allow them to be taught manual or industrial labour, but only to a limited extent (Committee Report, 1892, p.9).

Some of the witnesses who were "kraal natives" objected to their children receiving education because "by becoming Christians they will leave their kraals, the boys to work for themselves, the girls to marry some poor man who had no cattle ... they require their children at home to look after their cattle, crops etc., " (Committee Report, 1892, p.5). These parents further stressed that nothing concrete was achieved if their children were educated. They emphasized: "That the instruction of their children is destroying the foundation of their whole existence ... it induces children to go to towns where they acquire bad habits ... they will lose control over their children". As traditionalists they felt: "That what was good enough for their fathers is good enough for them ... they fear the wrath of the spirit of their ancestors ... if they are instructed they will want to buy clothes" (Committee Report, 1892, p.5). The opinion expressed by Kolwa witnesses was much more positive. One such witness testified: "That the Natives with whom he is brought in contact are very anxious to have their children educated ... and that if he had assistance he could open schools with an attendance of more than 1,000 scholars" (Committee Report, 1892, p.5).

Lastly, the Report considered whether Industrial Education should be compulsory for all pupils in schools which received Government aid. The question of whether schools should give exclusive instruction in manual or industrial work, or whether Industrial Education should be combined with ordinary instruction had also to be considered. Opinions were further required on whether the moral influence of the missionaries was a key factor in securing the attendance of Zulu children at schools (Committee Report,

1892, p.15). The Committee specifically sought views on whether "it is desirable that steps be taken to provide industrial and domestic training for both boys and girls by means of central institutions in suitable localities" (Committee Report, 1892, p.19). Also required was the viewpoint of witnesses to the objections which were made (mainly by colonists) to such a proposal.

Three frequently-raised objections were listed for witnesses to consider. Firstly: "That if thorough and successful it would have the effect of producing Coloured competitors in the White artisan labour market." Secondly: "Pupils could not be obtained for such institutions voluntarily, and that missionary institutions cannot obtain all the pupils for whom they have accommodations." Thirdly: "That Natives can learn trades by going direct to a tradesman and there apprenticing themselves, receiving salary probably at the very commencement of their services". In the case of the Zulu girls, "they also can get situations, even if untrained, and draw wages at once." (Committee Report, 1892, p.19).

The Committee noted the missionaries' evidence about the importance of not providing Industrial Education at the expense of basic literacy and instruction in Christianity, purposes of any missionary school. Missionaries, according to the Report, were in agreement that some training for future work should be given to every child according to his capacity, and according to his circumstances, and listed some very simple skills which had been suggested by witnesses: sewing, weeding, housework, mat-making, seed-planting, basket-making, tree planting, etc." (Native Committee Report, 1892, p.5). It should be noted, however, that these are in fact "skills" and do not seem to imply that the pupils would receive much understanding of principles or theory that might underpin such skills.

In their own recommendations, the Committee was as cautious about extensive industrial training as were the missionaries who gave evidence. Their arguments were built

upon the fact that the range of industrial activity followed up to then by the Zulu in Natal were both simple and limited as were their own economic needs. Although this was not specifically mentioned, these simple needs were imposed upon the Zulu by their own very low income levels. It was argued, therefore, that to train them, perhaps in large numbers, as fully competent artisans would not guarantee them a market for their skills in the wealthier but small White community or in their own community which would not be able to afford the articles they produced (Committee Report, 1892, p.9).

Instead, the Report recommended training in simple skills which could be used to benefit the Zulu themselves. Several of these were listed: Rough housebuilding skills; making of wagons and carts, ploughs or saddles ... anything that may come within the ordinary day work of a man upon a farm" (Committee Report, 1892, p.10). Linked with these skills, however, should be the development of attitudes such as "habits of industry and cleanliness. They should be taught how to work, and how to make the most of their opportunities and circumstances". After such attitudes had been inculcated, progress could be expected when and "if the Natives could be got to keep their houses and surroundings clean, and their crops planted in straight rows, and well weeded and manured; their method of cultivation is too often very slipshod" (Native Committee Report, 1892, p.10).

It would not have been in keeping with 19th Century attitudes, if the links between Black labour and White needs had not been considered. Clearly habits of industry would be advantageous to White employers. The Report also pointed out that, with the range of "rough skills" it advocated, "a Native thus usefully instructed would be employed by farmers and others, who would give fairly remunerative payment but who could not afford to employ skilled European labour" (Committee Report, 1892, p.10).

The Report did not consider the total costs of such training, and ended, as so many such suggestions had done in

the past, with the re-statement of the conviction that the aim should not be "to make the Native finished tradesmen, but to train them to be industrious and self helpful and to raise them in the scale of civilization" (Committee Report, 1892, p.14).

As a result of the 1892 Report, the Council of Education passed in 1893 "an amended and more detailed classification of all aided African schools, fixing Government grants to carefully prescribed conditions emphasizing, in effect, unskilled labour" (Switzer, L., 1971, p.253). The per capita and total grants recommended by the 1892 Report were considerably modified and, in fact, reduced.

The schools were classified into three classes on the basis of the number of hours which were spend on industrial training. A different classification of schools to that instituted in 1888 was now tried. Three types of schools were recognized: Industrial Schools and Training Institutions; Primary Schools; and Elementary Schools. These last schools, were in particular those established before the 1885 Law, in which industrial training regulations did not apply. The interpretation of the work expected of a full-scale industrial school, was in view of what little had been done before, very ambitious. Emanuelson (1926, pp. 145, 146) summarises the training in trades such as "printing, tailoring, brickmaking, plastering, carpentry, wagonmaking, blacksmithing, tinsmithing, saddlery, shoemaking, stone-massonry ...". Other trade training could, if necessary, be recognized. To receive a grant which was "at £5 per head per annum for resident pupils only" the students had to spend six hours a day "on industrial and manual work, and ninety minutes per day on ordinary scholastic subjects". By implication, some theoretical background to each trade had to be given: "Work was to be of an advanced character".

Equally important, the institution had to be reasonably large and efficient enough to encourage regular attendance. The average attendance had to be maintained at least of ten daily in each quarter, and the pupils should be between thirteen and twenty-five years of age. These requirements were more stringent than those recommended for Class 1 schools in the 1892 Report. There was an echo of the 1892 Report's recommendations in the very brief indication of the aims of such training: "The students were to be industrious and useful to themselves, and had to become able to train others to work" (Emanuelson, O., 1926, p.145.).

The Class 2 Primary schools were expected to be divided into two departments, the "Upper" for boys and the "Lower" for girls. It was clearly not intended that these schools would cater for young adults. In the upper section of each school, the work would be the same as in the Class 1 schools, but the same standard of efficiency would not be expected. The pupils were expected to do industrial work from 4 hours a week for children between the ages of 8-10 years to 9 hours a week above 12 years.

The work done by the boys was to be any one of the trades mentioned for Class 1 schools, or cultivation of soil according to approved civilized methods of manuring, ploughing, harrowing, and gardening generally (Emanuelson, O., 1926, p. 146).

The grant payable for the upper sections of these Class II schools was extended from 30 to 40 s (shillings) per annum for each pupil and maximum grant payable was £150.

The work to be done in the lower section of each of these schools was to include sewing and plain needlework, or such of the following as the circumstances of the school would permit:- gardening or cultivation generally according to approved civilized methods; mat-making, straw-plaiting; brush-making; basket-making; washing and ironing of clothes; housework generally "(Emanuelson, O., 1926, p. 146).

The grants which were payable to the lower section for girls' work were to be 15s (shillings) per annum per pupil with the average attendance not being less than 15 each day per quarter. This is very much lower than that recommended in 1892, when there was no suggestions that differing grants for boys' and girls' training should be paid. Emanuelson (1926, p. 146) sums up the effects of the 1893 Regulations:

The Council of Education could now give grants up to half the cost of tools and machinery. The Council could pay the whole salary of an Industrial teacher competent to give instruction to the teachers throughout the Colony. Mixed schools for pupils over 12 were gradually to be done away with. The Council could discontinue grants in order to do away with co-education. The inspector was not to examine beyond Standard 5, unless the pupils intended becoming teachers. One and the same school could be divided into separate departments to suit these regulations. Any grant could cease after six months notice.

The account given up to this point in the chapter can be summarized in this way. The years 1884 to 1893 presented a decade of government action and intervention in the implementation and development of Industrial Education among the Zulu. Initially the Government, in a very broad way, encouraged Industrial Education without really clearly defining what was meant by it. These broad aims had to be continuously modified because of the inability of missionary schools to meet the requirements of the proposed programmes of Industrial Education, and, because of the vacillating policy adopted by the Government towards the education of the Zulu. Modification in Industrial Education was brought about in 1885, 1888, in the recommendations of the 1892 Committee, and in the regulations introduced in 1893. These factors were to influence the role that the A.Z.M. and other missionary society's could play in implementing and developing Industrial Education at mission schools.

A further factor which influenced the development of Industrial Education was that of finance. What was missing

from the 1892 Report was an estimate of the total financial commitment which had to be made for the broad-scale Industrial Educational programme it recommended and which was promulgated in 1893. By assumption, finance from Government would be limited since it would have to come from the £5000 per year (collected through hut tax) available for "native" affairs" (see Chapter Five). If a large number of industrial classes were created, aid on a scale of approximately £5.0.0 per capita (to a maximum of £150) might have exceeded this sum of £5 000.

Although there was a clear indication that missionary societies could not make a substantial contribution to Industrial Education, no detailed attention was given to the way an educational programme could operate when the missionary societies would be responsible for financing religious and literacy education while the Government was responsible for Industrial Education. It is apparent that the Government hoped that some finance would come from missionary funds.

It is also necessary to point out two major differences between the recommendations of the 1892 Committee and the regulations implemented in 1893. Firstly, the new regulations made provision for more time (6 hours) to be spent on industrial and manual training per day with very little time being allocated to academic instruction. Secondly, the crucial condition for successful Industrial Education, namely adequate finance, was drastically curtailed by the grants-in-aid the government was willing to allocate.

The attempts at Amanzimtoti to set up industrial training can now be set against the changing Colonial Government attitudes towards such training and its financing. The A.Z.M. regarded the interest of the Colonial Government in 1884-1885 in industrial and manual training as an opportune moment for the implementation of the economic development of

the glebes and reserves. The Boston Board, which now supported industrial education, claimed "the need for industrial training in its foreign mission schools during these years (is) an effective tool of evangelism" (Strong, W. E., 1910, p. 327, cited in Switzer, 1971, p. 246). This statement should be compared with its earlier viewpoint, expressed in 1864, not to support industrial education. With this support, the enthusiasm of the missionaries, and a gratuity of £156 from the Colonial Government, it was not at all surprising that the A.Z.M. established a fully-fledged industrial department at the seminary on the occasion of their Jubilee celebrations.

With the newly established Industrial department under Russell, a competent instructor, the printing press, which was owned by the A.Z.M., was again put into use "and several pupils were trained as compositors under the supervision of an African Journeyman who had spent five years as a printer at Lovedale". Religious literature in English, Zulu, and Tsonga was produced at the seminary during the 1880's (Switzer, L., 1971, p. 247). But activities were not confined to printing. In the 1887 General Letter the A.Z.M. claimed that "a lathe, forge, and blacksmith's tools, shoemakers tools and leather have been added to the industrial plant ... there is little doubt that the increased numbers are due in part to the fact of our having such industries" (General Letter to Boston from A.Z.M. 1887, p.4). In addition some instruction was provided in "... bee-keeping, bricklaying, book-binding, bookkeeping, cartography" (of which the last two were considered as being unique in the history of the Colony at the time) (Switzer, L., 1971, p. 248). This was the response of the A.Z.M. to the regulations of the Council of Education. But, "The colonial prejudice is very strong and the cry is 'educate them ... to work' and they seem to have no faith in missionary work which does not centre in an industrial system" (Ransom to Smith, 11/11/1890, cited in Switzer, 1971, p. 252).

The Industrial department at the Amanzimtoti seminary had become fully operative in 1886, but it was soon in financial difficulty, probably due to the large initial expenditure on tools and equipment which were required for the different trades, despite £100 the Government grant towards the cost of running the department, received in 1887. Russell, the instructor of the department, explained "... it has been (his) constant care to find work ... which would be remunerative ... What I sought for all along was a steady source of employment, and this I believe we have found in manufacture of sashes, boxes, etc., which command a ready sale in Durban" (Russell to the Mission, 15/6/1888, cited in Switzer, 1971, p. 248). Russell's suggestion to the A.Z.M. was that "in the interests of the Industrial school and for its success, the financial management of it should be handed to me" (cited by Switzer, L., 1971, p. 248). In other words he wanted to run it as a competitive business operation.

Two factors had to be considered when examining the decision to make the Industrial department financially independent and viable. Both work against the feasibility of this plan. Firstly, in a training situation some articles are made but many are spoilt. Secondly, work as a training programme cannot, by definition, compete with work produced by people who are already trained. As the Principal's Report of 1894 made clear, "the inferior character of the goods which we are able to turn out with school-boy Native labour limits the sale of such articles" (Principal Report, 1894, p. 12, A/3/41). Despite these financial problems the A.Z.M. could report to the Prudential Committee in the annual letter of 1888 that "in the eyes of the Government and the Colonists, Industrial Training is assuming a larger and more important position year by year". For this reason the A.Z.M. felt that: "If the Zulus of Natal are ever to occupy any worthy status in this Colony, they must be educated in every kind of labour" (Annual letter A.Z.M. to Boston, 1888, A/3/39).

By 1890 the students working and training in the Industrial department were receiving a salary. "There have been several apprentices working 5 hours per day with wages ranging from 0 to 7/6d (pence) per month" (Principal Report, 1891, p. 4, A/3/41). These students were encouraged to remain as long as possible in the Industrial department of the seminary.

This initial enthusiasm, however, gradually diminished with the implementation of the new Council of Education regulations in 1893. The Natal Missionary Conference, which represented all missionary societies active in the Colony of Natal including the A.Z.M., were critical of the effect these regulations and classifications of institutions were going to have on mission institutions. They commented in (1893):

This conference is of the opinion that

- a) by its demand of 6 hours per day industrial training and its allowance of so short a time for literacy (academic) training as well as by the small amount of grants-in-aid it will injuriously, if not ruinously, affect the training institutions.
- b) by its stringent regulations as to industrial and manual training it will heavily oppress many of the schools coming within the lower section of Class II; and
- c) by its restriction of grants to a maximum of 15s per annum for each (elementary) pupil it will cause serious injustice to many schools registered under class III". (because they would receive no grant at all). (Kannemeyer pp. 233-234, cited in Switzer, 1971, p. 255).

This protest did not bring about any change in the Government's attitude to industrial education. In these circumstances there was a radical reduction in the promising and enterprising curriculum of the previous five years (1888-1893) at Amanzimtoti.

In the Principal's Report of 1894 a detailed analysis of industrial education was given and it is worth quoting extensively from it. The Principal of the Seminary, George

Cowles, pointed out that, apart from the Government's attitude, the Industrial department was aware of new problems among the pupils, particularly "The lack of incentive to work, the light esteem in which manual labour is held" and that these warranted "a great deal of attention" (Principal's Report, 1894, A/3/41). Praise is given to Russell, who clearly was particularly interested and skilled in carpentry, but even then Government grants were in jeopardy, as the numbers were below ten. This led to a reduced grant and "repeated trials have proved that under the present conditions ... we cannot hope to (make the department self-sustaining)" (Principal Report, 1894, p. 10, A/3/41).

The need to sell goods cheaply (so as to compete with professional carpenters) meant that "considerable machine work is needed". This, even if it could be afforded, would, "largely defeat the object (of the Institution) ... as it keeps those who are unskilled doing work that affords little opportunity to gain skill", because it introduces too narrow a division of labour. Added to these difficulties was the "distance from a market for our finished work, the cost of transportation of material to and from market, the great liability to breakage, and the expense of properly packing goods for shipment" (Principal's Report, 1894, p. 12, A/3/41).

The economic situation in the Colony of Natal was itself in a state of decline in 1893, with the result that sale of goods produced at the seminary showed a loss for the last term of 1893 (Principal's Report, 1894). This, together with the decline in Government grants, forced the A.Z.M. to dispense with the services of Russell, the successful instructor in the Industrial department for the past eleven years. The mission made attempts

... to secure someone to fill this place but it was a difficult matter to find in one man a combination of sound Christian character, skill in the use of tools, aptness in teaching, who understands Zulu and who is willing to do this work at less money than he could earn by working as a day

labourer at his trade" (Principal's Report, 1894, p. 12, A/3/41).

These were precisely the problems recognized in the 1892 Report, and which, it was prophesied, would arise if missions were forced to assume direct responsibility for industrial training.

Cowles had a broad vision of how the Industrial department should function. He saw it as having a general educative purpose:

... it should aim not only to educate the eye, the hand and the head of the pupil, but also to assist them to form habits of carefulness, painstaking neatness, and accuracy, and in addition give them such a knowledge of tools as will be most useful to them in their future (Principal's Report 1894, p. 14, A/3/41).

His vision of the purpose and content of industrial training was somewhat similar to that of the 1892 Report, except he viewed the outcome from the point of view of the mission station's needs, rather than that of the colonial employer seeking useful labour:

... the instruction ... should largely be confined to what will qualify the boys to do the work needed on an ordinary station, such as erecting simple houses, making simple household furniture and utensils, and repairing and making agricultural implements (Principal's Report, 1894, p. 14, A/3/41).

Very similar views were to be expressed six years later in his 1900 annual report: "it has not seemed to me to be the province of our school to teach full trades, yet the Native in this branch is a decided attraction to them". (Principal's Report, 1900, p. 10, A/3/42). He commented further, "I would give them some technical instruction and such practice in the use of tools as will make them useful and resourceful about their own homes and elsewhere". He

added, "I would teach them to make scale models of useful household articles etc, and have them assist in repair work about the buildings and in any new work where they could be useful" (Principal's Report, 1900, p. 11, A/3/42). In order to overcome the cost of expensive machinery "the major part of such work will have to be done ordinarily without the aid of labour saving machinery, the instruction given should be of a corresponding character". Such objectives would also benefit the pupils' general work opportunities as "they will be qualified (for) ... any grade of work that they would be called upon to do if working for Europeans" (Principal's Report, 1894, p. 14, A/3/42).

Despite the problems, the Industrial Department continued to function, although the work was now of a much lower standard. The students received instruction in printing but their ability to perform well at it was limited by "the fact that to these boys English is a foreign tongue, and that neatness, accuracy and rapidity of motion are nearly as foreign as the language" (Principal's Report, 1894, p. 14). Even simple vegetable-gardening proved difficult. Cowles tried to provide the seminary with its required quota of food by farming in the mission grounds and using the labour of the boys. He claimed "that more scientific lines of farming could be taught, which would inspire in the students a desire for better methods than their fathers have, and be a source of inspiration to them in the future" (Principal's Report, 1894, A/3/42).

He was however, unsuccessful because of the infertile ground. These impediments could be overcome with fertilizer and improved farming methods, but this would cost money. He made an attempt to plant sweet potatoes, maize, pineapples, bananas, sugar cane, pumpkins as well as shade trees and fruit trees, but he was not successful (Principal's Report, 1894, p. 15, A/3/41). In his aims, practical work alone was not sufficient: "by judicious instruction in the classroom about many things in the farm and garden, and by a comparison of old and new methods side by side ... an in-

telligent interest can be aroused in the boys which will be of great value to them and the Colony" (Principal's Report, 1894, A/3/41).

Industrial education received another severe blow when the seminary was closed from February to July 1894 due to the debts which had accumulated as a result of a decrease in grant for industrial training. The students, however, were not discouraged and returned when the seminary reopened again in the middle of the year.

The picture of the period of 1886-1894 was therefore a dark one, despite the enthusiasm generated by the Jubilee Celebrations of 1886. Financial and staffing problems were always present and there is some justification in suggesting that, towards the end of this period, these were compounded by an over-ambitious programme, encouraged by the 1892 Report, but jeopardised by inadequate Colonial Government support, which forced the A.Z.M. into an unwise attempt to finance their ventures through the sale of the pupils' products.

It is now necessary to describe the development and difficulties of industrial education at the seminary from 1895-1903, since some perspective could be obtained of the determination of the A.Z.M. to continue this branch of their work among the Zulu. In his report for 1895, the Principal "referred to the lack of policy, and the ... unstable, and contradictory moods of Government concerning the teaching of trades to Natives". He added that it might be necessary for the A.Z.M. to sever ties with the Government "and we intend to go our own way without being disturbed by the shifting, vacillating attitudes of (the) Government in this matter" (Principal's Report, 1895, p. 8, A/3/41).

Mr W. Shjene was appointed as the new industrial instructor in 1895. He appeared "to be admirably fitted for the position and the present system of instruction is

thorough and scientific, and, what is also very important, (it) costs almost nothing for material, as all the old boxes and rough waste wood is utilized" (Principal's Report, 1895, p. 11, A/3/41). In the workshop, "six work benches have been fitted up and each one furnished with a set of tools", and as the pupils were taught in groups of six, "each one (has) a bench and set of tools to himself during the lesson" (Principal's Report, 1895, p. 14, A/3/41). Furthermore, much practical work had been conducted through the repair and erection of buildings at the Seminary. During 1896, "a wooden pug-mill for mixing clay and several frames for carrying the ... bricks have been provided, and 35,000 bricks were made during the first half of 1896" (Principal's Report, June 1896 - June 1897, p. 5, A/3/41).

Unexpected disruptions could, moreover, easily affect the work. In the same year one of the students died of dysentery and caused panic among the other students so that a number of the pupils decided to leave the seminary (Principal's Report, 1896, p. 3, A/3/41). Gradually, however, most of the students returned.

The educational work, including Industrial Training, was further affected in 1898 when the School Committee of the A.Z.M. finally decided to sever its relationship with the Government as a result of the new regulations governing grants for student teachers (see Chapter 11) (Principal's Report, 1899, p. 4, A/3/42). The Industrial department of the seminary now became merely a department for joinery and carpentry. Although Cowles recognized that the pupils' "enjoyed work in the carpenter's shop ... (which is) a decided attraction to them" (Principal's Report, 1900, p. 4, A/3/42), financial stringency forced him to close even this long-established aspect of training in 1900. He was reduced to trying to bolster agricultural training. The mission obtained the services of an agricultural chemist to examine and analyse the poor soil. The report showed that "the soils are poor in all the most necessary ingredients. Lime is far too low for a fertile soil, and the other mineral constitu-

ents are far below what might be deemed necessary for plant growth. I should advise you to give a liberal application of an all-round fertilizer, and the ploughing in of a green crop or kraal manure" (Principal's Report, 1902, p. 4, A/3/42). Unfortunately the cost of fertilizer was too great to be borne by the limited finance of the seminary.

The period 1903-1910 was one of some progress and re-assessment by Boston (Prudential Committee) and the Government about the value of having an Industrial Department at the seminary. It was further characterised by the enterprise and interest shown by the new Principal Le Roy (1903) as well as financial support coming from Boston and the new government. However, so much leeway had to be made up that the curriculum did not change much from what it was during 1895-1903. Much effort was made to consolidate the work of the earlier years and to introduce a new philosophical basis for Industrial Education. Much impetus was given to the education work of the A.Z.M. in 1893 as a Deputation was sent from Boston to assess the work of the A.Z.M. in Natal. The missionaries compiled their report in a small pamphlet called the Deputation Papers. (The implications of this visit are examined in greater detail in Chapter 11.) This Deputation was favourably impressed with the educational work at the seminary but they also reported on Industrial Education: "it is advisable to join, as far as possible, the training of the heart, the head and the hand". To achieve this objective they:

urge(d) the Prudential Committee to encourage the efforts made at this Seminary (Amanzimtoti) towards the establishment of an industrial department which shall have a thorough and scientific basis. Good training in a few things is better than poor training in many. By this we do not mean the establishing of an industrial department which shall have for its aim the teaching of trades, ... since this would require a plant of too great dimensions (Report of Deputation, 1904, p. 29, A/3/42).

Even before the Deputation Papers had reached Natal, Le Roy in 1903, pleaded with the Prudential Committee for a well established Industrial Department to be attached to the seminary since "for several years an industrial teacher was employed with most satisfactory results, but just as the school was beginning to profit numerically by having this department, retrenchment caused its closing" (Principal's Report, 1903, p. 8, A/3/42). The Industrial Department had been reopened in that year (1903) with the aid of a grant of £200 from the Prudential Committee "but until it is well established and properly equipped, the work must remain unsatisfactory" (Principal's Report, 1903, p. 8, A/3/42). Le Roy felt very strongly that industry "in spite of much opposition, has now come to have a recognized place among the agencies used for the spread of the Kingdom". He explained this claim by adding:

To lift a heathen people out of its heathenism, it is necessary to train the hand and eye as well as the mind and the heart; lessons in patience and accuracy, in perserverance and thrift can be taught in the shop as perhaps nowhere else, and if the Native is to be taught at all the dignity of labour, it must be during the years when he is acquiring an education. When he leaves school, it will be too late, and there is little hope that the uneducated boy will ever look upon labour as anything but an unmixed evil (Principal's Report, 1903, p. 9, A/3/42).

He strengthened his argument by quoting from a report of the Deputation of the Board to India and Ceylon. Although "many positions for (educated Christians) are open in pastoral work preaching and teaching, ... these will not be sufficient for the constantly increasing number of (such) Christian young men ...". Furthermore many men, educated in mission schools, lack full Christian commitment, "that essential qualification for employment in Christian work". Le Roy noted that the report on Indian conditions had complained that "Altogether too few leading positions as artizans, contractors, merchants, farmers, etc ... the prevail-

ing impression heretofore (has been) that the Christian must either enter one of the callings in connection with missionary operations, or become a common house servant or day labourer". Le Roy finally made effective use of one of the Indian Report's main recommendations: "that all male pupils shall have some practical instruction in productive manual labour, ... the future Christian community in India (should) have well equipped farmers, mechanics, artizans and merchants, as (well as) learned Government officials, preachers and teachers (Principal's Report, 1904, p. 3, A/3/42).

Despite Le Roy's enthusiastic pleas, and the claim in his 1906 Report that the training given was popular, Industrial Education remained uncertain. In that year, the seminary was visited by the Natal's Superintendent of Education, Mudie who "offered (under certain conditions) a grant of £300 a year providing brickmaking was taught, and a shop opened for blacksmithing and wagon repairing". (Principal's Report, 1906, p. 4, A/3/42). These conditions, not explained further, could not be fulfilled immediately so there was no guarantee of its receipt.

In 1908 the Principal reported a renewed interest in agricultural training. The students, "expressed great appreciation of the work done in the carpenter's shop, but said that they realized that but few of them could be carpenters, but all of them might be farmers, and they therefore wanted to be training in field work, and were willing to exchange the comparative pleasant shop work, if necessary, for agricultural training". So keen were the students that: "They expressed a willingness to put in more than the required two and a half hours of work per day, if definite instruction could be given" (Principal's Report, 1908, p. 6, A/3/42).

Le Roy reminded the Prudential Committee that "heretofore despised farm work in former times was done wholly by women". He believed there was now "a change (in) the spirit of their dreams" and was "willing to do all we can to foster

this spirit" although, as has been shown, Amanzimtoti was "poorly adapted for giving agricultural training" (Principal's Report, 1908, p. 6, A/3/42). This was the beginning of what was later to become a fully fledged agricultural department of the Amanzimtoti Seminary.

The attitude of the colonists played a significant role in the development of the Native Industrial Education at Amanzimtoti Seminary. It is in the industrial field: "Where the Colonist comes into closest touch with the Native, indeed the only place where most of the Colonists come into touch with him". The colonist laboured under the misapprehension "that he has a divine right not to the land only but to the services of the arborigines, and that failure on the part of the Native to fulfil this mission gives him a personal grievance against the Native" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 91, A/3/42). The native, for obvious reasons such as not wanting to be under the subjugation of the colonists, is not keen to be his (the colonist's) source of cheap labour. In the opinion of the Secretary of the A.Z.M., James Dexter Taylor:

He (the native) will only go to the centres of White population when forced to do so by his physical needs, and will only stay till he has earned enough to satisfy his present necessity ... Centuries of polygamy and plenty of cattle have not developed habits of industry. He is not a part of the industrial community like the White laborer, but an important factor (Deputation Paper, 1904, p. 91).

Taylor points out that "the life of the Native is a thing apart from that of the white man and his period of service is only an incident form which he returns as soon as possible to his real life in the kraal" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 91).

This industrial problem in the Colony of Natal has attached to it a number of "stereotyped expressions of current Colonial opinion" pertaining to the work of missionary bodies including the A.Z.M. The one which is used most often "is that the Christian Kaffir is the most insolent, lazy, and worthless of all Kaffirs. Since all Natives who have lived on a mission station and have learned to read and write or even to dress are known as 'Christian Kaffirs' perhaps it is not to be wondered at that such a sweeping statement should gain currency" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 91). Such was the mentality of the colonists that "even if the Native in question be a 'raw Kaffir' the degeneration can be traced to the missionary, for the whole race we are told is growing worse every year, and who is responsible for that if not the missionary" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 91). An additional complaint of the colonists against the missionaries is that they do not train the Native to be an effective worker:

Much missionary effort is directed in this line, not from any use of responsibility to the labor market but as a part of the uplifting of the Native, but for the most part such efforts (are) worth no sympathy as unskilled labor is what is wanted from the Native and the trade unions and farmers conferences are at one in opposing the teaching of trades to Natives. What seems to be denied is not so much to instruct Natives how to work, but to force them out into the general labor market (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 92).

In the early years of the development of Amanzimtoti Seminary, the Colonial Government, the colonists, the American Board and the A.Z.M.; all agents of Western Civilization and all using the land of the Zulu, denied them the right of an Industrial Education. This apathy was somewhat compensated for by individual American missionaries who applied on their own to the Colonial Government for finan-

cial assistance in the developing of small industries on their mission stations, for example A. Grout, who developed a sugar mill at Umvoti in 1860. But this was on a too small a scale to make a significant impact on the development of industries among the Zulu.

The basic attitudes of the Colonial Government towards Industrial Education of the "Native" is reflected in the fact that although legislation was passed as early as in 1856 concerning it, nothing had been done practically to implement it in any government school, or in schools run by missionary societies. No provision had been made from 1856-1865 to supply grants to the mission bodies in order to implement some form of Industrial Education. These changes in legislation for Industrial Education made it difficult for the A.Z.M. to plan an effective programme for implementing this type of education in their schools.

The cost of tools and machinery was high. To make Industrial Education a success it had to be accompanied by long term planning. This planning was impossible under the circumstances which the Colonial Government created with regard to sufficient financial support and providing instructors in the schools. Conditions were made even more difficult when the colonists received greater legislative powers with the establishment of a Council of Education. The Council of Education would be likely to formulate educational policy for the "Natives" which was more in the interest of the colonists than the Zulu themselves.

The development of Industrial Education was further complicated by the attitude of the Prudential Committee of the American Board. They were very emphatic, when agreeing to the establishment of the seminary in 1865, that under no circumstances were any of their funds to be used for the purpose of Industrial Education. They stated that their primary concern was the evangelising of the Zulu.

The American Board had taken a very narrow view of "evangelistic" purposes, as the advancement of Christianity among the Zulu did not necessarily mean the exclusion of

industrial pursuits. The Board themselves wanted to raise the heathen to Western civilization, but this would be difficult without vocational training. What was even more tragic was the stand taken by the A.Z.M., when they gave the Board the assurance that if any industrial training was to be given it would not be to teach the Zulu trades but primarily to teach them to "love manual labour". Economic development is the backbone of the progress of any community and Industrial Education could only have increased the development of the economic potential of the "Native" who they wanted to Christianize.

The A.Z.M. had been granted title to their glebes and trusteeship to the mission reserves which could only survive the envy of the land-hungry colonists if these lands were economically developed. With the reluctant support of the Board, the A.Z.M. introduced a fully fledged Industrial Department at the seminary in 1886. The A.Z.M. had itself changed its earlier reluctance and reacted with the necessary enthusiasm to make such an enterprise a success.

The purpose of the Industrial Department was totally defeated when it was decided to run it as a business concern, with profit being the main goal. The students were now no longer trained to acquire the necessary vocational skills. The department had become a factory and no longer an educational institution. The Board could have prevented this if they had provided the seminary with the necessary financial support. However the negative attitude of the Board towards Industrial Education and their own lack of financial provision made the proposition unfeasible.

The departure of the instructor, Mr Russell, because of this lack of finance, resulted in an even further decline of the department. An expensive printing press, the property of the A.Z.M., went to ruin because there was no one to supervise the students who were keen to learn the printing trade. Cowles tried to get the boys to do farming in the grounds of the seminary but was unsuccessful. He must be admired for trying to teach the students improved farming

methods since these would be of great practical value to the students who might have been used to train those Zulu who lived near the mission stations to become self-sufficient peasant farmers. When a new instructor was eventually found, the Industrial Department was able to provide instruction only in carpentry and joinery. With "old boxes and rough wastewood" as material, however, work of a very high standard could not be expected.

The development of the Industrial Department reached its lowest ebb when the A.Z.M. decided to sever its relationship with the Government. In this way the little financial support it received from the Government was cut off. This was a difficult decision to make because the Industrial Department could hardly do without these finances. However, the vacillating policy of the Government concerning Industrial Education must have caused much frustration to the A.Z.M.

The colonists might have welcomed the complete closure of the Industrial Department at the seminary since their greatest fear was of competition from the "Natives" if they were taught trades.

One of the most confusing aspects of Industrial Education was that throughout the period 1840-1886, the concept of "Industry" was never clearly defined by the Government although legislature was passed concerning Industrial Education.

Although Rev Le Roy, who succeeded George Cowles as Principal of the seminary in 1903, was deeply convinced of the importance of Industrial Education in the educational programme at the seminary, it would take a long time before the Industrial Department would develop fully the potential of the Zulu in this branch of education.

## CHAPTER 10

## THE A.Z.M. UNDER ATTACK : THE LANDS COMMISSION - 1902

The suggestion was made in the previous chapter that the disappointing story of Industrial Training/Education could be accounted for by the conflicting views of the four parties involved: Colonists, Colonial Government, the American Board (Boston) and the A.Z.M. itself. The failure to produce a coherent statement of A.Z.M. intentions in the field of education might partly account for a major attack on its work which occurred in the years 1902 and 1903 and centered on the evidence to, and the Report of the Lands Commission.

The main concern of the Lands Commission, which published its Report in 1902, was land held on behalf of the Zulu for missionary purposes. The Location Commission of 1846 (discussed in Chapter 3) and the Native Commission of 1852-1853 (Chapter 5) had mainly emphasized the allocation of locations for general occupation by any Zulu in the Colony of Natal. The 1902 Commission gave particular emphasis to the A.Z.M.'s responsibilities. However, all three Commissions addressed themselves to similar questions, problems and interpretations.

It will be seen that the A.Z.M. gave important evidence to the Commissioners and ultimately published refutations of the Commission's final report. These activities gave the mission an opportunity for a personal assessment and justification of its policies over a period of almost 70 years of mission work among the Zulu in general and at Amanzimtoti in particular. At the same time it could be seen as a rehearsal for the more detailed assessment of mission work which was required by the Boston Deputation which visited South Africa in 1903, and which will be considered in detail in the subsequent chapter. The evidence to the Commission was, however, more public and open than the examination by the Deputation.

Since land is vital to the success of any missionary endeavour, the 1900 Commission concerned itself with the use the A.Z.M. and its converts made of its land and so the success of the mission's educational and religious work among the Zulu had to be examined.

It is for this reason that a Commission, whose function was at first glance remote from the mission educational work, must find its way into this thesis. The Commission was concerned with the exploitation of land and its effective use which linked it to education in general and industrial education (see also Chapter 9) in particular. It is also important to remember that industrial education had completely collapsed at the Amanzimtoti Seminary by the time the Lands Commission began its work in 1900 (see Chapter 9).

From the Lands Commission's Report, a picture of how the colonial land was distributed can be obtained, and from this assessment, the extent of missionary-occupied or missionary-controlled land can be gained.

In 1900 the Colony of Natal consisted of approximately 12 000 000 acres, which the Surveyor-General classified as follows:

TABLE 11  
LAND USAGE IN NATAL : 1902

	ACRES	PERCENTAGE
Registered and Lands Commission Grants	3 150 000	26,3
Grants under Proclamation of 1856	65 000	,5
Grants under Proclamation of 22 April 1857	245 000	2,0
Grants under Proclamation of 29 April 1857	1 320 000	11,0
Grants in freehold prior to 1880	655 000	5,5
Lands held in Trust for Natives	2 500 000	20,8
Lands granted for Missionary purposes	170 000	1,5
Grants for Educational purposes	16 600	0,1
Lands set apart for Towns and Villages	135 000	1,2
Grants in freehold since 1880	<u>840 000</u>	<u>7,0</u>
Sub-total (i)	9 096 000	75,9
Lands in process of alienation	<u>1 750 000</u>	<u>14,5</u>
Sub-total (ii)	10 846 000	90,4
Remaining Crown Lands (approx.)	<u>1 153 000</u>	<u>9,6</u>
Grand total	12 000 000	100,0
	=====	=====

(Evidence to Lands Commission, 1904, p. 470).

It is evident from the table that 2 500 000 acres of land was held in trust for the Zulu. These lands had been called in the past "location" lands. A further 170 000 acres had been granted for general missionary purposes, and 16 600 acres were mission lands allocated for religious and educational needs. These three categories totalled 22,4% of the

colony, just over one-fifth of the total area. The Colonial Government was at the time of the report in the process of alienating (either through sale or grant) 14,5% of the colony. It must be explained however that none of this was going to any of the mission bodies in the colony. Just under one-tenth (9,6%) of the colony was still Crown Land - that is land which was still available for allocation or sale. Land directly used for missionary work was, therefore, only a very small proportion of the colony, being no more than 2%.

The Surveyor-General also presented a statement on how land had been granted to different missionary bodies for religious and education purposes. These were known either as glebes or as mission reserves. This statement gave a more detailed analysis of the 186 600 acres allocated to missionary bodies. It will be noted that in the following tables, the total comes to just under 139 000 acres, and the Commission's Report does not explain how the remaining 47 000 acres were distributed. What is useful, however, about the following two tables is that the dominant position of the A.Z.M. is made clear.

The first of these tables shows the date of allocation and the extent of the glebe lands given directly to, and falling directly under the control of the various mission societies, and for which specific title had been given. This information was given in the Report for a full understanding of the situation, but, in effect, the Commission did not have the present condition or the future of these lands within its brief.

TABLE 12  
DISTRIBUTION OF GLEBE LANDS IN NATAL : 1902

DATE	GRANTEE	NAME	ACRES
1 December 1860	Norwegian	Umpumulo	499
18 February 1861	Church of England	Umlazi	476
17 November 1860	American	Umtwalumi	485
1 December 1860	American	Mapumulo	504
31 December 1860	Hanoverian	Etembeni	500
1 December 1860	American	Umsindusi	491
17 November 1860	American	Inanda	500
17 November 1860	American	Itafamasi	500
1 December 1860	American	Table Mountain	504
17 November 1860	American	Isidumbeni	500
13 November 1862	American	Groutfield (Umvoti)	292
13 November 1862	American	New Groutfield (Umvoti)	210
17 November 1860	American	Amahlongwa	498
17 November 1860	American	Infumi or Imfumi	624
17 November 1860	American	Amanzimtote	542
17 November 1860	American	Ifafa	531
31 December 1860	Hanoverian	Ehlanzeni	510
24 October 1865	Wesleyan	Zwaartkop	500
1 December 1860	Roman Catholic	St Michael's	522
22 November 1879	Hanoverian	Marburg	100
22 November 1879	Hanoverian	Elim (or Marburg)	100
31 July 1865	American	Umzumbe	104
15 November 1881	Hanoverian	Müden	500
15 December 1881	Hanoverian	Emhlangane	500
8 March 1880	Berlin	Emangweni	500
17 November 1860	Berlin	Emmaus or Emaus	523
21 February 1878	Hanoverian	Empangweni	100
9 March 1885	Berlin	Hoffenthal	100
TOTAL			11 715

(Evidence to Lands Commission, 1904, p. 470).

There were also lands granted to the missionaries as trustees and originally intended as lands upon which their Christian converts could live. These lands were known as mission reserves.

TABLE 13

## DISTRIBUTION OF MISSION RESERVE LAND IN NATAL : 1902

DATE	GRANTEE	NAME	ACRES
4 November 1862	Norwegian	Umpumulo	12 000
4 November 1862	Church of England	Umlazi	7 521
4 November 1862	American	Umtwalumi	12 922
4 November 1862	American	Mapumulo	8 196
4 November 1862	Hanoverian	Entembeni	5 939
10 July 1873	American	Umsindusi	5 595
20 July 1883	American	Inanda	11 500
10 July 1873	American	Itafamasi	5 500
15 June 1875	American	Table Mountain	5 118
10 July 1873	American	Isidumbeni	5 500
18 November 1862	American	Charlottedale (Umvoti)	6 207
4 November 1862	American	Amahlongwa	6 966
4 November 1862	American	Ifumi or Imfumi	7 498
4 November 1862	American	Amanzimtote	8 077
4 November 1862	American	Ifafa	6 209
8 August 1865	Wesleyan	Indaleni	6 164
3 May 1887	Roman Catholic	St Michael's	6 300
TOTAL			127 212

(Evidence to Lands Commission, 1904, p. 470).

It can be seen that the vast majority of these grants, detailed in both these tables, occurred in the early 1860's. Of the total area of land granted as mission reserves (127 212 acres) to various mission bodies, the A.Z.M. had been granted 80 287 acres (70 per cent); the Norwegian Mission

Society administered 9,4 per cent; the Church of England 5,9 per cent; Roman Catholics 4,99 per cent; Wesleyans 4,8 per cent and Hanoverians 4,6 per cent.

The following table shows a global picture of the mission bodies, their glebes and their mission lands which the Lands Commission had to investigate.

TABLE 14  
GLOBAL PICTURE OF LAND DISTRIBUTION TO MISSION BODIES

MISSIONARY BODY	GLEBES	MISSION RESERVES	TOTAL	%
American	6 289	89 288	95 577	68,7
Norwegian	499	12 000	12 499	8,9
Hanoverian	2 310	5 939	8 249	6,0
Church of England	476	7 521	7 997	5,8
Roman Catholic	522	6 300	6 822	5,0
Wesleyan	500	6 164	6 664	4,8
Berlin	1 123	-	1 123	0,8
TOTAL	11 719	127 212	138 931	100,0

Once again the dominant position of the A.Z.M. lands is obvious, with no other individual total exceeding 10 per cent. In these circumstances, any Commission investigating mission land use would have to concentrate, almost exclusively, upon the A.Z.M.

It is also relevant to consider the total number of Zulu living on mission reserves. From the written reply to the Report of the Lands Commission by Goodenough, the Secretary of A.Z.M., some perspective is obtained of the distribution of the Zulu in the Colony of Natal (A.Z.M. Pamphlet, A/3/39, 1902).

According to Goodenough's evidence to the Commission, only 4 per cent of all the Zulu in Natal were resident on mission reserves, 55 per cent on locations and 51 per cent on private farms. This gives a total of 110 per cent (which was either a typographical or a calculatory error by the A.Z.M. (A.Z.M. Pamphlet, A/3/19, 1902).

Only certain aspects of the Lands Commission which are relevant to this study will be discussed in this chapter. The features to be considered are: the ways in which reserves were and should have been administered, the general education work of the mission, and its possible industrial training in particular. The report and its recommendations will then be assessed and the detailed refutation by the A.Z.M. of these recommendations will be considered. Finally, before the study of the Commission can be told, it will be necessary to give a brief account of the administration of the mission reserves before 1900, because the Commissioners placed considerable stress on this aspect.

The Trust Board (as trustees) of the A.Z.M. mission reserves since 1856 had been the Secretary of Native Affairs and the Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer of the A.Z.M. The first meeting of this Board was held on 12 December 1866 and up to 1886 "an average of less than one meeting a year" was held. In 1888 a condition was laid down that rent should be paid by those who had land on the mission reserves. Before 1890, however, no rent had been collected (Deputation Papers, 1904, pp. 83-84). It seems that neither A.Z.M. nor the Government had exercised adequate supervision and control of these lands. This must have prompted Attorney-General Harry Escombe to call a meeting of the trustees to consider improvements in the administration of the mission reserves. The A.Z.M. welcomed this move, but a subsequent bill reflecting changes in administration was never submitted to the Zulu Mission for its responses (Deputation Paper, 1904, p. 85). It was however published in the Government Gazette and enacted as Act 25 of 1895, without the A.Z.M. having any say in its detailed formulation.

The Act was primarily concerned with regulating the conditions under which the mission reserves were used. It gave the Governor the right to "make, alter, and amend rules to regulate the use and occupation of lands already or hereafter to be set apart as mission reserves" (Act 25, 1895, p. 62). The clause in the Act which directly affected the A.Z.M. included the proviso that: "Any Reserve, or any portion of a Reserve may be set apart by the Governor in Council for exclusive occupation by natives who are converts from heathendom" and "... may prohibit all native customs and heathen rites and ceremonies inconsistent with the tenets of the religious body referred to in the deed of grant" (Act 25, 1895, p. 63).

The A.Z.M. found the Act totally unacceptable because "the whole of (it was) permissive. The Governor in Council may make rules, may appoint trustees, etc. etc." The effect of this freedom to act or to leave alone was clear when it was noted that "About the only positive enactment in the law is Section four, which provides that the Secretary of Native Affairs cease to be a trustee of mission reserves. Nothing else in the Act has been put into force" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 85).

Subsequent to Act 25 of 1895, the A.Z.M. had made frequent efforts to normalize the situation about the trusteeship. A conference, which was described by the A.Z.M. as 'harmonious', was held on 21 July 1896 with the Government, when four rules were decided on: "(1) The missionaries then in charge of reserves were to be appointed temporarily until a superintendent could be found; (2) some one was to be appointed collector of rents; (3) the rents were to be increased; (4) a superintendent was to be appointed" (A.Z.M. Pamphlet, A/3/19, 1902).

The A.Z.M. made frequent attempts to fulfil its obligations under these rules, but to no avail. Negotiations were also made difficult by the involvement of Natal in the Anglo-Boer War. However, the Secretary of the A.Z.M. again took up the matter in 1901 and in a reply dated 9 January

1902, the Secretary of Native Affairs wrote: "I regret the delay in replying to your letter, which has been caused by the papers containing the draft rules being in the hands of the Lands Commission" (A.Z.M. pamphlet, A/3/19, 1902).

Act 25 of 1895 and the subsequent tardy response of the government did not solve the problem of the supervision and control of the mission reserves to the satisfaction of the A.Z.M. or the colonists. This dissatisfaction led directly to the calling of the Lands Commission in 1900.

The preamble to the Commission explained that it was constituted in reaction to a petition drawn up by the colonists about land granted in the form of glebes and mission reserves to various missionary bodies, but particularly the A.Z.M. The petitioners felt that the land under consideration had not been "in many cases, beneficially used in the past, for the furtherance of the objects for which they were granted, nor do they seem likely to be so used in the future" (Lands Commission Report, 1902, p. 2). The colonists requested that the Government refer "the whole question of the said properties ... the income derived therefrom and the use made thereof" to a Committee, which would report on the manner in which the land had been used in the past and the conditions under which the land was granted to the missionary bodies. It had also to consider "whether the said properties should not revert to the state for non-denominational education, or other purposes, should the report of such a committee justify such action" (Report of Lands Commission, 1902, p. 2).

The Legislative Assembly considered the petition and accepted a motion in 1899 which read: "That this House requests the Government to take such steps as may be necessary to give effect to the prayer of the Petitioners, either by the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry, or a select Com-

mittee to report upon the subject matter of the petition" (Report of Lands Commission, 1902, p. 14).

A Lands Commission was finally constituted on 29 October 1900 by the Governor, Walter Hely-Hutchinson. It consisted of Henry Fell who acted as Chairman (a member of the Legislative Assembly), Kenneth Hathom (an advocate of the Supreme Court), four colonists (David Don, George Fordon, James Morton, Edward John Turner) and Rev Theodor Glockner (Justice of the Peace and Superintendent of the Berlin Mission Station in Natal) (Report of Lands Commission, 1902, p. 2).

The terms of reference of the Lands Commission were listed on the 17 May 1901 in the Natal Parliament "... to consider the question of dealing with the ... lands of Absentee owners, and of enquiring into the whole subject of those properties in Natal at present held under Grant of religious or education purposes" (Report of Lands Commission, 1902, p. 4). The Commission was also asked to advise "upon the acquisition by the Government of suitable lands in the Colony to be utilized for the settlement thereon of persons who will beneficially occupy them". It also had to consider: "The question of the extension of the present system of European immigration (which) will in great measure, depend on the recommendations of the Commission" (Report of Lands Commission, 1902, p. 4).

These last two items were, in fact, given very little attention by the Commissioners whose concentration was much more on questions such as the adequacy of missionaries' control of reserve lands and the policies which should be adopted towards these lands. On a few occasions, however, they mentioned the need to find more white immigrants and the pro-colonist viewpoint of the Commission is clearly illustrated in this statement:

Commissioners early realized that the real want of this Colony is white population and they have endeavoured to keep always in view the principle that every possible means likely to succeed should be adopted to place a larger population of European descent upon the lands of the Colony.

It was clear, however, that mission lands were uppermost in the minds of both the petitioners and Commissioners, even though as has been shown, of the total area of land in the colony, some 12 million acres, the Commission would be concerned only with no more than 138 931 acres (just over 1%) of this total. It is equally clear that most attention would be paid to the A.Z.M. policy, as this mission was responsible for 68,7% of the total area of reserves and glebes in the colony (see earlier tables in this Chapter). The interest of the Lands Commission in land on which only about 4 per cent of the Zulu were resident, was difficult to comprehend. However, it needs to be pointed out that the major portion of the land allocated to the A.Z.M. was on the coast (see Map 92). This land was the most suitable in Natal for growing sugar cane which had become one of the most lucrative agricultural crops in Natal. How significant the glebes and mission reserves had become to the white colonists will become evident later in the chapter (Report of Lands Commission, 1902, p. 4).

The Commission began its work in December 1900 at Pietermaritzburg. In January 1901 the Commissioners began "visitation journeys" and took evidence in Durban on the 8th and 9th January and proceeded along the South Coast as far as Port Shepstone. They then travelled "through Alfred county to Harding, and from Harding through Stuartstown, Ixopo, back to Pietermaritzburg" (Report of Lands Commission, 1902, p. 4). In this way they made a number of journeys mainly along the South Coast to enable them "... to obtain information by personal observation, and by enquiries which did not take the form of evidence" (Report of Lands Commission, 1902, p. 4).

It will be noted that the journeys concentrated on the coastal areas. This was for two reasons. The first was that many of the A.Z.M. reserves were in this part of Natal (as has been shown earlier in this chapter). The second was that the coastal lands were all suitable for the major agricultural crop of sugar. When the A.Z.M. lands were allocated in

the sixties, the full potential of sugar farming had not been realised, as the first experimental plantings of sugar cane had occurred only in 1855. The alienation of potential sugar farm land to reserves was obviously of concern to colonial farmers.

The evidence of the Commission examined in this chapter, will concentrate upon that given by A.Z.M. missionaries and Zulu converts (Kolwa). But an example of a colonist's evidence (Colenbrander) will be used to show in particular the concern about expanding the economic potential of sugar farming. The evidence will be considered under two sections: land (both ownership and control) and education.

Kilbon's evidence (for the A.Z.M.) referred mainly to the control and management of the mission reserves, their utilization by the A.Z.M., the commitment of the Zulu mission towards reinforced trusteeship in the 1895 Act, and the moral issues involved if the Government had to take over the reserves.

Cowles's evidence (also for the A.Z.M.) mainly concerned education. He did however emphasize the detrimental effects on the morale of the Zulu if the Government were to take possession of the reserves. He pointed out the importance of Zulu being given greater autonomy in the controlling and managing of the mission reserves. The missionary Wilcox's written evidence centred around the moral degradation of the Zulu on one particular reserve at Umvoti. Both Kolwa, whose evidence will be considered, contradicted the evidence of the American missionaries on the supervision of mission land. Colenbrander's evidence (as a colonist) centred around the granting of fertile sugar cane growing land on the coast to white colonists.

The Chairman of the A.Z.M., Rev Charles Kilbon's evidence on the control and management of the mission reserves, was based on the premise that every native who was resident

on these reserves was required to pay a small fee so that a fund could be accumulated for administering the reserves (Evidence to Lands Commission, 1904, pp. 45-49). None of this money was placed "into our Treasury as missionaries, but only into our Treasury as Trustees of the Mission Reserves" and was used to bring about improvements such as the building of roads and bridges (Evidence, 1904, p. 49).

Kilbon was asked whether the reserves were "utilized to the best interests of the Colony", and answered:

Our interests as missionaries relate to the religious aspect of the Reserves. The object, as stated in the title deed, is a religious purpose. We give our whole thought and time to the religious aspect of the case.

The next question concerned the extent to which the mission reserves were necessary for educational and religious work of the A.Z.M. Kilbon replied: "In terms of the title deed, they form a fixed population of Natives for us to labour among as missionaries. That is, they are exclusive territory for native purposes". Further, when confronted by the statement that the reserves were mainly occupied by natives who did not want to be converted to the Christian faith, Kilbon answered: "... the population on our Reserves as a whole, are very glad indeed to have religious and gospel influences in its midst". However, this did not mean "that the whole community, or even a majority of the community, avail themselves thereof, or submit to the influences thus established among them" (Evidence, 1904, p. 53). Nevertheless, the Commissioners questioned whether it was advisable for the A.Z.M. to have as much land as it did. Kilbon claimed that the A.Z.M. would not be fulfilling the conditions of their trusteeship if they gave permission for the land to be handed back to the Government. If they acceded to this request, it would be done under protest since the title deeds stated clearly that the A.Z.M. was granted trusteeship to these lands "... with intent and object that the Lands

may be occupied and inhabited by Natives, in order that the said American Board of Foreign Missions in Natal may have a fixed population to labour amongst them as missionaries without let or hindrance" (Evidence, 1904, p. 55). According to Kilbon, this condition of trusteeship clearly indicated that it had as its main objective the ... exclusive occupation by natives for the purpose of religious work amongst them ..." and "... as long as the American Board is labouring in Natal, the Trustees have no option except to hold these lands for the purposes indicated" (Evidence, 1904, p. 55).

If their trusteeship were to be terminated, the only solution would be for the A.Z.M. to do this on condition that the lands be alienated "to the Natives thereon". Since the Zulu had occupied mission lands in good faith, with the distinct understanding "that they were lands granted in perpetuity to Natives", they had settled on the land, built houses, in some cases improved their lands, and in actual fact they had given up the opportunity of settling permanently elsewhere. If the Government had to resume control of these lands, the Zulu would be left with no doubt that the Government had been unfaithful to them (Evidence, 1904, p. 56). Kilbon further informed the Commission that these Zulu would not exchange their land for any other land without regarding such action with suspicion. It can be seen that Kilbon was anxious to make as clear as possible the lack of wisdom of any Commission which supported the return of mission lands to Government for reallocation to any other people.

He concluded his evidence by stating that the Zulu had been keen that the A.Z.M. "should teach them how to manage (the) Reserves. In the past year or two we have, as much to gratify them as anything, appointing Committees to manage disputes as to gardens, etc." He was, however, forced to admit that there were problems. "It does not work satisfactorily so far," he said, "but under the direction of a

Resident Magistrate, it might perhaps be made to work better (Evidence, 1904, p. 58). This problem will be explored further, later in this chapter.

Two other American missionaries, Mr Prixley and Mr Bridgman, who had accompanied Kilbon when he gave his evidence, were asked whether they agreed with Kilbon's interpretations: "... They both said they acquiesced, substantially, with it; and did not wish to add to it, or make any further evidence themselves" (Evidence, 1904, p. 58).

The opinion of George Burr Cowles, the principal of Amanzimtoti Seminary, on the possible termination of the A.Z.M.'s trusteeship, was more flexible than Kilbon's. At one stage he repeated Kilbon's interpretation when he said "Because, I understood there is no way of providing for the termination of their Trust, so long as we are working in Natal, than by allocating the land to the Natives in freehold" (Evidence, 1904, p. 393). He explained that the A.Z.M. would object to the Government taking over the mission reserves for the purpose of educating the natives since that would imply the taking over of the trusteeship from the missionary societies. In answer to another question (whether there could be objections from the A.Z.M.), he conceded that: "... If the trust could be handed over in such a manner that the trusteeship could be properly fulfilled by the Government; instead of by the missionary body, I think there would be no objection" (Evidence, 1904, p. 393).

If the wording of the original colonists' petition is considered, it was clearly expressing the belief that inappropriate control, and therefore inefficient use of mission reserve lands, was leading to waste of potential. This would be more marked, in the colonists' opinion, if the reserves had no white missionary. By implication, the educational and general experience of the Zulu in European methods of administration and agriculture were not sufficient for them to assume sole responsibility for appropriate land development. In effect this was an accusation that missionary education had failed to prepare the Zulu for such

responsibility. Many of the Commissioners' questions, therefore, concerned aspects of control. Kilbon himself had not been asked such questions. Other witnesses, however, were certainly expected to give evidence on aspects of control. Cowles was asked whether the supervision of a "white" missionary once a quarter at a missionary station under the charge of a native was sufficient to ensure proper development. He replied:

Yes. I should say so. It may not be necessary for the European missionary to go near a Native local pastor for six months, or a year, or even more. It can be done by correspondence. We have some able men as Native pastors now.

He was prepared to claim that:

A Native mission progresses as well without the resident European missionary, as with him. No doubt, a resident European missionary was necessary in the early days of the Missions. Assuming too much of the burden of administration by the European missionary, is detrimental (Evidence to Lands Commission, 1904, p. 395).

In fact, this had been an instruction given to the A.Z.M. workers on their arrival in the 1830's, and Cowles confirmed that this still remained an important goal. Neither missionaries nor any other Europeans "should be always necessary to these people, but that they may (do) their own work. We are not here to stay forever. We want to educate (the Native), so that he may take charge of his own work without our help or supervision" (Evidence, 1904, p. 395). Answering the question "Do you really mean to tell us (the Commission) that there are missions on the coast (the mission stations of the A.Z.M.) which are better off without a European resident missionary to directly supervise them?", he stated firmly: "Yes I do mean to say that, in the present state of progress, they are better off without a resident European missionary. We want the natives to think and act

for themselves, and they are doing so" (Evidence, 1904, p. 395).

Cowles reminded the Commission that the A.Z.M. still retained contact with its mission stations, to guide those responsible in the administration of church affairs. This guidance took the form of advice rather than instructions. In order to facilitate contact the A.Z.M. had "a semi-annual Conference with the Native pastors, at which questions of mutual interest are discussed" (Evidence, 1904, p. 395). Cowles explained that: "The fact of a Mission house, or a Church, or a school, being in disrepair on five or six of our Mission Stations by no means indicates that the Mission itself is not progressing". He informed the Commission that the policy of the A.Z.M.:

... is to leave the conduct of the mission largely to the Natives themselves. That policy probably came out of necessity in the first place. We sent a letter to the American Mission Board at Home, stating that the primary period had passed, and the secondary period had come, when we felt that we must now do our Mission work largely through an educated Native ministry, and educated Native leaders (Evidence to the Lands Commission, 1904, p. 396).

In complete contradiction to Cowles' assurances was a letter written four years earlier (2 May 1896) by Rev W.C. Wilcox to the Colonial Government about conditions in the Umvoti mission lands on which he was the resident missionary. The letter presents a damning picture of the reserve at that time. Wilcox did not give personal evidence to the Commission, and no questions were asked on whether conditions had changed. Nevertheless, the Commissioners took it seriously, printed it in full in an appendix to their report, and quoted from it in their findings.

In his letter which was written after the passing of the 1895 Act, (although before any positive action based upon it had occurred), Wilcox described the difficulties which existed in administering the Umvoti Mission Reserve.

He pointed out that these were aggravated by the fact that the Zulu on the reserve were divided into three factions, among whom bitter animosities existed, to the extent that "if a local justice or induna be chosen from one of the factions ... the other two will immediately combine against him" (Evidence, Wilcox letter, 2/5/1896).

According to Wilcox, additional difficulties were caused by "the fact that polygamists have been allowed to gain a foothold in the Christian community and to take part in their affairs". As described in Chapter 6, no Zulu who practised polygamy was supposed to be resident on or among the A.Z.M. converts, and this was confirmed in Act 25 of 1895. These reasons, Wilcox states "are the chief causes ... of the present status of the work on this station which I must confess is deplorable" (Evidence, Appendix, 1904, p. 67). Wilcox was forced to admit that the Umvoti Mission Reserve "has become notoriously bad not only among the white people in the vicinity but even among the heathen". He said he knew of heathens "who dread to have their daughters live here as much as in Durban or Maritzburg, and unless a vigorous discipline is enforced upon these people it will only grow worse and worse" (Evidence, Appendix, 1904, p. 68). He, therefore, recommended that no one who practiced polygamy should be allowed to live among the Kolwa or take part in any of their religious activities. Part of the reserve had been divided into blocks or streets "for the amakolwa and it was never the intention that polygamists should be allowed to live in the village". Heathen, however, were allowed to live in other parts of the reserve (Evidence, Appendix, 1904, p. 68). He also recommended that the trustees appoint an agent to collect the rent and taxes and "also to see to the enforcement of the rules for the regulation of the reserve and the Christian community, and recommend and see to the carrying out of such improvements as may be needed in the reserve and the Christian Community" (Evidence, Appendix, 1904, p. 68). In other words, he was advocating almost complete white control.

A similar plea was made by Cetwayo Klas Goba, a Kolwa, who was the pastor at the A.Z.M. mission station at Inanda. He explained that Rev James Dexter Taylor was the Superintendent of the mission station, and visited it at least once a month. He claimed that the "natives" on the station preferred to be under a "resident white missionary", and explained: "I am a preacher but I much prefer being under a White man resident on the station. Sometimes there is dissatisfaction expressed by the Natives on the Mission lands because there is no white missionary here" (Evidence to Lands Commission, 1904, p. 241).

This evidence was confirmed by another Kolwa, Mbiya Kanyide Kuzwayo, who was the pastor in charge of the mission station at Mapumulo. Kuzwayo believed that: "The people do not recognize a Native pastor as they do a white missionary. I think it is an advantage for a Mission to have a white missionary residing on it", and added that "A Native pastor has no proper authority with reference to secular disputes on the Reserve (Evidence to Lands Commission, 1904, p. 283). He admitted that "there were many disputes on the mission reserves", although these were more concerned with secular matters than with "Church" matters. Heathens nevertheless, outnumbered Christians by three to one. The people were divided between three or four chiefs, and the latter were both in conflict with each other, and with the moral laws of the Christians. He suggested that "the only remedy is for the Mission Reserve lands to be divided amongst the Native people. All the station people are calling out for that ... (Evidence, 1904, p. 283). It is not clear whether he meant that the Zulu should be given freehold title (in which case, secular disputes would not necessarily be reduced) or whether the territories and control areas of the chiefs should be clearly demarcated. The secular control of the Kolwa on the glebe lands and around the mission station, however, seemed to be adequately managed by an "Induna" and the Kolwa themselves were satisfied. This part of his evi-

dence, however, has to be treated with caution as he himself was the son of the Induna.

The assertions of Cowles had been clearly contradicted by the two Kolwa and by an early white missionary report. The attitude of the Commissioners would also be affected by colonists' evidence, of which Colenbrander's was an example.

Theodorus Gerardus Colenbrander's evidence concerned beneficial occupation of land. In his opinion, agricultural farms could be said to be beneficially utilized if five per cent of the land was cultivated. Stock farms' efficiency could be expressed as the number of acres of grazing per head (Evidence, 1904, p. 301). He described the Umvoti Mission land (under the trusteeship of the A.Z.M.) as being potentially the best land on the coast: "... the Government has done everything it could to help the native (on Umvoti mission land) but has done too little to help the white man". He stated that he had worked for the Government on the mill it had put up at Umvoti and he found that the Zulu had planted the sugar cane in a very erratic manner. He had attempted to rent some of the Umvoti Mission land so as to plant sugar cane. Although the resident missionary was in favour of renting the land to him, the Government had refused his application (Evidence, 1904, p. 302).

In Colenbrander's opinion the natives on these mission lands were not making any progress. He knew that "they are letting their lands to the Indians. The growing of cane has been given up there. If these lands had been in the possession of Europeans, I have no doubt that the mill would have had something like 4,000 tons a year to crush" (Evidence, p. 302).

Although the Indians who had rented reserve land for sugar growing had made beneficial use of it, he believed "that the Indian (should) be returned to India. It has frequently struck me that the Indian knows more about the cultivation of land than we do. The Indian does not put manure into the land, but he decidedly puts nitrogen into the

ground by growing his beans (Evidence to Lands Commission, 1902, p. 203).

After the Zulu had hired their lands to the Indians "they live in idleness on their erven, generally living on the mielies which they get in lieu of payment of money for rent from the Coolies, and what they get for their cattle (Evidence, 1904, p. 303).

Colenbrander was also acquainted with the Mapumulo Mission lands, also operated by the A.Z.M., and there he felt the Government should repossess the land because it was not usefully occupied by the Mission "natives". As far as he was concerned, the missionaries in this case had neglected the mission lands along the coast. This land should be given back to the Government since it was useful for the planting of sugar cane and tea (Evidence, p. 303).

Clearly Colenbrander's evidence seemed to be motivated by his own personal needs. If he was concerned purely with the beneficial use of land, then he would hardly argue that the Indians should be repatriated, if they "know more about land than we do". Despite this contradictory evidence, the Commissioners clearly regarded Colenbrander as confirming the claims that mission lands were in urgent need of white control.

Evidence concerning missionary education in general and industrial education in particular will now be considered.

As could be expected, Cowles, who was the principal of Amanzimtoti Seminary, gave evidence which mainly concerned educational and religious matters. He mentioned that the seminary had an industrial teacher from 1883 to 1899 but the lack of finance had forced the A.Z.M. to end his services. At the time of his giving evidence, industrial training at the seminary "... only consists of planting trees, and the ordinary cultivation, such as mielies, sweet potatoes, pines, bananas, and coast fruits" (Evidence to Lands Commis-

sion, 1904, p. 392). He made it clear, however, that over-emphasis should not be placed on this form of training: "I consider it is the missionary's duty primarily to promote the Kingdom of God amongst the natives, and not to teach education" (Evidence to Lands Commission, 1904, p. 392). He also informed the Commission that the Amanzimtoti Seminary was currently operating without the assistance of a government grant which they had refused "under the conditions imposed by the educational department. These conditions were that we should require each pupil to sign an agreement to teach after finishing his course" (Evidence to Lands Commission, 1904, p. 392). He explained that "... the amount of grant which we should have received from the Government, under those conditions, was so small, that we considered it advisable to refuse the educational grant altogether, with the hope of bettering ourselves in other ways. Consequently we refused it, and are better without it" (Evidence to Lands Commission, 1904, p. 392).

Cowles then made a scathing attack upon existing industrial training, an attack which, he claimed, would be supported by "the whole Colony":

... the present system ... as far as Mission Stations are concerned, is very unsatisfactory. It depends very largely on the teacher in the school, whether it is not worse than useless. It is a question, whether it is not injurious, in so far as it teaches the boys to play at labour, instead of actually working. On that point there is nothing definitely laid down by the Government. The teacher is really left to do just what he pleases, to clean up around the school, for instance, and call it Industrial Training. No system of industrial work is provided and no instructions are given as to what is to be done (Evidence to Lands Commission, 1904, p. 393).

It was not, however, only Industrial Training that was unsatisfactory: "the whole question of Native Education should be thrashed out by a Government Commission". In certain circumstances, Cowles would be prepared to see the

missionary relieved "of all responsibility for educational training" and he believed there "would be no objection, on our part to such a move, as this would leave him free for his Christian work". In this, Cowles echoed Kilbon's views, in particular "that the primary education (that is reading, writing, arithmetic) ... should be in the hands of the Government, but this should not prevent a missionary giving education if he thought it fit to do so" (Evidence to the Lands Commission, 1904, p. 393).

The Kolwa Goba was quite specific about what he meant by Industrial Training: "It should be training such as blacksmiths, saddlers, carpenters, etc." in which "the Natives should be properly educated, instead of the present education". He was critical of his fellow Zulu: "What troubles us is the laziness of the Natives". A "more useful education in industrial work" and "not more book learning ... will wake them up (and) the Natives should be taught to work". Although he claimed: "I have no quarrel with the missionaries ... I do not see how they can raise the Native, and make him industrious", and neither could he see "how the natives can acquire this knowledge under the missionary". In these circumstances, he felt that "the natives would not object to the Government resuming possession of the land". Finally, he dismissed almost all the educational efforts of the missionaries over the previous forty years by asserting "I cannot see any improvement at all from the time when the original grants were made to the present time ..." (Evidence to Lands Commission, 1904, p. 242).

The colonist, Colenbrander was equally convinced of the need for Colonial Government intervention. He was asked during his evidence what his reaction would be, "if the education and training were taken away from the missionaries, and placed in the hands of the Government; but the glebes extended in the area according to the merits of each case; that such a plan would be just to all parties concerned". He answered: "The reasons for the Government step-

ping in are overwhelming. I should agree with such a plan" (Evidence to Lands Commission, 1904, p. 304).

The final report of the Commission, which included its recommendations, was a rather thin document consisting of 35 pages. Pages 1 to 22 were primarily concerned with background information, while pages 23-35 were concerned with the current situation and the recommendations that arose from them. As the report and recommendations are described, it will become clear that it is damning about the religious and educational work of the A.Z.M. This attack against the A.Z.M. led to much writing and refutation by the Zulu mission once the report was published.

It is also important to note that historians have not placed much emphasis on the Lands Commission in its entirety, for example, Brookes and Webb's standard work on the history of Natal makes no mention of it, even though it did lead to the Mission Reserves Act of 1904.

In this thesis, the interest is not only on the evidence of the missionaries, which has been considered earlier in the chapter, but also on the responses of the A.Z.M. to the report and recommendations of the Commission. Further justification of the inclusion of this Commission in this study is the allegation that the mission reserves were wastelands and not beneficially used by the A.Z.M. or the Zulu; that there was lack of control and that the endeavours of the Zulu mission were useless. This negative attitude placed the A.Z.M. on the defensive and makes it necessary to assess the report's conclusions together with the missionaries rebuttals.

The report traced the history and purposes of the glebes (which were granted with the specific intention of getting a missionary body to establish missions on them). and the mission reserves (which, on the other hand, were held in trust "for such Natives as at the date of the Grant

were resident upon the land or such Natives as might thereafter be lawfully resident upon the land") (Report of Lands Commission, 1902, p. 23). However, the Governor, "upon application of the majority of trustees, (could) cause any native resident upon the land to be moved there from" (Report, 1902, p. 24). The Commission accepted that the mission bodies who were granted glebes had conducted mission work on them "at cost and expenditure far exceeding any rents which may have been received for Glebe lands" (Report of Lands Commission, 1902, p. 23).

The glebes had been used as a field of mission work by missionary bodies (particularly the A.Z.M.) long before they were officially allocated to missions from 1860 onwards. Any land which was granted to the missionary societies for educational purposes, had "to be used for the purpose of education only, and for no other purpose whatsoever". The report noted that the missionaries had no other rights in the reserves apart from being trustees of the land, so that the A.Z.M. could have a fixed population amongst whom they could conduct their missionary work (Report of Lands Commission, 1902, p. 24).

If the mission reserves and glebes had not been set aside for missionary bodies, they would have been incorporated into the native locations. In other words, this was a tacit recognition that such lands would never have been allocated or sold to white farmers. The commissioners were not able to recommend the transfer of lands back to Government as had possibly been in the minds of the original petitioners or some of the witnesses. In fact they specifically recommended that "there should be legislation to prevent the alienation to other than Natives of any freehold titles already given" (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 27).

Instead the report noted that there was a condition in the titles to the reserves that the Governor had the right, on receiving an application from the Trustees to "allot and transfer to any Natives resident at any time on the Reserve land, such portions thereof, as the Governor may see fit,

and at such price as may in his discretion seem fair, and subject to such conditions, he may impose" (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 27). The only possible change in ownership, therefore, could be to Zulu individual title.

The Commissioners claimed, however, that the missionaries had "declared themselves against" further freehold titles being given to Zulu, and referred specifically to the Wilcox letter, which has already been described in the section on evidence given to the Commissioners, and in which the condition of the Umvoti Reserve was called "deplorable". The report supported this claim because it suggested that if reserve land was granted to a Kolwa ('mission native'), it would "probably be harmful to him as enabling him to live in idleness" (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 27).

The report did not confine its supporting evidence to the Wilcox letter. It mentioned a governmental visit to another A.Z.M. Reserve, Umtwalumi, in 1886, when the resident missionary Wilder had "explained that the original idea of granting individual rights to resident Natives on Mission Reserves had not proved successful, and that it was not considered advisable to make further individual grants to them" (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 27).

They went further back in time to note an A.Z.M. resolution of 8 October 1868: "That in the opinion of the Board it is desirable, except in special cases, that the system of leasing to Natives be submitted in lieu of Freehold Grants" (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 28).

The report also noted that since 1868 "very few individual titles to Natives have been granted ... (and) none have been granted for some considerable time past" (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 28). Rev H.D. Goodenough, Secretary of the American Mission, in a letter to the Natal Government in June 1894 had explained the reasons for the 1868 decision. In it he stated: "It was doubtless because some of the principal men at Umvoti, living in the village of the Amakolwa, had relapsed into polygamy, and it was found that as they held a freehold title they could not be removed". Their

presence, Goodenough had argued, had "had a bad influence upon others, that these men having once renounced heathenism, and then relapsed into heathen habits, could defy, as they did, even the Governor to remove them" (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 28).

Although not specifically highlighted in the report, the acreage in freehold titles was mentioned and it was shown that Umvoti had by far the greatest extent of land in freehold title (3 000 acres in plots of "15 acres and under"). The other three A.Z.M. reserves had no more than 100 to 751 acres (the Amanzimtoti figure) so alienated (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 27). It could have been argued, therefore, that the extent of wasted agricultural potential was greatest where the largest proportion of freehold title existed. Although there was no legal way to reverse the actions of nearly forty years ago, the Commissioners nevertheless felt that the mission reserves on the coast (Umvoti, Umlazi, Amanzimtoti, Imfumi and Infafa - all A.Z.M. reserves) had been regarded as "a stumbling block to the progress of the country". This land "if not locked up, would in common with lands on the coast have been utilized for European occupation, and participated in the general progress of that part of the country" (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 28).

The Commissioners quoted from an 1872 statement by Sir John Robinson (a prominent politician and subsequently Prime Minister of the colony in the 1890's). "The Country (the coast from Durban to the Umzimkulu River) is locked up and blighted by a false but fatal philanthropy, whose intentions, beneficial enough probably in the first instance, have been sadly belied by the result." He continued that, whether the time is used for education or mission purposes,

... the effect so far has been equally the same to keep it wild and waste, free from the improving operations of European effort and European industry. Twenty years have now elapsed since most of these stations were established, and it may fairly be asked, have these Reserves fulfilled the

purposes for which they were created (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 28).

It should be noted that the written evidence used to support the report's concern about wasted land, originated many years before: the Wilcox letter was written in 1896; Wilder comment was made in 1886; the A.Z.M. resolution was passed in 1868; and Robinson's criticism was made "thirty years ago" in 1872. The report declared that it "thoroughly endorsed the opinions given so many years ago ... they were absolutely true at the present day" and "that visits to (most) American stations impress one with failure and desertion" (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 29). "The cultivation of Mission lands", the report claimed, "does not show any advance on the ordinary Kaffir cultivation, although the land is generally capable of providing annually far more than would be sufficient for their maintenance" (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 31). The missionaries' rebuttals were to take up this argument with some vigour, as it was clearly implied that more than half a century of mission work had completely failed to produce Zulu who could make efficient use of land they occupied.

From such a position, the report turned to the means by which mission reserves should be controlled. According to the Commissioners, the "failure and desertion" was due to the A.Z.M. policy that stations should be administered by the Zulu themselves rather than that they should be under "the immediate supervision and control of resident white missionaries". This lack of control led to the buildings deteriorating and some becoming uninhabitable (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 29).

Although the American missions' arguments were that the time had come for the Zulu, under the leadership of qualified ministers, to be left on their own to develop further, the report regarded this as "an entire mistake" as:

At present natives can practically do as they like. The missionaries or the trustees have in-

sufficient power ... One consequence of the existing want of control on the reserves is that they have been and are liable to be, used as the refuge of bad characters and of such natives as want to escape from the jurisdiction of their chiefs and live a life of sheer idleness (Lands Commission, 1902, pp. 31, 32).

In complete contrast to the missionaries' views, the Commissioners argued

that the true interests of missionary work can only be properly served by a qualified white missionary being reserved at and controlling each station, making good use of Native Ministers and teachers at that station, and for outlying stations being off-shoots from the central station (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 29).

The Commissioners, therefore, recommended "that steps should be taken which will enable Government to require that each glebe must have established on it a Mission Station under the control of a resident European missionary" (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 30).

The Commissioners showed that provision had been made in Act No. 25 of 1895 for suitable control of the mission reserves and in which "the Government appear to have treated the Missionaries with the greatest consideration". They regretted that the A.Z.M., of all the missionary bodies active in Natal, "alone should have stood out against the framing of the Rules under the Act, by refusing to attend meetings called by the Government in the interests of all concerned" (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 30).

The Commissioners regretted that the Government had not implemented Act No. 25 of 1895 and suggested that "all Missionary Trustees of Reserves should be removed" and a Natal Native Trust or the Government "should be created the sole trustee of all Mission Reserves, and exercise absolute control thereon" (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 31). This would ensure "that these Natives must be under one controlling

power and that power should be the Government" (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 31).

The Commissioners expressed their considerable disappointment at the level of educational work undertaken by the American Missionaries, with, however, two notable exceptions: Amanzimtoti (or Adams) where "the training of boys and male natives" was undertaken and Inanda (Lindley) "which is the headstation for the training of native girls". Apart from these two educational institutions, the work at the mission stations presented a picture of failure (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 29). What was particularly lacking was "Education in Industrial training which at present ... is a farce". No specific recommendations however were made about methods of improvement (Lands Commission, 1902, p. 29).

What is noticeable about the report is that very few firm recommendations were made to the Government. Assisted immigration was rejected; if any land expropriation was to take place in the future, the broad interests of "natives" must be maintained; control should be exercised by white missionaries acting clearly on behalf of the government and under its legal system; and education, especially industrial education, should be improved. Rather than a blueprint for action, the Commission concentrated on complaints and criticisms.

The whole tenor of the Commissioners' Report discredited the religious and educational work which had been conducted by the A.Z.M. on their reserves and glebes. The A.Z.M. refuted all the allegations made against it by the Commissioners. They wrote, first, a letter setting out their response to the report and recommendations to four colonial newspapers in March 1902; they wrote a printed reply in pamphlet form in April 1902, written by the local Secretary Goodenough; and brought up the matter in the Deputation Papers. Published in 1904, these were drawn up by

the A.Z.M. to describe their mission work in Natal for the perusal of a 1903 deputation sent out by Boston to assess the work of the Zulu mission. This deputation will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. This next section in the present chapter will examine the A.Z.M. rebuttals in some detail, and will be based upon the April 1902 pamphlet which elaborated on the letters in the colonial press of the previous month.

The extent of the anger of the American Zulu Mission at the contents of the report was very clear. They began by declaring that they had expected the Commissioners "would be just to the facts before them" (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1902, A/3/49, p. 1). Instead, "there seems to have been a set and subtle purpose in those who drew up the report to create an unfavourable impression against the American missionaries and their relation to the lands held in trust by them" (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1902, A/3/49, p. 1).

Although the mission wanted to "avoid controversy", it found it imperative that the "assault" forced them "with its wholesale disregard of ... historical facts" (p. 3), and its "gratuitous remarks" (p. 4), "... to let the public see how the report of the Commissioners falsifies the facts in the case" and thus "invalidates the whole document" (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 4).

The A.Z.M. could not accept the Commissioners portraying of themselves as experts on missionary activities, which entitled them to evaluate the A.Z.M.'s education and religious work as a failure. They and "the man in the street can sneer down the experience of the men who have spent their lives in the work" and "who know the natives, their language and customs". They also claimed that they "are the only men that have done anything in an organized way for the elevation of the native race". In these circumstances, these ignorant interpretations are described as "rather amusing" (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 7).

After these general attacks, the pamphlet examined specific instances of bias and inaccuracy. The missionaries

recognized that it was highly unlikely to expect the Commissioners to view the mission work conducted in the mission reserves in the same light as the A.Z.M. itself. The former would emphasize the material aspects of life, while the A.Z.M. would be more likely to place emphasis on the spiritual aspects of life on the mission reserves. Nevertheless there was surprise that the two interpretations could differ so widely.

The pamphlet turned first to the failure to implement the 1895 Act. The A.Z.M. was angered by the fact that the Commissioners blamed them for this failure (described earlier in this chapter). According to the A.Z.M., only one meeting had been called (in October 1895) and they had not attended it, "the reason being our conscientious protest against certain provisions of the Act" (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 1). However, the American missionaries had later met with representatives of the Government in July 1896, at which "harmonious" meeting they gave the assurance of their willingness to co-operate with the Government on the matter of control on the mission reserves. The A.Z.M. saw this as an acceptance "on both sides as ending the deadlock" regarding the control of mission reserves. For this reason, the A.Z.M. was shocked to read of the attack on the report of the Lands Commission (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 2) which claimed that they "alone had stood out against the framing of rules under the Act". They believed they had indicated their willingness to do so in a letter to Government, dated 22 March 1899. This letter asked "for (Government's) criticisms and suggestions. ... We are conscious that this first draft is very imperfect but we hope it may prove a practical basis for agreement" (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 2). They showed that the Government failed to make any positive suggestions apart from claiming that the draft went beyond the confines of the Act, and that further meetings should be arranged. In fact, the matter only came up again in 1902 in the Report of the Lands

Commission, in which the A.Z.M. was criticized for its lack of co-operation.

The pamphlet further proved that "they [Government] had in their hands the draft rules which the American missionaries 'alone' had framed and submitted". They also felt "very keenly the injustice of the charge made by the Commissioners that we have put ourselves in an attitude of opposition to the Government" (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 2).

The Commission's claims about the granting of freehold title to the Zulu was another sore point with the A.Z.M. The pamphlet defended the earlier statements made by their missionaries. With regard to Mr Wilcox's letter, they stated that the missionary had expressed no opinion on the question of granting individual titles. But parts of his letter were used out of context "to awaken prejudice, (as) it does not confirm the point for which it is ostensibly quoted", namely, "that missionaries disapprove of granting individual titles, for it says nothing on this point" (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 3).

Secondly, with regard to Rev Wilder's letter, the American mission commented that "it presented the sentiment of missionaries during several previous years". However, "the records show that the trustees in the closing month of February 1886 drew up rules for the sale of the land to the natives" and during the period of the next 15 years "the opinion of missionaries has been in favour of giving individual titles to Natives on the reserves" (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 3). In other words, since 1886 there had existed sufficient correspondence between the mission and the Government which strongly indicated that most missionaries favoured the giving of individual titles to the Zulu. The pamphlet referred to other written and oral evidence which had been submitted by them to the Commission. Despite this, the Commissioners were able to conclude that "missionaries have declared themselves 'against it' (individual title) (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 3).

The Commission report quoted from Goodenough's letter of June 1894 and suggested that this had questioned the appropriateness of individual titles. In fact, the quoted paragraph had merely given the reasons why the Americans had passed the resolution of 1868. The Commissioners had failed to point out those sections of the letter in which Goodenough had in actual fact advocated individual title. Goodenough's letter to the Government had closed with the words:

I will add, in conclusion, that when I went to Umvoti I was opposed to extending further the plan of giving individual titles to natives, now after a residence of three years there, I have now so changed my opinion as to favour the extension of the plan to all our reserves (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 3).

This "disregard of the historical facts and official documents" which totally negated the report of the Commission, meant that the Commissioners must "lie open to the charge of heedlessly or intentionally misleading the public concerning the American Mission and its work" (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p.3).

The pamphlet then turned to the methods of control over the Zulu on the mission reserves and glebes. From the account given in the Commissioners Report, it would appear that the Zulu on the reserves were governed differently from those in the other areas of the colony. This was disputed: "Every Nguni, whether on the reserve or anywhere else, is under some chief and he is subjected to the same judicial system". For example, magistrates could send police to arrest natives on the native reserves "and try them for violation of laws and punish them if found guilty, the same as any other part of the Colony" (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 4,).

The pamphlet then reiterated the A.Z.M.'s long-established policy of ultimately passing control to the Zulu themselves. It was never policy to place American mission-

aries permanently among the Zulu, instead the "making (of) Gospel work self supporting is aimed at from the start in every foreign mission field", and "the Native Churches must necessarily be trained to carry their burdens for themselves, and foreign aid, in money and men, must become unnecessary as soon as possible" (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 7).

The pamphlet took strong exception to the Commissioners' regarding the mission reserves as places of refuge for those "who want to lead a life of sheer idleness". It was self-evident that the Zulu on the reserves had to work in order to live and, in fact, the Zulu "who lived on the mission reserves often work harder than those who live in the locations". This could be illustrated by "the amount of land cultivated, the houses built, furniture bought, clothing worn, European food used, books bought, school fees paid. All these cost money and mean work" (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/19, p. 5).

Although Wilcox might have found immorality on the Umvoti reserve, had he walked the streets of Maritzburg at night, he "would have seen the one or two hundred white and brown and black women who pander there to the lust of white men". He would also have witnessed "the drunken carousels that went on there; had seen the native girls who, coming to the City to work, had been drawn into that maelstrom of vice ..." (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 5). It was an unfortunate fact that "bad characters are sufficiently numerous in the Colony, but the reserves are by no means either their chief meeting place or principal resorts" (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 5).

The pamphlet then turned to the Report's quotations from Robinson. Reference was made to the Surveyor-General's Report of 1900, which showed that 63% of Natal land was owned by Europeans (giving an average occupation of two persons per square mile) and that no more than 2% of that was under cultivation. Of the men working this land, only 1½% were white. This, claimed the pamphlet, "hardly meets

the implications conjured up by Robinson's writings, of "fruitful fields, pleasant homesteads ... careful culture" (of the earth) or "laden ships bearing away ... surplus products", when he talked of "improving operations of European efforts ... and industry". Robinson contrasted this pleasing picture, it will be remembered, with land "lying wild and waste" in the reserves. The pamphlet replied with further calculations. In contrast to European farm land, "the land under cultivation (in reserves) is from 60 to 75 percent of the whole, and, say that only one third of this is worked each year, this makes from 20 to 25 percent" under constant cultivation. This is a low estimate but "it should be compared with the 2 percent which represents the European cultivation of European farms" (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 6).

The pamphlet presents an early argument suggesting the over-population of Zulu areas in Natal. It quoted figures to show that in the locations the average population density was 61 to the square mile, with some areas rising to 161 per square mile. In the Umvoti Reserve alone (so much criticized in the Commission Report), the average density was 158. When these facts are considered, they would refute those

who affirm that the mission reserve lands and other native-inhabited lands of the Colony are idle and waste as compared with European inhabited lands, ... such assertions are based either on ignorance or a determined purpose to supplant the black man by the European" (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 6).

Finally, the pamphlet commented upon the sections of the report devoted to education, about which, it will be remembered, the missionaries themselves had expressed concern. This was repeated, but a further set of questions, comments and comparisons were added.

It could be asked whose responsibility it was to place a true industrial education within the reach of the Zulu who had the potential for this type of education? Native loca-

tions contained twelve times the area of all mission reserves and glebes, but what schools had been established in these areas? "There has been just one Government native school in the history of the Colony. It was not a conspicuous success, and after a few years' trial it was closed" (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 6).

The Mission pamphlet recognised that the Government had allocated grants to mission schools. Such grants, however, proved totally inadequate to enable the schools to be run at a very successful level. The Colonial Year Book of 1900 indicated that the number of Zulu pupils was slightly higher than the whites. The amount of money spent on Europeans was however £48 000 compared to £6 000 paid for the Zulu, "the disproportion per pupil being 8 to 1" (p. 6). Yet the missionaries, who had freely given their time to supervise the mission schools, were now being reproached.

It was also true that for at least eleven years the training school for boys at the American Mission at Amanzimtoti had an active industrial department with a qualified artisan at the head of affairs. The buildings and part of the equipment were provided by the mission at a considerable financial outlay. A government grant had provided no more than one-half of the salary of the teacher with the mission providing the balance. Then white colonial politics intervened, claimed the report. The grants became

a burning question to the white artisans of the Colony. They had votes. We had none and the natives had none. The artisan vote insisted that there should be no grants for a real industrial training, and the former vote insisted that the name should be retained - perhaps in the hope of killing indirectly what they dared not kill directly. The result was the farce of 'Industrial Training' - the name retained, the thing itself gone (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 6).

The pamphlet in other sections presented criticism of what might be described as a selfish or self-centred colonial attitude to missionary work. Goodenough (as the

author) remembered the revealing words of a colonist who advocated the return to Government of the mission reserves because he had "children growing up" (p. 8). Such an attitude "accounts for the large portion of the report devoted to the attack on the American missionaries" (p. 8) and to "the ignoring of evidence that did not suit their ends, the misrepresentation of facts relating to the American trustees, the insinuation of blame on them belongs elsewhere ..." (A.Z.M., pamphlet, 1903, A/3/49, p. 8).

Finally, the pamphlet expressed the hope that the recommendations of the report would not be implemented, as the long-term effects could be dangerous:

We believe thoughtful men in the Colony, who see a momentous race problem looming up ahead, will not recklessly cause unrest and distrust among the natives by disturbing them in their possession of lands which they have believed the word of the Government sacredly pledged to them (A.Z.M. Report, 1903, A/3/49, p. 8).

Some nine months later, in January 1903, an invitation was received by the A.Z.M. from the Secretary of Native Affairs to discuss the findings of the Land Commission. At this meeting, which lasted for three hours, it was agreed

that ... we (A.Z.M.) Trustees of Mission Reserves are willing to cede to Government, by lease or otherwise, such rights as will give Government complete control of the Natives living on the Reserves, on the following conditions:

1. That suitable sites for schools and churches shall be leased at a nominal rent to the society named in the Deed of Trust.
2. That the Reserves shall be kept for the sole occupation of natives and shall be administered in accordance with the intent of the Deed of Trust.

3. That all the revenue derived from the Reserves shall be used for the benefit of the natives living on the Reserves, one half of such revenue being handed over to the mission society named in the Deed of Grant for native education, in accordance with the rules framed by the education department (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 85).

A bill which was based on these resolutions was presented to Parliament for its approval. After discussion and minor modifications, the Bill became an Act called the Mission Reserves Act of 1903 and was brought into operation at the beginning of 1904 (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 86). The A.Z.M. had thus ceased to be trustees of the mission reserves, "but they ... lay down their power gladly, feeling that they have conserved the rights of the natives and their own" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 86).

The evidence presented to the Commission was conflicting; even the evidence of the two American missionaries, Kilbon and Cowles, did not agree in all respects; the two Kolwa's evidence differed radically from that of the missionaries and the colonist Colenbrander did not agree with the evidence given by either the American missionaries or the Kolwa.

To a certain extent the Commissioners were faced with a difficult task since there were legal limitations to what they could recommend because of the conditions of the Trust of the mission reserves which existed. This, to a great extent, led to the paucity of their recommendations in the report.

Both missionaries Cowles and Kilbon were given loaded questions to answer by the Commission, for example, "As a missionary body among the heathen, do you consider that your mission is progressing satisfactorily? I mean in lifting the Native into a higher level of civilization" (Lands Com-

mission, 1902, p. 49). This question and the nature of other questions created the impression that a hostile climate existed between the American missionaries representing A.Z.M. attitudes and the Commissioners who showed strong colonial sentiments.

The A.Z.M. was not entirely blameless for the criticism levelled at them by the Commissioners. There was a possibility that in their zeal to achieve their religious objectives they neglected their secular responsibilities to the Zulu under their custodianship. It is evident, however, that large-scale educational work among the Zulu could not take place only through the efforts of the missionary societies such as the A.Z.M. It was necessary that State involvement should take place on a larger scale as more Zulu saw the necessity of education. It could be argued that the Government was not interested in providing educational facilities for the Zulu since they saw them merely as a source of cheap labour for the colonists. The majority of the mission reserves under the trusteeship of the A.Z.M. were along the coast where there was sufficient fertile ground to cultivate sugar-cane and other agricultural products on a large and highly profitable scale. This would be reason enough why the colonists were so eager to have these reserves made available for themselves.

It is necessary to point out that both in Britain and the United States of America, educationalists realized at the end of the 19th century that bodies, such as religious societies, could not be solely made responsible for the provision of educational facilities. In Britain, compulsory education was introduced in 1870 and was fully operational in 1880, while all the states in America had by 1902 implemented compulsory education.

It is difficult to compare the impoverished economy of Natal with the wealth of Britain and America, but merely on a theoretical basis, it can still be argued that the Government in Natal had a responsibility to provide for the edu-

cational needs of the Zulu and should not have left such a major responsibility to mission bodies like the A.Z.M.

From the findings of the Land Commission, a problem, which had existed in Zulu education for the past 75 years, namely, the uncertainty of what kind of "education" was to be provided for them, was questioned. In no other field was the uncertainty greater than Industrial Education. A multiplicity of meanings existed for this type of education. At times it could mean "weeding", or it might include a multitude of skills such as spinning or weaving. The failure on the part of all parties to create an acceptable definition must have accounted partly for subsequent failure to implement such education. This in turn might be an excuse to prevent the training of Zulu artisans who might compete with white tradesmen.

When the report and the refutations in the pamphlet published by the A.Z.M. are considered, it certainly seems that the Commissioners manipulated evidence as they prepared their report. Details in the pamphlet, quotations provided by it, and the citing of letters, all suggest that the Commissioner's Report was very partial. This lack of neutrality helps to account for the obvious anger and negative reaction of the A.Z.M. to the report and recommendations of the Commission.

However, this reaction of the A.Z.M. gave them over the next year, time to assess their work more carefully and to make more positive recommendations for the future development of their work in Natal. This assessment, which was prepared for the Deputation for Boston, will form a major part of subsequent chapters. Attention will also be given to the educational work, in particular from 1880 to 1910.

## CHAPTER 11

AMANZIMTOTI : DEVELOPMENT AND DIFFICULTIES :  
AIMS AND CURRICULUM

In chapters 6 and 7 of this study an account was given of the start of the Amanzimtoti Seminary. Attention was paid to its initial years of existence and its struggle to make an impact among the Zulu. In later years (1860 to the 1880's), however, it became an institution of greater significance in the work of the A.Z.M.

In this chapter an attempt will be made to look at the development of the Seminary over a period of 30 years, including the period 1903 - 1909 when new direction was given to its work as an educational institution.

As pointed out earlier, the Seminary, since its inception, had been primarily concerned with training the Zulu to become pastors, teachers and leaders in their own communities. Attempts had been made to provide some form of vocational training (discussed in detail in the Chapter 9), but after a period of vacillation the industrial department at the Seminary had collapsed and it finally closed for a period in 1900.

The issues concerning the Seminary will be examined under four headings: the aims and the curriculum (the topics in this chapter); the intake and numbers, and the finance (assessed in Chapter 12).

Attention will first be focussed on some of the speeches which were made at the Jubilee celebrations of the A.Z.M. at Amanzimtoti in 1885 when an additional dormitory building at the Seminary was opened. These speeches inevitably considered some of the purposes of missionary education.

The celebrations were attended by a number of prominent members of the colonial government, influential colonists, representatives of other missionary bodies and most of the American missionaries who were active in the colony of Natal

at that time. The speeches give an indication of how the education of the Zulu was interpreted.

Rev D. Rood, the chairman of the A.Z.M., addressing Sir Charles Mitchell, the administrator of the colonial government, expressed the gratitude of the A.Z.M. for the government's positive contribution which had been made towards the educational projects of the Zulu mission (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 9). Rood also complimented Mitchell as someone with a personal interest in the work of the mission, and "... who today we can hail as ... a true friend" (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 9).

In his reply Mitchell, while recognizing that the A.Z.M.'s work was "truly heroic in character", warned that transforming a barbaric people to Christianity and changing them from a nomadic or pastoral people to an industrial one, although a "noble", was also a difficult, task. He accepted that the numbers of converts were small but recognized that any conversion activity was "generally slow and sure", and that the wholesale conversion of people was not justifiable. He stressed the importance of collaboration between missionaries and the colonial government in appeasing "a barbaric and hostile people" (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 9).

It will be remembered that in its early history the A.Z.M. was specifically warned by Boston not to work too closely with the colonial government. Clearly at this time of celebration such suspicions (if they still existed) were put aside. It is also significant that it was in the 1880's that the A.Z.M. was optimistically investigating the re-opening, on a firmer financial footing, of the Industrial Department and that for some years after 1885 the missionaries did their best to accommodate the nature of the industrial training to the frequently changing colonial regulations. The new dormitory had been partly funded by government, so optimism seemed justified. The veiled demand for "collaboration" by Mitchell, in these circumstances, became understandable.

F.B. Fynney, the Superintendent of Native Education, in contrast to Mitchell's caution, listed the advantages the Zulu had obtained from Christian and intellectual teaching, and claimed that "sceptics (who might question the efficacy of education for the Zulu) ... would only have to accompany him once on his rounds among the native schools to be convinced that the work was useful and encouraging". If the Zulu had the potential for improvement through education (and he believed this was so) then he had to appeal for more schools in the colony. These would clearly require more teachers, the provision of which was one of the basic functions of the Amanzimtoti Seminary. His interpretation of this educative potential, however, was certainly not entirely an academic one, for he believed that now "natives were learning to appreciate labour and they were now gaining an education in all that civilized man ought to know" (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 12).

Although the missionaries always had an ambivalent attitude towards industrial education (it could distance them and their pupils from evangelization and Christianization), outside forces seemed to be supporting Fynney's interpretation. Throughout the remaining years of the century, for instance, the teachers were concerned that the most enterprising students were being attracted to the goldfields which had recently opened in the Transvaal. In 1896 the Principal's report explained that it was "very discouraging to expend so much time, and effort, and money simply to supply the Johannesburg market with intelligent native labour. We may even question whether it is wise or right thus to expend mission funds" (Principal's Report, 1896). Instead of providing educated labour, the missionaries needed to plan "how to secure the boys (they) want, how to induce them to take the full course of study, and then how to get the benefit of their education in the station

schools, and for other mission work" (Principal's Report, 1896, A/3/41).

Despite the major influences of greater industrialization and their effect on different kinds of education, the A.Z.M., as it had done throughout its history, continued to give its highest priority to the need to provide preachers and spreaders of Christianity. Teachers and preaching had been inseparable entities. This aim continued to be emphasized for the rest of the century. As late as 1894, the Principal stressed the religious goal of the Seminary. He pointed out that despite secular education for the students during the school hours, the religious emphasis was not being neglected. "The object of the school is not so much to produce scholarship as Christian manhood. It aims to send forth those who will be living epistles wherein all may read the transforming power of the gospel". The boys' lives, therefore, were "hedged about by an atmosphere of prayer, Bible instruction, and moral training" (Principal's Report, 1894, A/3/41).

In 1900, the Principal Cowles, warned against secularization and again emphasized that the main purpose of the Seminary was "primarily to send out to the widest possible limits Christian young men as leaders and teachers. Not merely to send out units even though educated and Christianized, but to send out missionaries, teachers, forces, centres of influences, Elijahs and John the Baptists, fires that shall kindle others until this shall no longer be a dark continent" (Principal's Report, 1900, A/3/42).

It has been shown that although evangelization continued to receive attention in the curriculum of the Seminary, special provision had been made for this aspect by the establishment of a theological class as part of the Seminary in 1865. In 1875 the class had become a separate school under the supervision of Rev Robbins and was known as the "Adams Theological School". Since its inception the training had been mainly Bible Study and very little emphasis was given to intellectual education because the main aim was to

train simple pastors or catechists. The candidates<sup>a</sup> had to be members of some church, total abstainers from native customs, familiar with the general make-up of the Bible, able to read and write in their own language and be accredited generally by their respective missionary or native pastor" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 38).

The Seminary, it had been hoped, would serve as a feeder to the theological school but in this respect it proved to be a failure. Of the total enrolment at the Seminary, only two-and-one-fifth per cent had decided to enrol at the Theological School. The total enrolment at the Theological School, after it became a separate institution in 1875, was 122, but only 23 (or approximately 19 per cent) had had previous training at the Seminary or at an institution which offered an education of a similar standard (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 42).

Early in the 20th century, Boston decided that a major investigation of the work in some of its African missions should be undertaken. Three people made the journey from Boston in 1903, arriving in Natal in June, and were returning home in October when one of the group (Miss Strong) died at sea. Their report was presented to the Boston Board in November 1903. The visit was important because it forced all aspects of the work in Natal to be considered: the aims were more precisely stated; the more immediate objectives were listed and the earlier successes and failures were evaluated. This self-examination is of importance when it is noted that the deputation was given no specific brief and were merely asked to "inspect" the work being done in Natal, Transvaal and Gazaland. The full initiative for the careful and considered analysis can therefore be attributed to the Natal missionaries themselves (Deputations Papers, 1904, p. 42).

The A.Z.M. was required to present reports to the "Deputation" on all aspects of its mission work. These reports were subsequently published in 1904 and called the "Deputation Papers".

The first report in the "Deputation Papers" was that of McCord (a medical missionary and chairman of the committee set up to produce the reports) and was concerned with mission policy. In these circumstances the Theological School's "outlook should ever be well in advance of any present stage reached in the churches and in the community" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 38).

The primary aim of the A.Z.M., ("to extend the Kingdom of Christ among the Bantu-speaking races of Africa, through the establishing of self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating native agencies"), was confirmed (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 5). This task was properly given to the Theological School, but its low standards were explained by the fact that initially its entrance requirements had been very low. Anyone was admitted to the course who had a interest in Bible study "without much restriction on account of scant intellectual training" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 38).

The Principal of the Theological School explained that

other things being equal, the man with previous higher school training will in the Theological School grasp an idea twice as quickly as the untrained man ... Moreover, his resources are greater for acquiring additional truth for his people after he leaves the Theological School. The man who lacks general education is not as well qualified to lead the thoughts of those who are better educated than he (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 43).

One reason why the best material from Amanzimtoti Seminary was not attracted to the Theological School was that the financial rewards which could be obtained after completing the course of training were not high enough to make it attractive. Since provision had to be made for candidates with a lower intellectual standards than those from Amanzimtoti Seminary, the course at the Theological School was not much of a challenge to those who had graduated from the Seminary.

Even by 1903 the entrance requirements could not be very stringent, but they were certainly an improvement on what had existed in previous years. Men were admitted if they were "able to read and write in their own language, and be accredited generally by their respective missionary or native pastor" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 38).

Theological training was particularly discussed in Kilbon's Report to the Deputation. As principal of the Theological School, he emphasized the importance of character building in a theological training programme but he also realized that "the best intellectual equipment is called for by a fast developing age." Kilbon was also interested in a more rigorous training programme which would "turn out well instructed, well balanced, spiritual leaders", who would be able "to deal with the ever advancing phases of spiritual truth and spiritual error" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 38).

The main issue related to the success of the Theological School was that students with a more advanced education (such as that offered at Amanzimtoti Seminary) would be preferable to the products of the primary schools of the mission stations.

Kilbon indicated that there was no easy solution to the problem of Amanzimtoti students entering the Theological School. Those who graduated from the Seminary (and they were insufficient to meet the A.Z.M.'s needs) "are likely to become interested in other callings - pursuits offering better wages than the ministry promises - before considering the claims of the Theological School" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 38).

For the purpose of this study, special attention needs to be paid to the report on the current condition and future of the Seminary. The A.Z.M. had been fortunate to have been able to appoint in 1903 the Rev Albert E. Le Roy, an American missionary with degrees in Arts and Divinity, to succeed Cowles as principal of the Seminary. It will become clear later that Le Roy had a greater educational vision than any

of the previous principals. He gave new direction to the aims, purposes and organization of the Seminary.

Soon after his arrival he presented two proposals on how the work of the Seminary could be continued. The choices would be either to concentrate on lower level education work, with emphasis upon literacy and Bible instruction, or to give pupils somewhat higher opportunities for training, at levels which would approximate to the senior standards in the primary school.

The first reason for retaining the Seminary as a lower primary institution was that it would give the pupils who were too old to start or complete their schooling at the mission schools an opportunity to better their education. It was claimed that boys with a lower educational attainment were more pious than those who had reached a higher educational standard. The presence, therefore, of less educated boys would produce "a wholesome influence on the school". Le Roy also noted that because the lower educated pupils were generally older and physically stronger than the more advanced boys, they could "be relied upon for accomplishing more and better manual labour". If the work was to be confined to the lower standards, there could be a greater intake and "numbers beget enthusiasm"; the larger the number of pupils at the Seminary the more "inspiring and satisfactory" it would be. Since the school up to this stage was primarily "to develop character" it would be more effective "to influence for good a large number of boys than it is a small number" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 47).

Le Roy then examined the advantages of offering higher grade training at the Seminary. Firstly, it would attract students who were more capable intellectually. Secondly, it would have a positive influence on pupils at mission schools since they would realize that Amanzimtoti, as an institution of advanced education, would be opened to them after they had passed the highest standard at their original schools. Thirdly, it would nullify an argument made by Zulu pastors

and others "that their sons are no longer able to get higher training at Jubilee (Amanzimtoti Seminary)".

There was another important implication of Le Roy's proposals. He suggested a greater administrative separation of the Seminary and the Theological School. In 1903, a decision was made by the A.Z.M. and endorsed by the Deputation and the American Board's Subcommittee on African Missions that education in effect be separated from the Church (Switzer, 1971, p. 318).

There was also a financial argument for work at a higher standard. Only pupils above std. III qualified for a grant of £3.00 each per year from the government. Any increase in government grant would decrease the A.Z.M. contribution to the running cost of the Seminary (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 13). There is no doubt which alternative Le Roy preferred - that of expanding the Seminary's work at a higher level. Towards the end of 1903, he wrote two letters to Judson Smith, the Secretary of the Prudential Committee. In the first he explained "the question of 'higher education' has been raised time and time again, both by the natives and by some members of the Mission". However, "we are still very much divided as to what Amanzimtoti Seminary should stand for, and also as to what the natives are capable of intellectually ..." (letter Le Roy to Smith, 30/10/1903, cited in Switzer, 1971, p. 325). "If, instead of 80 boys, we had even half that number, and were thus able to do much more for them, the results would, in my mind, be more far reaching than at present."

Without some opportunity for higher-grade education, the A.Z.M. could lose the support of the Kolwa and existing pastors, as "the natives are begging for better and a higher educational privileges". Cognisance must be taken of the fact that even Zulu pastors had also expressed a need for "higher education".

The problem of declining support from the Zulu was repeated in the second letter in December, when he claimed that "the respect of the natives for our educational system

was in danger" (letter Le Roy to Smith, 2/12/1903, cited in Switzer, 1971, p. 325).

Inanda, the Seminary for Zulu Christian girls, was regarded by the A.Z.M. as the counterpart of Amanzimtoti. It could be assumed therefore that any changes in aim, purposes and organization at Amanzimtoti would also influence Inanda. Miss Phelps, Principal of Inanda, explained in her report that a number of girls "... had separated themselves from their heathern surroundings and had formed the nucleus of Christian communities. The daughters of these Christian families attended the day schools on the mission stations. The need, however, for better qualified teachers for the day schools and for more intelligent Christian mothers in these Christian communities was deeply felt" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 49). A boarding institution which provided higher education was regarded as the most suitable way to fulfil this need. Thus, if the Christian girls who had graduated from the day school could enter a seminary where they could "night and day be under the care of Christian women, in the atmosphere of a truly Christian home, it would mean much in the development of true Christian womanhood" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 491). Therefore, Inanda, which had always been exclusively an institution for higher education for girls, would fit admirably into the new perspective the A.Z.M. had for their mission work.

Eventually some of the girls from Inanda would join the boys at Amanzimtoti in the formation of a co-educational Teacher Training College. This possibility is discussed later in this chapter.

So clearly had Le Roy put forward his argument, that the A.Z.M. was in no doubt that the Seminary should become an institution only for higher learning, and at a special meeting at Amanzimtoti in November 1903, the local missionaries sanctioned Le Roy's ideas on reorganization without awaiting the necessary approval from the Prudential Committee (Special meeting, November 1903).

Another branch of the work of the A.Z.M. was that of the primary schools which were established on mission stations. Miss Mellen submitted a report on them to the Deputation. She reported on the broad aims of the whole A.Z.M. ("Zulu pastors to Christianize and evangelize the children" and the "attraction" of education work being "its innumerable opportunities for setting forces to work in the Zulu youth which shall build up the Christian character of the nation ..."), but she went on to argue forcibly for improved mission schools with their emphasis on literacy and Bible instruction. "The relation of the primary schools to mission work is that of the child to the parent." If these were efficient, "our high schools will be supplied with girls and boys, well trained, who shall be the salvation of the race". Any neglect would "prove disastrous to the race" and as a further result entrants to the higher schools (Inanda and Amanzimtoti) would be "a low-grade class of pupils ... difficult to teach and control" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 60).

Efficiency, she claimed, could come only with some form of teacher training. The teachers in the schools were mainly self-taught, "and as they are sadly wanting in a knowledge of methods, and without natural suggestiveness, they soon fall into routine and careless ways" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 61). The role of the whole mission had to be to "direct the whole educational system in one clear way, which was to instruct the people how to teach, as well as how to preach" (Deputation Papers, 1904, pp. 61, 65, 66).

Mellen reported further "that the time has come to make the sphere of teaching as distinct as that of preaching in our educational system". She felt that, "Normal courses should be established, a teacher's bureau opened, conferences held regularly, and everything possible done to inspire the teachers" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 61).

Even before 1903 some concern had been expressed about adequate teacher-training. Some attention had been given to teacher-training in the early years of the existence of the

Seminary and the views of Mellen on this matter have already been made clear. However, up to the beginning of the 20th century, the A.Z.M. had put very little stress on teaching methods and teacher-training.

In 1899 Cowles, the principal of the Seminary, expressed the idea that in order to inspire the students to become Christian leaders and influence others of their kind with religious vigour, the seminary should provide as "good an education as they are capable of receiving in the time they are willing to remain under instruction". Cowles recognized the need for "a closer insight of pupil teachers and perhaps less work left to them, more thought and care spent upon the planning of this branch of work" (Principal's Report, 1899, A/3/42). He realized that in order to succeed it was necessary to "develop the attractive things, such as assigning military drill and society work. Give more thorough normal training" (Principal's Report, 1899). In his time as principal, however, Cowles had no opportunity to implement any of these ideas.

It was under the principalship of Le Roy that important developments in teacher-training really occurred. He proposed a number of essential requirements for the implementation of a teacher-training programme. His first requirement was the appointment of a male teacher who could be involved extensively in educational work. Such a person should "take up and deal vigorously with educational methods and apply them to the needs of the school" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 43). Le Roy also felt with Mellen that "Conferences with the native teachers in the school are greatly needed and would prove a great help in creating a better understanding between them and us, and in accomplishing more satisfactory work ..." (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 44). The adaptation of the existing textbooks to the needs of the natives would also be invaluable. The principal also recommended that "Vacation seminary schools for all the teachers of the mission would prove most helpful in building up the educational work" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 44).

The positive approach and the backing of the A.Z.M. for the teacher-training initiative that Le Roy was providing began to bear fruit almost immediately. This was helped by the sympathetic approach and attitude to native education in general by Mr Barnett, the new Superintendent of Education, who also made useful and practical suggestions to improve the standard of work at the Seminary. One of the teachers carried out, at his suggestion, "conversational classes with the entire school, based upon nature studies, or upon the personal observations of the boys themselves", and this approach proved highly successful (Principal's Report, 1903).

Equally important was the raising of the minimum academic qualification for the Government's Teacher's Certificates to Standard IV in 1903. In that year the students achieved good results in the government examinations: "Our head teacher ranked first among those who took the examination in the sixth standard, another teacher ranked first among those who took the fifth standard examination while one of our pupils ranked second among the pupils who passed the Fourth Standard test" (Principal's Report, 1903). In 1904, the Seminary entered seven students for the government examination for class III (fifth standard). All of them were successful. The principal had hoped to persuade all of them at the Seminary to continue their studies to obtain the class II certificate, but six students had chosen to leave the Seminary to take up teaching posts at the mission schools (Principal's Report, 1904, A/3/42).

Good examination results continued to be achieved. In 1905 "one pupil passed Class I, five passed Class II, and 13 succeeded in getting Class III certificates . . . , of those who received certificates ranking as head teachers in the colony, their positions were from the front to the sixteenth, in list of fifty-three. . . . Although one of this number holds the highest certificate that the Natal Government is willing to give to a native, still he desires more educa-

tion, and will take the Cape School Elementary Examination next December" (Principal's Report, 1905, A/3/42).

In 1906 it was reported that the government certificates of education "in Classes I, II, III, Jubilee (the Seminary) gets the credit of two first and tie for second honor, in the respective classes. Altogether twenty three certificates were secured in the Natal Teachers examinations" (Principal's Report, 1906). These results clearly reflected the fact that the students of the Seminary were highly motivated and, "Interest in educational matters has accordingly been awakened, and complaints from the boys to the effect that they were not given proper subjects and not pushed rapidly enough, are no longer heard" (Principal's Report, 1906, A/3/42).

Nevertheless the number of teachers being produced was still not meeting the educational needs of the colony. In order to overcome this shortage many of the senior students at the Seminary undertook in 1904 to serve as pupil teachers while they continued their studies on a part-time basis (Principal's Report, 1904, A/3/42).

Another one of the limiting factors of the Seminary was the inability of the A.Z.M. to secure an efficient teacher who was an expert in educational methods, despite Le Roy's plans which he had expressed in 1903 to the Deputation. This resulted in frequent staff changes "when the school had to depend upon such help as is procurable in the colony which cannot but injure the efficiency, and we again turn toward the home land for such a man as we have long desired and pleaded for, namely, an Educational Expert, who has been trained to teach and to train teachers" (Principal's Report, 1907, A/3/42). It seems that Le Roy wanted the services of the additional specialist teacher to give more advanced studies than those already available. In his 1907 report, Le Roy indicated that he was seriously considering

the taking away of the lower standard, as the prospects are that the school will continue to have about as many as it can conveniently accom-

modate. By having in the school only those who are training for teachers, or taking advanced work, the grant of the school will be increased, more efficient work will be accomplished, and the boys will appreciate even more than at present, that education means more than simply getting a third or even second or first class certificate ... Amanzimtoti ... now needs to be advanced to the point where the boys could prepare for entrance to the (Teacher's Training) College (at Amanzimtoti) (Principal's Report, 1907 - 1908, A/3/42).

Since the establishment of a Teacher's Training College would require additional teaching staff and greater financial resources, it was apparent that co-operation between the various missionary societies active in the colony of Natal would be essential. Le Roy in his report of 1908 stressed "The need of co-operation especially ... in educational work, where the duplication of schools none of them thoroughly equipped for the training of the natives, has failed to foster the cause of education as a few thoroughly equipped institutions would do" (Principal's Report, 1908). He was able "to report that the Free Church of Scotland Mission, which has even now plans in hand for the enlargement of that institution, has expressed its willingness to co-operate with us to the fullest extent" (Principal's Report, 1908, A/3/42). An arrangement was made in which the Free Church of Scotland agreed to transfer their senior students and one of their teachers "to the proposed teacher-training college" (Switzer, L., 1971, p. 339). Then A.Z.M. also received support from other missionary societies which included a request from the Lutheran Missionary Society as to "whether the A.Z.M. would be willing to accept as a teacher in our school one of their number ... they to bear all expenses in regard to his salary, and they to close their school" (Principal's Report, 1908). This was a vital factor which encouraged the A.Z.M. to decide on the Teacher-Training College project. It had become

apparent ... that unless the different missionary societies working in Natal combined in some defi-

nite way, there would be little hope of making real progress educationally for no one society could bear the expense of building up a first class institution for higher education (Principal's Report, 1909).

The Government sanctioned the establishment of a Teacher-Training College at the Amanzimtoti Seminary in 1908 and so made the long term ideal of Le Roy's a reality.

The A.Z.M. had two institutions for higher education for girls: the Inanda Seminary and Umzumbe Home. Since government decided to establish a normal school at only one of the institutions of the A.Z.M., "the question has arisen as to the advisability of having Inanda and Umzumbe send their advanced pupils to Amanzimtoti for Normal Training, and thus have a Co-educational Normal School" (Principal's Report, 1908). The matter was discussed at a committee meeting of the A.Z.M. where it was decided that the Teacher-Training Department of the Amanzimtoti Seminary should be co-educational (Principal's Report, 1908).

Le Roy claimed that

this will mean better teacher-training, more economical working, greater support by the Government and the maintaining of the premier position in Natal so far as education is concerned (Principal's Report, 1909).

He explained that the decision to make

the school co-educational, avoided the threatening necessity of turning over either the boys or girls to some other society or secular school for normal training. The government has repeatedly said that it was prepared to support two schools, one for boys and one for girls, to which all the pupils would be expected to attend. The Department also said that it was not likely that the American mission should be given both ... (Principal's Report, 1909).

Girls from Inanda Seminary and Umzumbe Home who had attained the level of Std VI as well as the boys, who had passed the

same standard at Amanzimtoti Seminary or any other school, were suitable for admission to the new Teacher-Training College. Le Roy, as was expected, was appointed principal "of the first teacher-training-college for Africans in Natal which opened its doors in February 1909 with a class of 40 pupils" (cited in Switzer, L., 1971, p. 340).

The Governor Matthew Nathan was well disposed towards the education of the Native. Le Roy remarked that: "On several occasions he has spoken sympathetically of the mission work that is being done among the natives, and has shown his interest in going among them and acquiring his knowledge at first hand" (Principal's Report, 1908). He visited the Amanzimtoti Seminary on the 25th June 1909 and expressed satisfaction with all that he saw, showed special interest in the industrial departments, and in answer to the petition that the government furnish the school with an agricultural teacher, had promised to secure such a man, and in addition to his salary, to give fifty pounds per year for running expenses. To Le Roy "it was gratifying to record that the mission has again won its way into favour" (Principal's Report, 1909).

Throughout the period under discussion (1835 - 1910) the missionary societies had always complained that although they had borne the major responsibility in providing education for the Zulus, "they had no voice in matters of legislation or administration" (Switzer, L., 1971, p. 336). The situation was to a certain extent changed with the government agreeing to the establishment in 1909 of an Advisory Board of Native Education "which consisted of a committee of twelve missionaries (from various missionary societies) specially interested in educational work, and two members representing the Native Affairs and Education Department respectively" (Principal's Report, 1909). By 1909 the Board had "revised the school code, the regulations governing native schools, and have been consulted regarding the educational qualification which should be required of

natives seeking exemption from the operation of native law" (Principal's Report, 1909).

From the following extract it is clear that the Government retained full control on who would serve on the Board which was formed only after pressure had been exerted on it. "The office members of the Board have been appointed by the Colonial Secretary, and the Education Department, after great reluctance, if not hostility, has gracefully acquiesced and expressed its sympathy and willingness to cooperate to the fullest. Hereafter, all regulation pertaining to active education will first be submitted to the Board for action before being published" (Principal's Report, 1909, A/3/42). The Advisory Board could, however, not bind the Government to any decisions it might make relating to Native Education.

The A.Z.M. had played a significant role in getting the Board of Education established, an achievement of which they were particularly proud. "It is gratifying that not only by Government but by other societies the A.Z.M. is considered to be taking the lead in Native educational work" (cited in Switzer, L., 1971, p. 300).

When considering the curriculum followed at the Seminary, it is essential to note what some of the principals of the Seminary considered as the important tenets of education.

Goodenough, who was to become principal of the Seminary in 1882, made an important statement at a Natal mission conference in 1878 in which he asked what should be the main thrust of missionary education of the A.Z.M.: "A tradition was set and it was one of European education modified by Zulu influences, rather than one of Zulu education modified by European influences" (Natal Mission Conference, 1878, p. 12, cited in Switzer, 1971, p. 292). It seemed that the A.Z.M.'s educational policy would be characterized by a com-

plete absence of any utilization or reference to anything pertaining to the traditional Zulu way of life.

As has been so often mentioned, the real concern of the Seminary was preparing the students to become teachers with a strong religious bias. The Christianization and the moral development was of primary importance in the education programme. In 1895 it was reported that:

A stronger and sturdy type of piety is what the boys most need. How to inspire and ingrain this into them is the greatest problem of the work. Many of the boys profess themselves Christians, but how to imbue them with the rugged piety which shall withstand not only the temptation of school life, but more than all, that of their home life, is the discouraging question.

The Report admitted that:

It is comparatively easy for them to live a good life outwardly while here at school, hedged about by rules and under daily Christian instruction. But as soon as they leave here they are plunged into a regular maelstrom of temptation, and so many of them are overwhelmed that we tremble for all who go from the school (Principal's Report, 1895, A/3/41).

Later in his address Goodenough slipped from the advantages of an enquiring mind ("quickenning" and "disciplining") which would come from an "intellectual education" into the possible economic advantages of such a training to colonial society.

Natives are lazy, not because they do not know how to work, but because they do not have sufficient inducements, to work. The first step in their elevation is not to teach them to work, but to teach them to want ... It is not so much what is learnt, or how much is remembered or whether any decent use is made of the knowledge required, it is what education does to quicken and develop and discipline the mind that gives it its value. Education of itself does much to create new wants and aspirations in the natives. When educated, they want to be clothed, to walk into their houses

uplifted to sit upon chairs and not on the ground, and these new wants mean more work to supply them (Natal Mission Conference, 1878, p. 26, cited in Switzer, 1971, p. 292).

Goodenough follows this argument with a rather idiosyncratic view of what he meant by practical education.

What is practical education but that which tends to the development of the man from the child, and lead on the mind to think for itself. Any study was practical that does this, and only practical as far as it did this, as the test in their case was not whether the details taught in school could be remembered in after-life, for what white pupil ever carried with him through life his knowledge of Algebra and Euclid (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 7).

He further justified his practical view of the curriculum by stating that the Zulu students were particularly interested in Physics and Chemistry, they also did well in Arithmetic and Algebra and "he felt they were therefore being practically educated". Physics and Chemistry could become practical if the concepts were practically demonstrated but in the early years of the establishment of the Seminary this would hardly be likely. It is difficult to understand why Goodenough would take such great pains to justify a highly "intellectual" curriculum as being practical.

Cognisance must, however, also be taken of the fact that the "head and backbone of the mission" was the system of primary and elementary schools which the A.Z.M. had established at the mission stations. Despite the importance placed upon this branch of education by the A.Z.M., "the potential was virtually untapped". The curriculum in particular was questioned.

The missionaries were largely concerned with boarding school education and lacked the knowledge and expertise to control the primary schools in the distant mission reserves. Even as early as the 1880's, these schools were run mainly

by Zulu preachers and evangelists. The missionaries were aware of these inadequacies and in 1892 these schools were described as "poorly equipped, indifferently looked after ... a vital weakness in our whole system" (cited in Switzer, 1971, pp. 314-315). A decade later the criticism was repeated, "The standard of instruction was very low" in "want of uniformity in the course of study, in textbooks used, and in method of teaching" (cited in Switzer, 1971, p. 361).

Even more explicit criticisms came in the Deputation Papers. Although the A.Z.M.'s policy, as has already been shown, was to teach through the medium of English, there were instances of schools where Zulu was used as medium of instruction and no English was used at all. Other schools "begin by teaching the pupil to read in English without discrimination as to whether he ever hears English spoken or not .... The teacher often following a blind routine method, without adaptation to the students" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 59). One of the women teachers had prepared a very good Zulu primer and reading charts and an "excellent" Zulu reader and "the New Testament" (is) used for further instruction in the vernacular" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 60).

There appears to be no direct reference to the teaching of number or arithmetic at this level. In the whole of Miss Mellen's contribution to the Deputation Papers, for instance, no mention is made of this subject. Apart from reading, the only other component of the curriculum which is described is that of religious instruction. Approximately half an hour a day was spent on religious instruction in the school; "the Zulu Bible, Catechism, Book of Questions and Answer Book are variously used". In many instances, "the religious teaching is crude, and often takes the form of extempore preaching, but where the teacher is thoroughly in earnest it is fruitful in conversions and in character building" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 60).

When the severely limited curriculum at the lower primary schools is borne in mind, the expectations for the

Seminary at Amanzimtoti might be criticized as being too idealistic. In 1886 on the occasion of Jubilee Celebrations at Amanzimtoti, the principal, Goodenough stated that the standard which was required for admission to the Seminary was equivalent to Std. 2 in the English Schools and the curriculum then included English, Physiology, Chemistry, Algebra and Geometry. Goodenough comments that "Some people might think such a course too advanced for Native boys and object to it because it was not practical but it was educational, nevertheless, and all helped to open and develop the mind" (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 7).

By 1894, the principal, Cowles, reported that the course of study at the Seminary fulfilled "the required studies for Government Examination in IV, V, VI, VII standards" (Principal's Report, 1894). Those students who were in std. VII received daily instructions in Anatomy and Physiology from the medical doctor who was resident on the mission station (Principal's Report, 1894, A/3/41).

Although the textbooks used in the Seminary were not completely satisfactory, efforts were being made to bring about improvements. A special grant from the American Board was used for "the purchase of a complete set of fine wall maps, several small globes, blackboard and other school material, and a fine lot of school and reference books suitable for the school library" (Principal's Report, 1894). The principal had also acquired "a stereoptican and slides, and a good microscope which was of great benefit to the seminary in assiting the teachers to give their students as good an education as possible" (Principal's Report, 1894, A/3/41).

In the following year it was reported that the curriculum had basically remained the same as previous years except that it had been decided to end an experiment to teach Chemistry to the students, because "there is so much close observation and logical thought required for (a) subject of which the boys are totally ignorant that they were utterly unable to grasp truth so gaseous and intangible"

(Principal's Report, 1895). There is a certain amount of doubt as to whether the students' difficulties with Chemistry were due to their inability to think logically, when it is considered that this was their first introduction to the subject and that it required expensive equipment and facilities, which the Seminary could not afford. Nor was there any guarantee that the qualifications of the teacher were adequate.

Apart from the formal curriculum, successive principals of the Seminary were concerned with varied approaches to extra-curricular activities. Many of these were directly or indirectly linked with discipline and control. In the Jubilee Papers, for instance, a description is given of "a sort of judge and jury process among the pupils themselves for the trial of minor offences" (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 7). The court which was established was made up of a teacher and five of the more mature boys who were chosen at the start of each term. The court conducted its session at least one a week and "was most patient and thorough in sifting evidence, its judgements being generally accepted without appeal" (Jubilee Papers, 1885, p. 7). The sentences which the courts passed were normally extra manual work for a period from one to three hours per day. This system gave the students an opportunity to be directly involved in the running of the Seminary and must have done something to improve their language ability and develop their self confidence.

In 1894 the Principal reported extensively upon less formal activities and explained that "all classes have instruction daily in Bible History, twice a week in a military drill according to the revised tactics of the American army, and once a week in tonic sol-fa singing. A short time is devoted every Monday morning to the recitation of Scripture texts and every Wednesday morning to the recitation of short choice selections from the best English authors".

It was believed that if the pupils were occupied with a variety of activities, disciplinary lapses were minimized.

The military drill which was mentioned earlier was thoroughly enjoyed by the students. "It is a most valuable method of teaching ... obedience to commands and also helps to give the boys a more graceful and manly bearing". Football was enjoyed by most of the students and many indoor games made the free time of the boys meaningful. It was hoped that in the following term "croquet and baseball and ... an interest in the various athletics such as running, jumping and vaulting" would be developed (Principal's Report, 1894, A/3/41).

A Literary and Debating Society had been organized with a President, Vice Chairman and Secretary elected from among the students. The activities basically consist "of Literary exercises, consisting of essays, dialogues, recitations, and extemporaneous speeches, interspersed with singing, speeches, which have been connected with native customs or suggested by the change from heathenism to Christianity. A critic is appointed for each meeting, to criticize all errors of grammar, pronunciation and manners" (Principal's Report, 1894). All these activities were conducted in English and must have been a valuable aid to the student in the study of the language (Principal's Report, 1894, A/3/41).

Just over a decade later another extended account of extra-mural organization is given. The morale of the students was enhanced with "caps and uniforms (which had been ordered from England) ... and everybody will be dressed in Khaki next term" (Principal's Report, 1905, A/3/41). Musical instruments were purchased to form a band for those boys with musical talents. "Football continued to be popular and interschool matches were organized for the entertainment of students." Apparently some of Cowles' activities had lapsed and Le Roy was trying to revive them. These included the use of the military drill according to the revised tactics of the American Army and the literary and debating society which had been successful in developing self-confidence and ability to use the English language (Principal's Report, 1905, A/3/41).

The broad extra-curricular programme gave the students of the seminary enough to develop their talents. So varied were the recreational activities that the needs of most of the students were well catered for. The prestige of the seminary increased to the extent that Le Roy could report in a letter to Smith in 1904 that

More of those who left the school some time ago, are coming back for more instruction, and all those who have constituted the 'higher class' say they will return ... Unless all signs fail, Amanzimtoti Seminary should go forward rapidly in the near future. The natives are now deeply interested in what is to them 'higher education' ... I am more than ever convinced that the shutting off of the lower grades of classes was a wise move. The people think so, and the Government Inspectors were pleased that it was done ... The future looks interesting (cited in Switzer, L., 1871, p. 329, letter Le Roy to Smith, 23/12/1904).

The language medium used in the primary schools caused problems for the pupils. "All instruction was given in English, and all conversation was carried on in the same language, under penalties of transgression (Jubilee Papers, 1885, p. 8). How much more effective it would have been if the students were able to utilize the Zulu language. The medium of instruction at the Seminary from 1881 to 1904 was English which must have made it difficult for some of the pupils from the mission schools. In 1904 Zulu was still very neglected at the Seminary as is apparent from a remark by the principal Le Roy.

We teachers are severely handicapped in our efforts at personal work among the boys, because of our inability to understand the language - a handicap that is not likely seen to be removed from the teaching force, we fear, judging from the past record and future outlook of the school (Principal's Report, 1904, A/3/42).

There is enough evidence in the sources consulted for this study to show, however, that most new missionaries were re-

quired to study the vernacular, many without much success.

To run an effective educational system, it was essential to have suitably qualified teachers. Since the inception of the Seminary the primary function was to provide Christian primary school teachers to serve as preachers and religious leaders in the Zulu Christian community. During the early years of the educational work of the Seminary 76 per cent of the products were employed as teachers in the primary school. From the 1870's there was a decline in the number of pupils who finally completed the course as Christian teachers. About 35 per cent of the pupils who enrolled at the Seminary took up teaching. This declined even further to 15 per cent between 1893 and 1901, and dropped to about 1 per cent in 1906 (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 15).

The lack of teachers for the Seminary as well as the number which qualified there, virtually forced the principal of the Seminary to utilize those students who were in the 'higher' department as so-called 'pupil teachers' in the primary section of the Seminary and in the nearby elementary mission schools (Switzer, 1971, p. 297). To improve the efficiency of these teachers, Cowles introduced a course of study in school methods "both theory and practice". It received considerable attention and the results which were obtained were more than adequate. In addition to the regular studies, the instruction in methods included such work as ... "the keeping of a register, instruction in military drill, and also in the braiding and sewing of hats" (Principal's Report, 1896, A/3/41). The makeshift arrangements to train pupil teachers could hardly have been a long-term solution to the problem of a shortage of teachers. Sufficient financial assistance from either the American Board or the Colonial Government would have helped to solve the problem.

Improvement in training, however, needed to be matched by improvements in teaching conditions. It should be remembered that the students, who were required to remain extra years at the Seminary to complete their teacher-training

course, "are now receiving as teachers in this colony £2.0.0, £2.10.0 or at most £4.0.0 a month even after years of experience. Even if only for economic reasons it would be naive to expect the majority of the students to remain at the seminary for so many years" (Principal's Report, 1896). Furthermore, the demand for intelligent and educated natives "to act as interpreters and overseers or other positions of responsibility, is constantly drawing away those whom we have spent years in qualifying to teach in our native schools and to do other missionary work" (Principal's Report, 1896). The feeling of the A.Z.M. was that "many of the boys use the education, which they have obtained at the expense of the mission, simply to benefit themselves".

According to the Principal's Report of 1896 - 97: "The attraction of Johannesburg and other labour markets and the unwillingness of the young men to take up the work of teaching are some of the difficulties with which we have to contend" (Principal's Report, 1896 - 1897, A/3/42).

Apart from the economic inducements of work on the mines, some of the best teachers were lost to the A.Z.M. because there were employed "by other mission societies who can pay them better salaries than we are able to pay, also often providing them with dwelling houses" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 61). The extent to which the numbers of students training as teachers fluctuated can be seen from the following table.

TABLE 15

FLUCTUATION IN NUMBERS OF TEACHERS QUALIFYING AT THE SEMINARY BETWEEN ITS INCEPTION AND THE END OF THE CENTURY

YEARS	NUMBER WHO QUALIFIED AS TEACHERS	AVERAGE PER YEAR
1865 - 1881	87	5.5
1887 - 1893	81	13.5
1893 - 1901	45	6.5

(Adapted from Switzer, 1971, p. 298).

The explanation from this decline was suggested in the Deputation Papers as resulting , particularly in the later years, from the far from "adequate remuneration allowed by the government for salaries of the teachers" (Deputation Papers, 1904, p. 42).

The last part of this chapter, dealing with the numbers of teachers produced at Amanzimtoti, has begun to encroach on material included in the following chapter. In it, a more extended examination of numbers of pupils and the A.Z.M.'s finances will be made.

## CHAPTER 12

AMANZIMTOTI : DEVELOPMENT AND DIFFICULTIES :  
NUMBERS AND FINANCE

The number of pupils at the primary mission schools of the A.Z.M. from 1845 - 1910 as well as the number of students at Amanzimtoti Seminary from 1866 - 1910 are presented on tabular returns which were sent back to Boston every year. Using the tabular returns to project the numbers of pupils and students is difficult to calculate accurately because of the number of contradictions they contain. In some years no returns were submitted, (for example in 1877 and 1878), while on other occasions two returns were submitted for the same year, (for example in 1883 and when, in fact, the figures differed). No returns are available for nine of the years between 1866 - 1910, but returns do exist in draft or rough copy for the remaining years. (An example of a tabular return can be seen in Appendix 3).

In order to obtain a better perspective on the growth and significance of the number of students at Amanzimtoti Seminary, an assessment in tabular form (Tables 16, 17 and 18) will be given concerning the number of pupils at the Seminary. The primary schools were the feeder schools for the Seminary and their problems have already been discussed in the Deputation Papers which were presented in Chapter 11. The tables are also of significance since they give an indication of the efforts required to start, maintain, staff and finance this comparatively large number of mission schools. The returns also suggest the wide diversity of the Society's work. It is significant to note that most of the teachers of mission schools were not White missionaries but Zulus, some of whom had received their training at Amanzimtoti. The tabular returns for primary schools are presented in three stages rather than giving one return for all the years. The first stage represents Dr Adams' period, with its small beginning (see Table 16) and the second and

third stages indicate rapid development and consolidation which is evident from Tables 17 and 18.

TABLE 16  
TABULATION OF PUPILS AT PRIMARY SCHOOLS 1845 - 1852

YEAR	NO. OF BOYS	NO. OF GIRLS	TOTAL NO. OF PUPILS	TOTAL NO. OF SCHOOLS	TOTAL NO. OF MISSIONARIES
1845	46	74	120	2	4
1846	26	64	90	2	4
1847	37	90	127	3	8
1848	99	56	155		16 (no distinction between preachers and teachers)
1849	103	60	163	9 (of which only 6 submitted figures)	
1850	42	47	89	(only 3 schools submitted returns)	24
1852	105	88	193	10	24

(Adapted from tabular views, 1845 - 1852, A/3/48).

It is significant that although the number of schools grew from 2 in 1845/46 to 10 in 1852, the total number of pupils had hardly grown at all. Fluctuations can be noticed in the accuracy of returns, the sex of the pupils as well as the numbers of boys and girls in the same schools. The growth in the number of teachers is probably the most accurate set of figures in the returns, because greater

accuracy (for wages and control purposes) was needed for employees than for pupils. It is, however, difficult to obtain an accurate number of White missionaries involved in teaching since no distinction is made in the tabular return between teachers and preachers.

The second period of seven years was chosen to show development once the Seminary at Amanzimtoti was instituted (1866) and the beginning of further education for girls at Inanda (from 1869).

TABLE 17 <sup>12</sup>

TABULATION OF PUPILS AT PRIMARY SCHOOLS 1866 - 1872  
(INCLUDING STUDENTS AT SEMINARY AND INANDA)

YEAR	NO. OF BOYS	NO. OF GIRLS	TOTAL NO. OF PUPILS	TOTAL NO. OF SCHOOLS	TOTAL NO. OF WHITE MISSIONARIES & ZULU TEACHERS
* 1866	381	387	7668	14	25 Missionaries 9 Zulu teachers
1867	493	359	852	15	24 Missionaries 12 Zulu teachers
1868	218	267	485	11	21 Missionaries 12 Zulu teachers
1869	446	345	791	18	23 Missionaries 15 Zulu teachers
1870	316	300	616	18	23 Missionaries 13 Zulu teachers
1871			no return		
1872	423	424	847	21	17 Missionaries 21 Zulu teachers

(Adapted from tabular views, 1866 - 1872, A/3/48).

From the table it is clear that there was a reasonably steady growth in the schools themselves. There is also a

clearer indication that Zulu teachers were being used extensively in these years at mission elementary schools. More than a three-fold growth in the total number of pupils took place from 1852 to 1866 (193 to 768). Fluctuations occurred within the totals for individual years (lowest 485 in 1868 - highest 847 in 1872) and a more consistent, more equal boy/girl proportion was noticeable in this second period.

It is important to note that White missionaries are not purely teachers at the schools attached to mission stations. American missionaries also acted as preachers, sometimes doctors, e.g. Dr Adams, or at least as health advisors with simple medical skills. They were known as "three coat" missionaries, a 20th century term, but it applied to the 19th century as well; the coats being those of preacher, teacher and doctor. The number of American missionaries increased from that in the earlier years and presented a more stable figure of between 21 to 25.

In the third table (18), the period is chosen to reflect the years just prior to major re-examination of A.Z.M. work for the Deputation of 1903 (referred to in Chapter 11); the changes made after the Deputation visit, and the development towards the end of the thesis study-period (1910).

TABLE 18

TABULATION OF PUPILS AND TEACHERS AT A.Z.M.  
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS 1893 - 1900

YEAR	NO. OF BOYS	NO. OF GIRLS	TOTAL NO. OF PUPILS	TOTAL NO. OF SCHOOLS	TOTAL NO. OF WHITE MISSIONARIES & ZULU TEACHERS
1893	741	960	1701	35	36 Missionaries 45 Zulu teachers
1894	733	853	1586	33	29 Missionaries 42 Zulu teachers
1895	736	850	1586	50	31 Missionaries 41 Zulu teachers
1896	765	1077	1842	41	40 Missionaries 50 Zulu teachers
1897	781	1087	1868	40	40 Missionaries 51 Zulu teachers
1898			no return		- -
1899	1034	1268	2302	46	37 Missionaries 65 Zulu teachers
1900			no return		- -
1901			incomplete		- -
1902	692	826	1518	34	30 Missionaries 50 Zulu teachers
1905	1169	1474	2643	76	25 Missionaries 83 Zulu teachers
1907	1605	2050	3655	59	25 Missionaries 89 Zulu teachers
1908	2018	2341	4359	68	22 Missionaries 81 Zulu teachers
1910	1776	2175	3951	76	- -

(Adapted from tabular views, 1893 - 1910, A/3/38).

From these tables it can be seen that a big increase in the number of schools, of American missionaries, Zulu teachers as well as pupils, occurred. A new change in girl/boy ratio emerges, with the girls always being in the majority. It is not possible to account exactly for this. Perhaps the younger boys were used by their parents for herding while the older boys could have been hired for work especially on the Kimberley and Johannesburg mines. In Chapter 11, and in Chapter 10, mention is made of how often missionaries complained of this, but it would have only affected the older pupils. Therefore, the first reason is more likely to account for very large numbers.

The year 1893 saw a phenomenal growth in the number of pupils at the A.Z.M. schools. Since the totals of students at Amanzimtoti and Inanda were fewer than 100 in each institution, there is a clear indication that the growth, from 1 701 pupils in 1893 to 4359 in 1908, reflects a large increase in numbers at the primary schools.

The figures in the three tables suggest that although the total number of pupils being educated might be comparatively small, the impact and presence of the A.Z.M. in the Colony could hardly be ignored.

The information from the tabular returns needs to be set against the total number of school places for Zulu pupils in the Colony. Evidence from Emanuelson's research can be used for some of the years of the period covered by this study. The percentage contribution (in number of pupils) in A.Z.M. schools to the total educational provision in the Colony can be seen in the following table.

TABLE 19

TOTAL ENROLMENT IN ZULU SCHOOLS AND THAT IN A.Z.M. SCHOOLS

DATE	TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS IN 'NATIVE' SCHOOLS IN NATAL COLONY	TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS IN A.Z.M. SCHOOLS	% OF TOTAL PUPILS IN A.Z.M. SCHOOLS
1893	3829	1701	44,4
1894	5064	1586	31,3
1895	6790	1586	23,4
1896	7049	1842	26,1
1897	8542	1868	21,9
1899	15335	2302	15,0
1902	11032	1518	13,8
1905	10150	2643	26,0
1907	12246	3655	29,8
1908	14056	4359	31,0
1910	17016	3951	23,2

There was rapid growth in the total number of Zulu pupils in schools over this period, and this was greater than the rate of growth in A.Z.M. institutions. From 1905 a distinct change occurs with the A.Z.M. contribution rising to levels it had attained in the early 1890's. It is important to note that this resurgence occurred after the major reassessment of the A.Z.M. by the Deputation of 1903 and the re-examination this visit produced among Natal's American missionaries.

As the detailed primary school story is not central to this thesis, it is now necessary to look in more detail at the growth of higher levels of education of the A.Z.M., in particular at the Seminary at Amanzimtoti. Where exact

figures are available, they are recorded in the following tables, firstly for the period from the starting of the Seminary (1866) to the Jubilee year 1886. The second period, 1887 - 1910, represents a period of consolidation and of growing efficiency and purpose in the work of the Seminary.

TABLE 20  
DEVELOPMENT OF AMANZIMTOTI, 1866 - 1886

YEAR	NUMBER OF BOYS	NUMBER OF TEACHERS
1866	16	1
1867	25	2
1868	30	2
1869	no return	
1870	42	2
1871	no return	
1872	50	3
1873	44	4
1874	50	4
1875	44	4
1876	44	4
1877/ 1878	no return	
1879	41	4
1880	44	3
1881	49	3 White + 4 Native
1882	49	4
1883	39	1 White + 3 Native
1884	46	1 White + 3 Native
1885	no return	
1886	-	-

(Adapted from tabular view, 1866 - 1886, A/3/38).

During the period under consideration the Seminary admitted only boys, while Inanda catered for the higher educational needs of girls. It is highly likely that despite gaps in the returns, the figures are more trustworthy for this most important of the A.Z.M.'s educational undertakings. It is interesting to note the small number of teachers who were available to handle both 'academic' and to some degree 'vocational' or 'industrial' training. It must, however, be remembered that much of the work would today be considered as being at the level of senior primary or at most junior secondary. In the former, the generalist teacher is still expected to handle a wide curriculum. In fact throughout the period the pupil-teacher ratio is no more than 10 or 15:1. There is however a tentative introduction of Native or Zulu teachers at this level for the early 1880's. Criticisms cited earlier in the thesis (from the Deputation Papers) concerning the quality of these teachers, suggest that there could be questions about their efficacy. In the span of 20 years the number of pupils trebled but after 1870 there was little significant growth. During the early years of the existence of the Seminary, however, the teachers were exclusively Whites, since no Zulu had the necessary qualifications to be a teacher at Amanzimtoti.

In the following table (which covers the period to 1910), the number of White (missionary) teachers is not included since there is no clear indication in the tabular returns of the specific number of these missionaries involved at the Seminary.

TABLE 21  
DEVELOPMENT OF AMANZIMTOTI : 1887 - 1910

YEAR	NUMBER OF BOYS	YEAR	NUMBER OF BOYS
1887	66	1890	69
1888	66	1892	78
1889	60	1893	63
1894	47	1901	75
1895	85	1902	82
1896	60	1905	65
1897	53	1907	72
1898	-	1908	94
1899	70	1910	120 + 40 girls = 160

One of the most significant aspects of the Amanzimtoti is that there was no dramatic increase in the number of students admitted to the Seminary during the period 1866 - 1910, with the numbers remaining relatively small (between 40 and 90), although the number of pupils at the elementary mission schools had increased tremendously up to 1910. There was, however, an increase in the number of students in the upper standards as the Le Roy period progressed, accompanied by a drop in those at the lower standards.

There were often special or outside circumstances which resulted in large fluctuations, for example, an outbreak of dysentery in April 1896. Within a few days of contracting the disease, a student died. The institution was seized with panic and more than half the students left in the next few days, with some of the more advanced students taking up work in Johannesburg and Durban. In the same year the school lost three of its valuable oxen and two cows which had supplied

the Seminary with milk, and crops were also destroyed by locusts (Principal's Report, 1896, A/3/41).

Frequent complaints about low levels of pupils' abilities have been referred to in other sections of the thesis. At other times praise for the abilities shown in "high level" academic subjects was given. Occasionally detailed figures of measured success are presented. One example comes from Le Roy's period as principal, when he tabulated the results of the pupils in the Colonial-administered examinations.

TABLE 22  
RESULTS OF PUPILS : 1893 - 1907

	1893	1902	1906	1907
Below Standard III	5	40	-	-
Standard III	3	17	4	-
Standard IV	12	5	24	24
Standard V	16	7	22	36
Standard VI	3	-	14	9
Standard VII	-	-	5	3
	<u>39</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>72</u>

(Principal's Reports 1894, A/3/41, 1903, 1907 - 1908, A/3/42) Switzer, 1971, p. 327)).

It will be remembered that Le Roy, who took over the Seminary in 1900 after it had been affected by such a large number of calamities, had immediately begun a programme of reconstruction and consolidation. By the years 1906 - 1907 most of the pupils had achieved success at the higher standards of IV and V. This is in strong contrast to the

years 1893 to 1902 when the overwhelming majority of pupils were attempting work no higher than the third standard.

It should be noted that, in the tabular returns for 1907, a total of 72 pupils were recorded as being in the Seminary. It would seem therefore that every one of these boys was successful in the public examinations written in that year. This would not seem to have been the case in 1893, when 39 of the 63 pupils registered, achieved an examination success, or in 1902 when 69 of the 82 pupils were successful. Unfortunately the registration figures (as can be seen from Table II) are missing for the year 1906. This set of results suggests that Le Roy's decision to concentrate on the smaller number of pupils, who could reach higher academic levels, was a worthwhile one.

It has already been noted that A.Z.M.'s mission schools scattered over the Colony acted as the main feeder schools for the Seminary. In the year 1893, the Principal's Report showed this tendency in precise figures. In that year 67 boys were registered at the Seminary; 47 of them had come from A.Z.M. schools (75%). The details are shown in the following table.

TABLE 23  
ORIGINAL SCHOOLS OF BOYS AT AMANZIMTOTI - 1893

STATIONS	NUMBER
Adams	10
Mapumulo	8
Umvoti	7
Inanda	6
Umtwatumi	4
Umsundizi	2
Infamasi	2
Noodsberg	2
Ifumi	1
Umzimyati	1
Innavashi	1
Umzumbe	1
Dundee	1
Ixabane	1
	<u>47</u>

(Principal's Report, 1893, A/3/41).

The first noticeable thing about this Table is the high proportion of those who had done all their schooling in the Amanzimtoti area (10 pupils had been to primary school at Adams Mission). Four A.Z.M. mission stations (Adams, Mapumulo, Umvoti and Inanda), accounted for 31 of the 47 boys. It should be noted that many pupils' homes were very far from the Seminary. These figures, therefore, give evidence that the Amanzimtoti Seminary was serving its function as a "high school" for a large number of its mission schools. It was hoped that, when the majority of students had qualified as teachers, they would return to serve the schools from which they had come. It was difficult, however, to get all the students who entered the Seminary to remain there to complete their course of study.

The finance which was necessary for the educational work of the A.Z.M. in general and Amanzimtoti in particular came from several sources: Government grants; contributions from the Zulus themselves in the form of fees; from the Board in Boston; and at times, gifts or donations from persons who were interested in mission work.

The contributions from these sources fluctuated considerably, however, and could be affected, for example, by the current attitudes of the Colonial authority in charge of "Native" education; the economic situation in Natal; and the availability of funds from Boston. An attempt will be made to explain each source of finance in turn and point out the significance of each source's contribution to education.

In 1856, when the Colony of Natal was granted "Responsible Government", "it was expressly enacted that the sum of not less than £5000 raised from the general revenue of the Colony was to be expended for the benefit of the Natives" (Loram, C., T., 1917, p. 541.). For many years from this date, Zulu schools were partly funded by the Colonial Government. Assistance came in the form of aid, which could

contribute to, but not cover the full, costs of a school. Although not all this Colonial money was spent on Zulu education, Emanuelson claims that:

... a new period in the history of Native Education opened, for definite steps began to be taken by the government in the direction of educating the Natives. Missionaries were certainly at work among the Natives, but very few of them before 1857 had received any Government aid (Emanuelson, O., 1927, p. 59).

From 1857, the first year of payment, grants-in-aid were given regularly to missionary societies until 1910, apart from the period from 1899 to 1904, when the A.Z.M. (alone) refused to accept a grant from the government because of the stringent conditions attached to it (discussed earlier in the previous chapter). As has already been shown, the American Board in Boston was initially very reluctant to allow the A.Z.M. to receive financial assistance from outside sources, particularly the Colonial Government. The Board adopted this attitude because it did not want its missionaries to become involved in a foreign government's policy. This policy changed, however, in 1864 when the Board decided to establish the Seminary at Amanzimtoti. The main reason for this change in attitude by the Board was because it claimed it could not foot the bill for a higher level of education. From that year, government grants were essential as a Seminary was more expensive to run than an elementary mission school, and the government grant became increasingly significant for mission education. From 1864 - 1891, approximately one-quarter to one-third of the total amount allocated by the government to mission schools was granted to A.Z.M. as is apparent from the following table in which some selected years are shown.

TABLE 24  
SOURCES OF REVENUE FOR A.Z.M. SCHOOLS

YEAR	TOTAL GOVERNMENT GRANT FOR NATIVE EDUCATION £	AMOUNT OF GRANT SPECIFIED TO A.Z.M. £	GOVERNMENT GRANT TO A.Z.M. %
1864	1738	416	24
1865	1909	540	28
1877	1938	728	38
1880	2312	819	35
1885	3866	953	25
1891	3998	1009	25
1893	3396	1967	58
1894	4440	-	-
1895	4826	549	11,4
1896	4958	-	-
1897	4853	-	-
1898	5569	-	-
1899	5659	-	-
1900	5570	1319	23,7
1901	6353	-	-
1902	6509	-	-
1904	6180	-	-
1905	6288	1416	22,5
1906	7043	-	-
1907	7327	-	-
1908	7600	-	-
1909	8926	2626	29

(Adapted from Switzer, 1971, pp. 234, 573; Emanuelson, O., 1926, pp. 315-316), Tabular views, 1864-1909, A/3/38).

The percentage of government grant in 1860's and early 1880's rose from approximately 25% in the early years to over 38%, but then dropped at the turn of the century to about 25%. The lower government grant to A.Z.M.'S educational work could be attributed to the rise in the number of other mission societies and schools receiving aid from 53 in 1885 to 182, in 1898. From the table it is clear that there is a gradual increase in the amount of money the Government had made available for Native Education.

Most of the money made available to A.Z.M. was spent on primary education and only a small part was used for the upkeep of Amanzimtoti, as can be seen in the following table.

TABLE 25  
PROPORTION OF GOVERNMENT GRANT GIVEN TO AMANZIMTOTI

YEAR	TOTAL GOVERNMENT GRANT FOR ALL A.Z.M. WORK £	GOVERNMENT GRANT FOR AMANZIMTOTI SEMINARY £	GRANT TO AMANZIMTOTI %
1864	416	100	24
1865	540	200	37
1877	728	200	27
1880	879	200	23
1885	953	300	30
1891	1009	300	31
1892	-	-	-
1893	1967	53	3
1895	1522	150	10
1900	1319	-	-
1905	1416	120	8
1909	2626	276	11

(Adapted from Switzer, 1971, p. 573; Emanuelson, 1925, pp. 126-127).

About 20 to 30% of the A.Z.M. grant during the years up to 1891 was allocated to Amanzimtoti while the rest of the money was granted to lower primary schools. There is, however, a rapid drop after 1893, since from that time the policy of the Colonial Government was to promote the deve-

lopment of lower primary schools at the expense of the A.Z.M. boarding schools, such as Amanzimtoti which was meant for "higher education". The period ends with less than 10% of the grant going to the Seminary and the rest going to primary schools.

From Table 26 it is possible to obtain a perspective on the amount of the government grant to aided Native schools in general and the A.Z.M. mission schools in particular.

TABLE 26  
DISTRIBUTION OF AIDED SCHOOLS

YEAR	TOTAL GOVERNMENT GRANT TO AIDED SCHOOLS £	TOTAL NO. OF NATIVE AIDED SCHOOLS	TOTAL ENROLMENT AT THESE SCHOOLS	AVERAGE ENROLMENT	AVERAGE GRANT PER SCHOOL IN £	TOTAL NO. OF AIDED SCHOOLS UNDER A.Z.M.	% OF A.Z.M. SCHOOLS
1893	3396	60	3829	64	53	35	58
1894	4440	91	5064	56	49	33	36
1895	4826	130	6790	52	37	50	38
1896	4958	132	7049	53	37,5	41	31
1897	4853	157	8542	54	31	40	25
1898	5569	182	10248	56	30	-	-
1899	5659	-	10725	-	-	46	-
1900	5570	-	10618	-	-	60	-
1901	6353	-	11071	-	-	65	-
1902	6509	191	11032	57	34	70	36
1903	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1904	6180	139	9256	67	44	-	-
1905	6288	158	10150	64	40	76	48
1906	7043	155	11071	71	45	-	-
1907	7327	162	12246	76	45	59	36
1908	7600	166	14056	85	46	68	41
1909	8926	166	15335	92	53	76	46

(Adapted from Switzer, 1971, p. 573; Emanuelson, 1926, pp. 315-316, Tabular views 1893-1909, A/3/38).

It should be noted that only general trends can be considered with regard to A.Z.M. aided schools, since the information taken from the tabular returns is not always

accurate. Many mission schools, for instance, did not submit returns every year.

There is a general increase in the government grant in aided Native schools for 1893 to 1909. With the exception of the years 1898 to 1903, the government grant increased with the growth in the number of aided Native schools. The grant per school, with the exception of 1893 and 1909, was never more than £50. In 1898 it reached the lowest level at a rate of £30 per school. The average enrolment per school was relatively small, being the lowest at 52 in 1895 and the highest at 92 in 1909. In no instance does the average grant per school reach £1-0-0 per pupil per year. In 1893 the average grant per pupil was 15s, in 1896, it was 18s, and in 1902 it dropped to 9s per pupil.

The number of aided schools under A.Z.M.'s jurisdiction ranged from 33 in 1894 to 76 in 1909. From the information in the above table and that in Table 25, the grant received by the A.Z.M. varied from as large as 57% of the total grant in 1893 to as low a percentage as 11.3% in 1895. The percentage of the total number aided Native schools which fell under the A.Z.M.'s jurisdiction was relatively high. It ranged from 25% in 1897 to 58% in 1893. It is interesting to note that the total government grant varied from £3396 in 1893 to £4853 in 1897. It never reached the allocated amount of £5000. However, there was a gradual increase from 1898 (£5569) to 1909 (£8926), which meant that additional funds had to be allocated to aided Native schools above the stipulated amount of £5000 during these years.

As was pointed out in Chapter 10, the control and management of government grants to mission schools continued unchanged until 1884, when the Council of Education was given powers to control Native education in Natal. The Council of Education was empowered to make money available "from the £5000 reserved annually under the charter for Native purposes, and from such further sums as might be voted from time to time by the Legislature" (Loram, 1917, p. 56). With Natal being granted Responsible Government in

1893, the colonists were very quick to remove the control of Native Education from the Council of Education and in June 1894, the Council's control ended, and a Minister of Education, a political appointee, was now placed in charge of Zulu education. The line of authority was therefore the Minister of Education, the Superintendent of Education, the Inspector of Native Education and, finally, the missionaries (Loram, 1917, p. 61). Robert Plant became the Inspector of Native Education, a post he held until 1910. This new era in Native education, which was strongly influenced by colonial attitudes, was characterized by the belief that the Zulu should be educated in order to enter the White labour market.

The colonial educational policy for the Native is expressed most explicitly in the Committee of Native Education Report of 1892 (discussed in detail in Chapter 9).

While we are in favour of the education of the Natives ... we still think that it would be unnecessary for them to attain to a high standard of education except, indeed, in the case of those who are to become instructors of others. The Native ... if raised to a high standard, may find himself isolated because, while not being able to associate with Europeans, because of his colour, he is unable to associate with his own countrymen because of his superior knowledge. It would be better to be contented with a rather low standard of attainment. No grant should be made for proficiency beyond a certain standard (except for teacher training). We agree with witnesses ... it is much better to raise the whole mass to a low standard than to raise a few to a high one.

(Committee Report, 1892, pp. 10-11, A/1/7).

The colonists frequently echoed such views, and they felt, in Switzer's words, that extended schooling "inevitably led to an educated elite divorced from the realities of colonial life" (Switzer, 1971, p. 257). Switzer also noted that "Africans would not enter white society because of the taboos against integration and miscegenation and they were regarded as a danger to the vast majority of traditional-

ists" (Switzer, 1971, p. 257). For these reasons the colonial educational policy on Zulu education was planned in such a manner that primary schools would be developed at the expense of secondary education. This was clear from Russell's (Superintendent of Education) Report on Native Education in 1895.

The object of the Government in making grants to Native Mission Schools is to assist the advancement of simple rudimentary education amongst the Native population and to accustom the Natives to such regular habits of industry as may best be calculated to promote their commitment and happiness in the future.

(Report on Native Education, 1895,  
cited in Switzer, 1971, p. 257).

Similar sentiments were shown to be held by colonial authorities in Chapter 10.

What was required in Colonial Natal, according to the Superintendent of Education (Barnett) in 1904, was an education policy which would "get the best out of the Native and make most use of him to increase the productiveness of the Colony and his own moral and intellectual advancement up to the level of which we decide him to be capable (South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-1905, 1906, p. 235).

The primary schools received government grants on a per capita basis and "the grant in aid must be expended in salaries to teachers also that no part of a grant to any school may be used in support of another school" (Deputation Papers, 1903, p. 63). These grants were only allocated to schools which were under the direct supervision of Whites.

New schools for Natives had to be erected and maintained for a preliminary period by a missionary body: "... if it is desired to open a new school, the missionary must find the building, provide school furniture, and engage a teacher and carry on (subsidize) the school for at least three months without any grant from the Education Department" (cited in Switzer, 1971, p. 261). From a practical

point of view the government's grant in aid "was biased in favour of the primary schools because these best satisfied colonial economic goals and were the most amenable to white control" (Switzer, 1971, p. 261).

It has been pointed out earlier in this section that the per capita government grant to aided Native schools was small. It is clear that the A.Z.M. had to depend on other sources to finance its educational work. The second important source of finance for the A.Z.M.'S educational work, particularly Amanzimtoti, was the contribution of fees from the Zulu themselves. Some indication of the extent of this contribution can be gained from the following table.

TABLE 27  
PAYMENT OF FEES BY ZULU PARENTS IN A.Z.M. SCHOOLS

YEAR	ZULU CONTRIBUTION (FEES) TO NATIVE EDUCATION IN ALL MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN POUNDS/STERLING £	ZULU CONTRIBUTION (FEES) TO ALL A.Z.M. SCHOOLS IN POUNDS/STERLING £	% OF TOTAL ZULU CONTRIBUTION GOING TO A.Z.M. SCHOOLS	ENROLMENT AT A.Z.M. SCHOOLS	PER CAPITA CONTRIBUTION AT A.Z.M. SCHOOLS IN PENCE BY PARENTS PER ANNUM
1877	231	135	58	865	37,4
1880	469	219	46	937	561
1885	607	145	23	1865	18,6
1891	795	152	19,1	1653	22,1
1893	834	254	30,4	1701	56,9
1895	549	175	32,4	1586	26,5
1900	993	270	27,1	-	-
1905	2475	744	30	2643	67,5
1909	2774	1500	54	2774	129,8

(Adapted from Switzer, 1971, p. 572, tabular views, 1877-1909, A/3/38).

The total contribution of the Zulu parents to their children's education increased with the rise in the number of pupils attending school. It increased significantly, in the latter years covered by the table, from £549 to £2774 in 1909. The amount of the Zulu parents' contribution to A.Z.M. institutions as a percentage of that provided to all missionary societies, ranged from 19,1% in 1891 to 58% in 1877. In later years it was well above 30%.

The contribution of Zulu parents to A.Z.M. schools ranged from £135 (enrolment 865) in 1877 to £1500 (enrolment 2774) in 1909, which is an indication, as would be expected, that the parents' contribution increased with an increase in enrolment. It can thus be seen that from this point of view, the A.Z.M.'s work had considerable parental backing.

The per capita contribution at A.Z.M. schools ranged from 18,6 pence in 1885 to 129,8 pence in 1909.

Since the government grants and fees paid by Zulu parents had been discussed, it is now necessary to assess the joint impact of these two sources on the educational work at Amanzimtoti. The influence of the two sources will be analysed in the following table, for those years when detailed figures were available.

TABLE 28

## GOVERNMENT GRANT AND PAYMENT OF FEES AT AMANZIMTOTI

YEAR	GOVERNMENT GRANT TO AMANZIMTOTI IN £ (a)	FEES PAID BY PARENTS TO AMANZIMTOTI IN £ (b)	TOTAL (c) a+b=c	ENROLMENT AT AMANZIMTOTI	% OF FEES TO TOTAL CONTRIBUTION $\frac{b}{c}$	FEES PER CAPITA	PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE
1892-93	300	143	443	78	32	£1-16-0	£5-7-0
1893-94	53	40	93	63	43	£1-18-6	£1-4-0
1894-95	150	88	238	47	36	£1-18-0	£5-0-0
1896	140	88	228	60	38	£1- 9-0	£3-8-0
1897	39	90	129	53	69	£1-14-0	£2-3-0
1898-1904	Complete figures not available.						
1905	120	228	348	65	65	£3-10-0	£5-3-0
1906	85	226	311	-	72%	-	-
1907	92	177	269	72	65	£2-9-0	£3-7-0
1908	126	251	377	94	66,5	£2-14-0	£4-0-0
1909	276	348	624	-	55,7	-	-

The government grant to Amanzimtoti increased from the 1892 - 1893 level from £53 in 1893 - 1894 to £276 in 1909. It dropped to its lowest level of £39 in 1897. With exceptions in 1892 - 1893, 1906 and 1907 there was a gradual increase in the contributions from the Zulu to the finances of Amanzimtoti. It increased from £40 in 1893 - 1894 to £348 in 1909. In the period from 1905 to 1909, it is significant

that the contribution of the Zulu parents was considerably more than the government grant. The fees per pupil ranged from £0-18-0 in 1893-94 to £3-10-0 in 1905.

The third important source of A.Z.M. funding was monies allocated by the American Board itself. This source of funds on its own was completely inadequate. Some of the money from the Board was specifically channeled into assisting boarding schools, such as Amanzimtoti. The Board's allocation to Amanzimtoti from 1880 to 1910 is given in the following table.

TABLE 29  
FUNDS FOR AMANZIMTOTI FROM BOSTON : 1880 - 1910

	AMERICAN BOARD'S GRANT TO AMANZIMTOTI a	GOVERNMENT GRANT TO AMANZIMTOTI b	TOTAL OF TWO SOURCES a+b=c	% OF BOARD'S GRANT TO TOTAL FROM TWO SOURCES
1880	50	200	250	20
1885	125	200	325	38
1890	180	300	480	37,5
1895	60	150	210	28,5
1899	200	-	200	100
1903	145	-	145	100
1905	105	120	225	47
1906	170	85	255	67
1909	205	276	481	42
1910	205	-	-	-

(Adapted from Minutes of Mission Meetings, 1879-1909, cited in Switzer, 1971, p. 263).

The A.Z.M. received £50 in 1880 and £205 in 1910 from the Board to finance its work at Amanzimtoti. Comparing it with the information on Table 28, the amounts allocated to the Seminary were not adequate to cover the full cost of the educational work at Amanzimtoti.

When it is noted that the grant from the government to Amanzimtoti was drastically reduced between 1895 and 1906, as is clear from this Table, then it is understood why the A.Z.M. would struggle to keep the Seminary functioning effectively during those years. When grants were received from both the Colonial Government and Boston, the grant from the Board exceeded the government grant only in 1906.

The next table is presented to give a perspective on the cost of Native education compared with that of other races in Natal.

TABLE 30  
COMPARISON OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION FOR  
'RACES' IN NATAL FOR 1906

	'EUROPEANS'	'INDIANS'	'NATIVES'	'COLOURED'
Average enrolment	12199	3396	11071	643
Average attendance	10212	2428	7851	498
Cost per capita on average enrolment	£ s d 5 - 7 - 8½	£ s d 1 - 9 - 1½	£ s d 12 - 8½	£ s d 2 - 19 - 1
Cost per capita on average attendance	£ s d 6 - 8 - 7¾	£ s d 2 - 0 - 8½	£ s d 17 - 11	£ s d 3 - 16 - 3½

(Adapted from Native Affairs Commission, 1906-1907, p. 33).

The enrolment of 'Natives' reflects those who attended aided Native schools. It is interesting to note that although the number of European children in the Colony was much lower than the Zulu, there were more European pupils (12199) than Natives (11071) in school. The per capita cost

for the Native pupils (17s- 11d) was much less than for any other group, with the cost to educate a European child being £6-8-7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>.

It has been shown that the sums of money received from the government, from the Zulu parents, as well as from Boston, were erratic making future planning at Amanzimtoti difficult. Because of the lack of sufficient funds, the principal had to take emergency measures to ensure that Amanzimtoti was not closed down. One response to this situation was that in 1893 when the principal of Amanzimtoti, Cowles, introduced the system of the payment of fees. Those who were unable to pay fees were required to do six hours of work per day. Cowles pointed out in his report that he had just sufficient funds to cover the cost of running the Seminary. He felt that the fee of £4-10 "is too low, and should be increased at the first favourable opportunity" (Principal's Report, 1894, A/3/41).

That an effort was made to maintain a standard at the Seminary by not admitting pupils solely because they could pay the fees is indicated by the principal reporting that "The advisability of admitting to our school, all who may present themselves, with their fee, regardless of their preparation, has been carefully considered" (Principal's Report, 1894, A/3/41). The decision was finally made in favour of academic standards rather than fee paying ability.

In the Principal's Report of 1894, Cowles pointed out that due to a large monetary outlay for repairs to the delapidated building, the Seminary ended the year with a fairly large debt. A desperate appeal was made to the Government to increase its grant and the American Board was also approached for aid, but both attempts were unsuccessful. As a tragic result the A.Z.M., at its Semi-Annual Meeting, decided to close all the departments of the Seminary for the entire term from February to July 1894 (Principal's Report, 1894, A/3/41).

When the Seminary was reopened on the 9th August 1894, "... the outlook was dark and many were the deficiencies of

a 'small school'". There was also great apprehension about the number of pupils who would be willing to re-register after their studies had been disrupted for six months, but most of them showed that they were interested in education and returned ot the Seminary after the first term (Principal's Report, 1895, A/3/41). Further economies were made by asking the staff to make contributions to the costs of maintaining the Seminary from their salaries.

As mentioned in Chapter 11, the conditions for a government grant for Amanzimtoti were changed in 1899. "These regulations reduced our grant to the vanishing point unless we could get the boys to sign ... an agreement" (Principal's Report, 1899, A/3/42).

The School Committee of the Seminary consulted with the Inspector of Education and they decided "to refuse, for the present, to accept grant under the new conditions". The A.Z.M. assumed that "we would probably not come under their supervision unless (they) could see a larger grant in sight than we have done lately" (Principal's Report, 1899, A/3/42).

In 1900 the Principal reported that further retrogression had taken place at the Seminary with the reduction in the available finances. It was impossible for the Seminary to meet its financial commitments from the income generated from year to year. Instead Cowles suggested a courageous scheme. He recognized that, "Hundred of thousands, yes millions of dollars are being given for education work in America now. But businessmen and philanthropists are simply deluged and overwhelmed with letters and appeals". He proposed, "If we are to get anything we must send a man to knock, seek and ask for it" (Principal's Report, 1900, A/3/42). He suggested "Rev F.R. Bunker (a Natal missionary who was about to go on furlough to America) who is thoroughly acquainted with our needs and I believe is the man to undertake the forward movement to accomplish this purpose" and who was "ready to throw his strength into this effort" (Principal's Report, 1900, A/3/42).

During 1901, the Seminary saw some improvement in its financial position through "the generous response of private individuals and through the efforts of Mr Bunker while on furlough in America. The response of the Prudential Committee to the request of the A.Z.M. was favourable in so far as it agreed to an amount of 2,000 dollars available to making the Seminary" (Principal's Report, 1902, A/3/42).

In the Principal's Report of 1903 it was stated that the A.Z.M. had decided to accept once again a government grant and come under the supervision of the Inspector of Native Education. The visits of the Inspector apparently had a positive influence on the students as well as the teachers. "The boys like to be examined, are eager to make a creditable showing, and thus work hard, while at the same time the Inspector's marks as to the status of a boy or class, strengthens the teacher's position when it becomes necessary to make an unpopular ruling as to what a given boy or class should study" (Principal's Report, 1903, A/3/42).

It was reported in 1904 that the Seminary was in receipt of a government grant of "One hundred pounds per year for the Educational Department, and a special grant in addition of Fifty pounds for the Industrial department". This placed the work on a firmer footing. Since the economic situation in the rest of the colony was not favourable at that time, the wages which were paid for day labourers in Durban had been drastically reduced and this influenced many of the pupils to sign an agreement that they would be willing to teach at the end of their course of study (Principal's Report, 1904, A/3/42). Whether they would remain at the Seminary in order to complete the class I certificate for teachers, however, was doubtful. It seems as if the students at the Seminary were totally excluded from other more professional jobs since these posts were probably reserved for the colonists who were now firmly in control of the colony with the creation of Responsible Government.

An annual grant in 1907 of £100 per year from the Education Department made it possible to secure a suitable

teacher for the Teacher Training College Department of the Seminary. The Educational Department teachers "express (the) intention to require all those who wish certification, to pass through this normal school, that is, so far as boys are concerned" (Principal's Report, 1908, A/3/42). When the Educational Department accepted the grant of £100, Mr Plant, the Inspector of Native Education, stated:

If finances permit, it is hoped ... to assist you to a greater extent next year and it is also hoped that there may be expansion and improvement of the idea of Normal Training both in staff, curriculum attendance and government assistance. Both Mr Mudie (the Superintendent of Education) and myself assure you of our great interest in this very important section of the native educational work."

(Principal's Report, 1908).

In 1909 - 1910, the end of the period covered by this thesis, the Seminary was on a sounder financial footing, with the Board contributing £205 to Amanzimtoti, the Government grant being £276 and the Zulu parents contributing £348 to the education of their own children.

The Land Commission which was discussed in detail in Chapter 10 strongly criticized the missionary work, which included the education offered by the A.Z.M. during the period of approximately 75 years that they operated among the Zulu. These criticisms were vehemently denied and their efforts defended by the A.Z.M. However, both the Government and the A.Z.M. had no clear educational perspectives to offer to the Zulu and in no branch of education was this more apparent than Industrial Training.

At Amanzimtoti Seminary the A.Z.M. did attempt to train preachers and teachers and succeeded to a limited degree. Their efforts were, however, hampered by Government interference without its taking any direct responsibility for

educating the Zulu. The continuing struggle to obtain adequate finance from the Colonial Government, the headquarters in America and from fees has been described in some detail in this chapter. Every change and every improvement had to be carefully weighed against costs. It was also pointed out in Chapter 11, that the Government in the 19th Century built only one educational facility for the Zulu and even this institution ended in failure.

The curriculum which was offered at the Amanzimtoti Seminary was borrowed from that which existed in similar institutions in America and Britain, and it was not adapted to meet the peculiar needs of the Zulu. The A.Z.M. was not innovative, and as was pointed out in Chapter 6, they were very reluctant to implement and modify any aspects of Zulu culture and mores, but were more concerned with attempts to transform Zulu tribal customs into acceptable Western European and North American patterns.

The number of teachers who completed the course of training at Amanzimtoti was always small and, therefore, could not supply the necessary number of staff required by the mission schools of the A.Z.M. and other missionary bodies. Not only was the drop-out rate very high, but also a number of students were attracted to other occupations.

The quality of training at the Seminary was likely to have been hampered by the language ability of the pupils. It was noted that in the feeder schools the medium of instruction was normally Zulu, but on some occasions it was reported that English was used. In the Seminary, English was the medium of instruction. Although one cannot expect the awareness of the late 20th Century of the problems of teaching English as a second language, nor of the techniques for teaching that are currently being devised, one could certainly expect that many pupils must have experienced enormous difficulties.

The reverse process must also have occurred if, as teachers, they returned to mission schools in which Zulu was the medium of instruction, they would have received

little or no introduction to teaching methods for literacy in Zulu.

Another important factor which affected the standard of teacher training was that the background knowledge which the students had received at the feeder (mission) schools was very limited. The content of the curriculum was primarily reading and religion, which was inadequate for meaningful and effective teacher training at the Seminary, and certainly inappropriate preparation for the academic and abstract subjects listed in the Seminary's curriculum.

The concept of genuine teacher training in methodology began to be commonly presented in Europe and America only towards the end of the period covered in this thesis.

Admittedly, a pioneer effort towards teacher training in America was started as early as 1823 by Rev Samuel Hall, who, under the influence of Horace Mann (see Chapter 2), established a private Academy for teacher training in 1823, but it remained an isolated example. In the middle of the 19th Century, Henry Barnard, another prominent American educationalist, was responsible for the awarding of Teacher Certificates for students who had completed a course of teacher-training in which the emphasis was on good moral character and ability to keep order and some emphasis on content. Methodological considerations did not seem to be seriously considered in the manner of assessment (De Young, C.A. & Wynn, R., 1968). Power sums the matter up as follows: "Before 1900 American (education) could be described as European Education all over again ... it would hardly have been possible to speak of a native pedagogy in 19th century America" (Power, E.J., 1971).

As early as 1909, the monitorial societies in Britain were responsible for training teachers for their very specific system. Pupil-teacher systems were started in 1846 but only in the late 19th Century did Teacher Training receive wide attention. An exception to this slow development, both in England and America, was that provided for teachers of very young children, but these methods were not neces-

sarily appropriate to older pupils in schools with minimal facilities.

In these circumstances, the possibility of creating effective teacher training by the American missionaries who came to South Africa during the 19th Century was limited.

It was noted in this chapter that attempts to find a person to give methodological training at Amanzimtoti were made, but were unsuccessful. The movement into more systematic training occurred only under Le Roy, in the early years of the 20th Century, and were only just beginning to bear fruit, as the period covered by this thesis ends.

## CHAPTER 13

## CONCLUSION

The lack of real or extensive progress of the educational work of the A.Z.M. which was highlighted in the previous chapter was indicative of the whole period from 1835 to 1910 covered by this thesis. There were many reasons for this which included the racial suspicions of the White colonists; the political rôle of the Colonial Government; the lack of sufficient support from Boston and the paternalistic attitude of the American missionaries themselves.

From hindsight one might argue that greater clarity of purpose could have emerged had the arrival of the first missionary group been preceded by a small fact-finding or investigative group. Even if such practices were accepted (and there is no serious record of them in South African missionary history), one must wonder whether, in the light of religious thinking of 19th Century Europe and America, either a more consistent or a more pragmatic policy might have emerged. The missionaries had themselves found a "good" thing (in the moral, religious and organizational sense). Would it have been intellectually possible for them to have come to South Africa carrying with them a spirit of compromise?

To the 20th Century investigator, the A.Z.M.'s missionary work might be seen as being obsessed with the transformation of a whole Zulu society into what they regarded as an appropriately civilized pattern of life (that of Western European civilization), of which Christianity was the yardstick. To completely disregard the importance of the tribal customs and mores of the Zulu, who had built up a rich culture during the period of centuries, could be seen as a grave error. Right from the early beginnings of the A.Z.M. work, however, it was clear that there was no hope that the American missionaries would look for a middle-of-the-road approach, balancing what was educationally and religiously

sound from both the Zulu culture and Western European civilization. The policy of breaking down the tribal organization of the Zulu was of prime importance to the A.Z.M., and in doing so, they seemed to place as much emphasis on the external trappings of civilization, such as 'square houses' and again "European clothes", as they did on the central teachings of Christianity. This placed considerable pressure on the Kolwa who found themselves in segregated mission stations, out of contact with the rest of their tribe. In turn this "segregation" and evidence of external differences between the Kolwa and the tribesmen were often interpreted as a threat to the old cohesive Zulu tribal life.

The early optimism of the missionaries, when they described huge congregations at their first services, reflected, in fact, a key difficulty of their approach. The initial response of the Zulu was one of curiosity. Lack of appreciation of Zulu customs disillusioned many Zulu and the congregations dropped in some cases from thousands to less than 30 members.

There is also evidence of a paternalistic attitude when the missionaries revealed a reluctance to accept that Christian Zulu were capable of becoming not only teachers but also preachers. They were reluctant to give the Kolwa 'pastoral powers', since they regarded them as inferior and not yet ready for such responsibility.

One characteristic of the story of A.Z.M. work in Natal was the apparent lack of guidance from Boston. Clearly the time taken for correspondence to travel across the Atlantic in 19th Century sailing vessels would have prevented quick responses to immediate problems and crises, but few records have survived in the Natal archives of clear long-term policy directives. What has survived is frequent concern about any expansion of activity which might require more money than could be raised locally.

Another frequently expressed concern by Boston was that the missionaries , as foreigners in a British Colony, should not be seen to be "interfering" too openly in Colonial administration, nor to be too subservient to the Government's needs. This could happen especially if Colonial financial contributions became too great. In the end these financial fears proved groundless, and on one important occasion the A.Z.M. showed its independence by refusing for some years even the small Government grants because these were accompanied by policy requirements which the missionaries were not prepared to accept.

A good example of this apparent lack of guidance can be found in the story of the Boston Deputation of 1903. Although the records are full of preparations, investigations and report-writing in Natal, there is very little evidence of extensive or constructive response from America. The self-assessment of Natal missionaries eventually seems to have been more important for 20th Century developments than anything that emerged from Boston after the Deputation returned.

Equally unclear was the role of the Colonial Government. They could not decide if the majority of Zulu in Natal had been a genuine presence in the Colony before the Trekkers or the British arrived, or whether the arrival of the Zulu clans were of people who were returning to ancestral lands or were refugees from Zululand proper and who might, therefore, be persuaded, in some way or at some-time, to return across the Tugela. It must also be admitted that with the state of 19th Century knowledge of Anthropology or of the assessment of oral evidence in history, it is unlikely that these uncertainties could have been clarified.

What was clear was that the Colonial Government was under considerable pressure from the colonists themselves on the issue of land. This came particularly in two directions. The first was fear of Zulu power and conquest (obviously reinforced by the 1879 Zulu War). Too close settlement of the tribal Zulu in the Colony was always seen as a physical

danger. Linked closely with this fear of the location or reserve policy, was the second pressure, that of the colonists' desire for more land, both for the Whites already in the Colony and for possible future immigration, following on the considerable number of families who arrived under the Byrne scheme between 1849 and 1851.

Shepstonian policy seemed to satisfy neither the colonists nor the missionaries. To the colonists, the amalgam of Zulu and European law and custom was uncertain and therefore dangerous. To the missionaries, it was too politically expedient and concentrated too much on modifying the tribal system, and made little use of elements that could produce Western civilization and useful education. Its emphasis, it could be argued, was too much on preservation and too little on transformation.

The A.Z.M.'s concern was also with land. This showed itself, firstly in their attempts to convince Government that many of the Zulu were legitimate inhabitants of Natal. Secondly, they claimed the need for land for their own work, both in the general evangelisation in the Mission Reserves and in the maintenance of their converts' position there and on the Glebe lands.

The problems of land allocation and ownership emerged again and again as justifications for, and evidence to, the five Commissions examined in this thesis.

It was initially argued that an examination of these Commissions could provide some clarity on the role of the A.Z.M. (by far the biggest and most active of the Societies operating in Natal in the 19th Century). The Commissions certainly reveal much about 19th Century thinking, not only about land. The evidence and recommendations frequently spilled over into the areas of civilizing influences, of which education was seen as the most important after Christianity itself.

Once again, clarity did not emerge from the Commissions. There was confusion about the effect of education on the Zulu - did it lead to dissatisfaction with tribal

life?; did it lead to tribal disintegration?; or did it provide a basis upon which a useful Colonial economic expansion could be built? At other times, and by other people, it was feared that education could lead to economic competition from the blacks. In these circumstances, a clear definition of the role of education in general, and Industrial Education in particular, was unlikely to emerge.

Nor did the A.Z.M. contribute clarity to the debate. They were conscious of two things - one practical and the other theoretical. The practical problem was two-fold: Industrial Education was expensive; and appropriate instructors, who also had missionary sympathies were hard to find. The theoretical problem was the extent to which education, which was supposed to be subservient to and support Christianization, could or should be distracted by the provision of vocational, or trade, or agricultural training. No final solution to, or balance of, these different educational demands emerged from the A.Z.M. itself.

In examining the missionaries' contribution to the Commissions, it was found that it was comparatively slight. Admittedly their direct contribution, through membership of the Commissions themselves, was limited, and over this they had little control. Their contribution in the form of evidence, both written and verbal, was, however, also often disappointing.

The lack of clarity of purpose of mission work, both as seen by the Government and the colonists, and as expressed by the missionaries themselves, culminated in the attack upon them in the Report of the Lands Commission of 1902. The immediate response of the missionaries to the undoubted suspicions and prejudices that were apparent in that Report could almost be described as petulant, point-scoring and aggrieved innocence!

It has been suggested in this study, however, that a longer-term response of a more carefully weighed-up assessment of their work, their problems and their achievements emerged very shortly afterwards in their preparation for the

1903 Boston Deputation. This preparation coincided with the arrival of Le Roy as the new principal at Amanzimtoti. It was shown that a new spirit and a new direction and a stronger and more positive building upon earlier achievements and experiments emerged in the period up to 1910 under his leadership for the A.Z.M. in general and at Amanzimtoti in particular.

This leadership was to continue for another 15 years. To end this study at 1910, when Union in South Africa was achieved and each Province was given specific responsibility for "education other than higher" for all the races in its geographical area, would be unsatisfactory.

Without a brief account of the development of the work in Amanzimtoti, in particular, during this period, it would be difficult to account for the high prestige that the institution subsequently had in the South African community.

In the last pages of this thesis, therefore, a brief summary of some of the highlights of Le Roy's work between 1910 and 1925 will be given, with attention being given to the creation of genuine secondary school work; the re-introduction of industrial and agricultural training; the growth of Provincial financial support; the greater use of Zulu themselves in positions of responsibility in A.Z.M. work; the development of a full primary school at Amanzimtoti as a practising school for the teachers-in-training; and, finally, developments in teacher training staff.

The "High School Department" was established in 1919 where students could follow two years of academic training after passing std. VI (Principal's Report, 1920, p. 7, A/3/42). By 1926 the first group of 15 pupils ("enthusiastic boys") were being prepared for the Junior Certificate examination, the culmination of three years of work in this new "Department" and "it speaks much for Mr Matthews that he is able to hold the class together for so long" (Principal's Report, 1926, A/3/42).

Some five years after Le Roy retired, the High School had advanced to the Matriculation level, and the first students wrote this public examination.

In 1915, Mr Bruecker, a fully-qualified industrial instructor arrived from America to join the staff at the Seminary to fill a vacuum which had been caused by the decline of the Industrial Department in the 1890's and early 1900's. He was soon giving instruction in woodwork and mechanical drawing. He also played a leading role in the religious activities of Amanzimtoti (Principal's Report, 1919, A/3/42) as the A.Z.M. was always keen to appoint members on the staff who could join their education work with religious duties.

In 1920, Le Roy could explain that the students carried out "extensive building operations which have already offered much valuable practice to industrial pupils; every boy in school is getting thorough training in woodwork at least two hours per week" (Principal's Report, 1920, A/3/42). At the same time the Seminary was dependent on the Industrial students "for the remainder of the woodwork construction on the Domestic Science building, for the main construction of the new cottage for girls and the theological cottages" (Principal's Report, 1920, A/3/42).

Bruecker was also responsible for introducing agricultural training, which was started in 1920 with an enrolment of 7 high school boys. Besides these students, all those doing teacher training were receiving instruction in agricultural theory: "they had the best gardens last year in any higher Native School in Natal, and the high school boys taking the agricultural course are getting daily training and experience in the care of stock, poultry, and in the production of field crops" (Principal's Report, 1920, A/3/42).

Of all the developments at Amanzimtoti under Le Roy, agriculture training was the least successful. In 1923, he had to confess the lack of progress: "First of all because of the natural disinclination of the native male to emulate

the 'man with the hoe'." Secondly, "because under present conditions the native is debarred by the Government from purchasing any land from the white owners, who possess practically all that is available for individual ownership. Naturally the native asks, "what is the use of learning to use land when we are not permitted to buy any for ourselves'" (Principal's Report, 1923, A/3/42).

With the growing prosperity of South Africa as a whole, the greater flexibility of financial arrangements between the central government and the provinces (after 1910) and the educational responsibilities placed upon the provinces of the Act of Union, more generous grants towards the work of Amanzimtoti were made. In 1904, Le Roy could recall in his 1923 Report (A/3/42), the total Colonial grant to work at Amanzimtoti Seminary was £60. By 1923 this had risen to £1 543. In 1904, £186.0.0 had been collected from the students in the form of fees, and this had risen to £1 490.0.0 in 1923 (Principal's Report, 1923, p. 5). Two years earlier, Amanzimtoti had received a grant of £1 600 from the Natal Education Department which Le Roy planned to use to expand a domestic science department which was conducted in rather cramped quarters (Principal's Report, 1921, A/3/42).

It will be recalled that from its very beginnings, the missionaries had been urged to make its religious and education work self-supporting, so that the American workers could gradually be withdrawn. It has been shown that this never happened completely, but gradually, and sometimes hesitantly, Zulu were allocated to positions of responsibility. In the 1920's, Zulu lecturers and teachers began to be given positions in the High School Department and as lecturers in the teacher-training work. Mr (later Chief) A.J. Lutuli (first President of the African National Congress - A.N.C. and recipient of the Noble Peace award) and Mr R. Guma were the first African teachers to be appointed in the High School Department of the Seminary. The Principal could in 1925 report the appointment of Mr Z.K. Matthews (later principal at Fort Hare) as Head Teacher of

the High School. Z.K. Matthews, said Le Roy, "a full blooded native in everything but his name; ... enjoys the distinction of being the first native of South Africa to secure a degree from a South African University". Up to that time "it was necessary for native students to go to England or America to obtain their degrees, only too often to find on their return that they had grown out of touch with their people and (it was) impossible to adapt themselves once again to South African conditions" (Principal's Report, 1925, pp. 4-5). Of these Zulu teachers on the staff of the Seminary, Le Roy could say: "(They) continually surprise me, and doubtless would surprise us more, if we had the courage to make the venture of putting greater responsibility upon them" (Principal's Report, 1924, A/3/42).

The Practising School which had been established on the Amanzimtoti Mission grounds in 1910 was extended in 1918 to accommodate 300 pupils, from sub. A (or beginners class) to std. VI, an eight-year cycle. This enlarged school "has made possible classes more nearly the size of those which must commonly be taught in the primary schools" (Principal's Report, 1919, p. 6, A/3/42).

Possibly the most significant developments occurred in teacher-training itself. In 1909 it was decided to offer co-educational teacher-training at Amanzimtoti. This was finally achieved in 1911 with girls from Inanda and Umzumbe schools run by the A.Z.M. being allowed to attend the Training College after passing std. VI. By then the students could obtain one of three levels of certification: First Grade (std. VI + 3 years); Second Grade (std. VI + 2 years), and Third Grade (std. VI + 1 year) (Principal's Report, 1912, A/3/42).

In 1925, with central government's approval, an extra year was added to the First Grade Teaching Certificate, with some increase in salary. This encouraged more students to aim for longer periods of training, whereas in the past "students at the end of their first year (of training) seemed to lose more of their interest in a course that did

not have a (financial) goal in the immediate foreground, toward which they could strive" (Principal's Report, 1924, A/3/42).

The numbers in training did not increase dramatically in the final years of Le Roy's principalship, as is shown, for instance, by figures for four years:

YEAR	TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE
1918	114
1920	110
1921	117
1923	121

These figures should be compared with the figure of 94 for 1908.

The reputation of the teacher-training work of Amanzimtoti was obviously widening. Of the 170 boarders (including those in the High School) who were at the institution in 1920, for instance, 52% came from the American Board Churches; 24% were Wesleyans; 10% from the Free Church of Scotland; 4% were Lutherans; and 4% were Free Methodists (Principal's Report, 1920, A/3/42). Le Roy claimed "There is significance for the future in the opportunities which we have of training these, the most promising and best educated Native leaders which they are producing" (Principal's Report, 1920, A/3/42). In this year, Le Roy also showed the places of origin with 149 coming from Natal and 21 from various colonies in Southern Africa, such as Swaziland, Rhodesia and Basutoland (Principal's Report, 1920, A/3/42).

Perhaps the most significant of the signs of growing recognition of the work of Amanzimtoti was a supportive attitude of the Natal Education Department. Le Roy in 1920 could note that education work "received the unanimous and

hearty approval of the Education Department". In fact, Le Roy reported "that so many of our teachers have been asked by the Education Department to draw up syllabuses of the work, not only for use in our schools but in all other schools, is also an indication that the Department has confidence not only in the school but in the ability of the teachers" (Principal's Report, 1920, A/3/42).

Towards the end of his work at Amanzimtoti, Le Roy recalled the contrast between then and the beginnings of the service. By 1923, he had been at Amanzimtoti for 21 years.

In 1902 the school inspector made his visit, and examined seven students in std. IV and five in std. V, the remainder of the school being below std. IV. Today the curriculum begins with std. VII. (He continued) At that time teachers in the schools of the Province were not required to hold certificates, and it was only in 1904 that the Education Department felt justified in insisting that all head teachers should have passed std. IV, rising to std. V in 1905 and std. VI in 1906 ... Today all teachers in our schools, whether head or assistant, are certificated with from three to five years more training than required (Principal's Report, 1923, A/3/42).

Le Roy retired at the end of 1925 and was succeeded by Rev Otto B. Githers, who came to the Seminary from America in 1926. During his headship (Le Roy) various facets of educational work had been interwoven to give the Seminary a solid structure and indeed to make it one of the most important, if not the most significant, centre of African Education in Natal. Amanzimtoti Institution, later to be called Adams College, in honour of its founder continued to develop after Le Roy left in 1925. Along with many other mission institutions, of many different denominations, it decided to close the mission in 1956, as a result of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, passed by the National Party, which came to power in 1948, and which could have limited the mission's role to a peripheral one of providing religious education only.

The Natal Daily News of 3 December 1956 reported on the closing ceremony:

At a solemn, moving ceremony in a tiny church nestling in the rolling hills some 25 miles from Durban, Adams College, the well-known Native education institute with a century of tradition behind it, held its last service yesterday, before handing over to the Department of Native Affairs ... The small corrugated iron-roofed building was filled to capacity ... with old friends of the College, teachers and students. And when the final hymn 'God be with you till we meet again' was sung by the choir and congregation, there were tears in the eyes of teachers, students and friends alike (Daily News, 3 December 1956).

The closure had come after a long struggle by many religious and educational bodies. Not least amongst those who tried to soften the Bantu Education Act was G.C. Grant, the last Principal of Adams College, who wrote:

For our part, we have, I verily believe fought a good fight. Now we are about to finish our course. We know that we have acted in obedience to our vision of Christian discipleship. Therefore, we have the joy of men and women who strive for something in which they believe. That joy no man can take from us. Though our line of action has ended in apparent defeat, yet in God's good time the outcome will be quite different. That is our faith (Iso Lomizi, November 1956, p. 7).

Some words of Dr Edgar Brookes, from whose history of Natal so many references in this thesis have been taken, and who was also Principal of the College for ten years, might perhaps be used to complete this thesis:

One can only trust that those who have passed through the College have tasted of those 'good things which no man can take away'. Being once 'surprised by' they can, in a measure, live detached from the harsh regulations that scatter them'. They therefore that were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the Word' ... Happily, as Churchill writes, 'Force is potent but not sovereign ...' (Iso Lomizi, November 1956, p. 6).

DATE LINE

- 1795 - London Missionary Society established.
- 5 September 1810 - American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions established (abbreviated as A.B.C.F.M. in this thesis).
- 1812 - Letter written by students of Princeton Theological School to Dr Philip of L.M.S. regarding mission work in Southern Africa.
- 1817 - American Board starts missionary among the Cherokee.
- 1818 - Official organ of A.B.C.F.M., the Missionary Herald, published for the first time.
- 1830 - A.B.C.F.M. firmly established in Hawaii.
- 3 December 1834 - First American Board missionaries set sail from Boston to South Africa.
- 5 February 1835 - American missionaries arrive in Cape Town.
- March 1835 - Three American missionaries set out from Cape Town to Mosega, capital of the Matabele.
- 22 December 1835 - Maritime mission arrives at Natal.

- 24 February 1836 - Death of Mrs Grout at Bethelsdorp.
- 7 March 1836 - First school sponsored by American Board opened at Umlazi by Champion.
- June 1836 - American missionaries establish mission station at Mosega.
- September 1836 - First Sabbath and day schools sponsored by American Board opened by Dr Adams at Umlazi.
- May 1837 - First extensive report on schools established by American Board in Natal.
- July 1837 - After an overland trip of 1 300 miles American missionaries from Mosega arrived at Umlazi.
- March 1838 - Trekkers and Zulu conflict forced the American missionaries to flee to Port Elizabeth.
- December 1838 - Republic of Natalia established.
- 8 August 1839 - Adams requests title to mission land from the Republic of Natalia.
- May 1841 - Mpande allows A.Z.M. to start a mission station in Zululand.
- July 1841 - Board decides to close A.Z.M. operation in the Colony of Natal.
- 17 December 1841 - Death of Champion.
- 5 July 1842 - Boers defeated at Congella.

- 4 May 1843 - Natal annexed as a British Colony by Sir George Napier.
- April 1844 - Philip appeals to Boston not to close A.Z.M. missionary work in Natal.
- April 1844 - A. Grout appointed as Government missionary.
- October 1844 - Board decides to continue A.Z.M. missionary work in Natal.
- 31 March 1846 - Lieutenant-Governor West appoints Location Commission.
- February 1848 - Governor Harry Smith dissolves Location Commission and appoints a Land Commission.
- 31 July 1848-1850 - Arrival of reinforcements for American missionaries.
- 14 November 1848 - Matter of establishment of a seminary raised by A.Z.M. to the Board.
- January 1849 - Arrival of first English immigrants to Natal.
- 16 September 1851 - Adams dies.
- 1852-1853 - Native Commission.
- 1853 - Opening of seminary at Amanzimtoti.

- 5 December 1854 - Sir George Grey appointed Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner for South Africa.
  
- 1856 - First land grants in Natal made by Grey to A.Z.M.
  
- 1857 - Zulu-Kaffir dictionary written by Dohne.
  
- 1860 - Grammar (Zulu language) compiled by Grout.
  
- 1860 - Closure of Amanzimtoti Seminary.
  
- 1860 - Establishment of Home Missionary Society by Zulu converts.
  
- 1863 - Eleven schools established, one at each station.
  
- 1863 - Grants-in-aid for educational work established by Colonial Government.
  
- 1864 - Printing press of A.Z.M. produces "three millions of pages".
  
- 1865 - Reopening of Seminary at Amanzimtoti.
  
- 1865 - Rev W. Ireland appointed principal at Amanzimtoti.
  
- 1866 - Matter of lobola practised by Zulu taken up by Lindley with the Board.
  
- 1869 - A seminary established at Inanda exclusively for girls.

- 1869 - Theological School established at Amanzimtoti as a department separate from the seminary.
- 1870 - Lindley retires from mission work. Grout returns to America.
- 12 April 1877 - Shepstone annexes the Republic of the Transvaal.
- 1877 - High Commissioner for South Africa, Sir Bartle Frere, arrives in Cape Town.
- 1879 - Outbreak of the Zulu War.
- June 1879 - Umsunduzi rules drawn up - Guidelines on the rejection of traditional tribal customs.
- 1881 - Native Commission of 1881-1882 appointed.
- 1882 - Rev H.D. Goodenough appointed Principal of Amanzimtoti.
- 1884 - Council of Education given control of Native Education.
- 1886 - Jubilee celebrations of American Zulu Mission at Amanzimtoti.
- 1892 - Appointment of Special Native Committee of the Council of Education to consider the question of Native Education.
- 1894-1900 - Rev R. Cowles appointed principal of Amanzimtoti.

- 1902 - Lands Commission appointed.
- 1903 - Rev Le Roy appointed principal of Amanzimtoti.
- 1903 - Arrival of Deputation from Boston to assess work of A.Z.M.
- 1903 - Mission Reserves Act passed.
- 1908 - Teacher Training College established at Amanzimtoti.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

ADAMS, Newton M.B.

Born in East Bromfeld, New York, on 4 August 1804. He qualified as a medical doctor at Hamilton College, New York. Volunteered in 1835 to go to South Africa as a missionary, although he did not have any formal theological training. In September 1836, started a Sabbath and day school at Umlazi. He was the only doctor in the area and Zulu, English and Voortrekkers came from far and wide to be treated by him. He was ordained on 10 December 1844 in Cape Town. He was a member of the Location Commission of 1846. In October 1847, Adams changed his mission station from Umlazi to midway between Umlazi and Ilovu Rivers, at Amanzimtoti. In 1848, he was instrumental in bringing a seminary in the Colony of Natal into being, under the auspices of the Prudential Committee. Adams was one of the first missionaries to put the Zulu language into writing. He also assisted his fellow missionaries to translate the Bible into Zulu and he served on the Committee of A.Z.M. on Zulu Orthography. Adams died on 16 September 1851 and was buried at Amanzimtoti.

BRYANT, C. James

He was born in Easton, Massachusetts on 8 April 1812. Arrived in the Colony of Natal in early 1849 and in September 1849, he settled as resident missionary at Infumi. Due to ill-health he was forced to retire from active missionary work. He died at Inanda on 23 December 1850.

## BRIDGMAN, Henry

Was born on 8 January 1830. He left Boston on 1 September 1860 and joined his fellow missionaries from America on 24 November 1860. He was stationed at Infumi in 1862. He had four children, all born in the Colony of Natal. His wife was Laura Nichols who was born in East Haddam, Connecticut on 20 June 1834. He died at Amanzimtoti on 29 September 1896.

## BRIDGMAN, F.B. (Dr.)

Dr Bridgman was born at Infumi in Natal, on 18 May 1869, of missionary parentage. His boyhood was spent at Umzumbe, where he became proficient in the Zulu tongue. He was educated at New Britain, Conn., at Oberlin College, and at Chicago Theological Seminary, graduating from the latter institution in 1896. The Doctorate of Divinity was granted him by Oberlin College in 1916. After marrying Miss Clara Strong Davis, daughter of the Board's great missionary, Before taking up his notable missionary work at Durban, he was placed in charge of Infumi. He came to America on his last furlough in October 1924, sadly broken in health. His death occurred in the St Barnabas Hospital, Portland, Me., Sunday, 23 August, after an operation for appendicitis.

## ADAMS, Sarah C.

She was born in Pittsfield, New York, on 2 April 1812. Came with her husband, Dr Adams, in 1835 as a co-missionary. She was of Dutch descent and was a qualified teacher. She was actively involved in teaching needlework and other useful activities to the females on the mission station. She died in Cleveland, Ohio, on 1 November 1876.

ANDERSON, Rufus

Was born on 17 August 1796 at North Yarmouth, Maine, America. After graduating from College, he entered the Theological Seminary at Andover. Served as Secretary of the Prudential Committee of the Board from 1812. Played a leading role in formulating policy for the A.Z.M.

COWLES, George Burr

He was born in New York on 11 September 1862. Sailed from Boston on 22 April 1893 and arrived in Natal in June 1893. His wife was Amy Bridgman who was born in Durban on 9 July 1866. They had four children; one born in America, two at Adams Mission Station, and one in Durban. He was educated at the International Y.M.C.A. Training School. Mainly involved in the educational side of the missionary work. He served as principal at Amanzimtoti Seminary from 1894-1900 and later as the Superintendent of the primary schools under the jurisdiction of the A.Z.M.

DOHNE, J.L.

In 1880, Rev Dohne, a native of Germany, who came to South Africa in 1836 under the direction of the Berlin Missionary Society, was appointed as a missionary of the A.Z.M. by the Board in Boston. In 1853, Rev Dohne began to compile a Zulu Dictionary, which when completed contained 10 000 Zulu words all etymologically explained, with copious illustrations and examples. He received a substantial grant to complete this pioneering work from Sir George Grey (Governor of the Cape Colony at the time). When printed, it contained 459 pages. Lewis Grout, his fellow missionary, commented as follows on this mammoth undertaking; "It is not only the first dictionary of a South Africa tongue ... but is also a living monu-

ment of the author's industry, careful observation and unfaltering perseverance" (Jubilee Papers, 1886, p. 84).

GROUT, Aldin

Born in Pennsylvania and was a member of the pioneer group of America missionaries who arrived in Cape Town on 5 February 1835. He established a missionary station (Ginani) which was situated in Zululand. His wife, Hannah Doris, died soon after they arrived in South Africa. In November 1837, Grout returned to America, taking with him his motherless child. He remarried there and in 1840 Mr and Mrs Grout rejoined the A.Z.M. in Natal. He was given permission by Mpande, the successor of Dingane, to open a mission station at Inkanyezi, near the Royal capital. However, in 1842, he was forced to abandon the mission station because of the suspicion and jealousy of Mpande. In September 1842, Grout commenced a new mission station at the Umgeni River, where he soon reported a congregation of 600 to 1 000. However, when the Board heard of Grout's unsuccessful bid to do mission work in Zululand, in August 1843 they decided to end their Zulu mission. Under the circumstances, Mr Grout felt it was his duty to comply with the requests of the Board, and left for Cape Town on his way to America. However, Dr Philip of the L.M.S. convinced the Board that the mission among the Zulu should be continued. Grout, after a year as government missionary, renewed his link with the Board in 1845. He established a mission at Umvoti on the Umvoti River, 45 miles from Durban. He remained here until his retirement in 1870, after 35 years of mission work among the Zulu.

GOODENOUGH, Herbert D.

Was born in Boston, Wisconsin on 22 May 1852. He and his wife Connie, born 31 December 1856, set sail from Boston on 1 September 1881 and arrived in Cape Town on 31 October 1881. They had six children; two were born in America, two at Amanzimtoti, and two in Durban. During his period as a missionary in Natal, he served as principal of Amanzimtoti Seminary and as Secretary of the A.Z.M. He retired to America in 1913.

GROUT, Lewis

Grout and his wife, Lydia, left America on 10 October 1846, and arrived in Cape Town on 7 December 1846. They had two children, one born at Umlazi and the other at Umsunduzi. He did most of his missionary work at Umsunduzi, 36 miles from Durban. In 1860, he completed a new and valuable grammar of the Zulu language.

IRELAND, William

Was born on 30 December 1821 in Wales, Great Britain. Accompanied by his wife, Jane Wilson, he set sail from Boston on 14 October 1848 and arrived in Cape Town on 13 February 1849. The Ireland couple had five children who were all born at Amanzimtoti. Ireland replaced Bryant as missionary of Infumi. He later became the principal of the Amanzimtoti Seminary in 1865.

KILBON, Charles, W.

Was born in Springfield, Massachusetts on 27 July 1844. He left Boston with his wife, Mary Knox (born 4 June 1843,

Manchester, Connecticut), on 11 May 1873, and arrived in South Africa on 16 July 1873. The couple had two children, both born at Inanda. He served the A.Z.M. as Chairman for a number of years. He did educational and theological work during his period as missionary in Natal. He retired from active missionary work in 1916 and died in Springfield on 6 October 1916. His wife had already died at Amanzimtoti on 26 November 1901.

LINDLEY, Daniel.

Born 24 August 1801 in Washington. He arrived with the pioneer American missionaries on 5 February 1835. With his co-missionaries, Venable and Wilson, he formed part of the mission to the interior among the Matabele. In June 1837, after doing the necessary preparations (such as learning the language), they established a mission station near Mosega. The group was struck with tragedy with the death of Mrs Wilson. They had hardly recovered from this loss, when their mission work was disrupted by a war between the Boers and the Matabele. This disruption was so serious that they decided to leave Mosega and join their brethren in Natal. Lindley commenced a mission station in 1837 at Infumi (35 miles from Durban). Early in 1838, the mission work of the A.Z.M. was disrupted by a Boer intrusion. Lindley tried to stay behind, but was forced to join his family and friends in Port Elizabeth to which they had fled. In 1840, after this disruption, Lindley sought and got permission from the Board to serve as a minister among the Boers. He felt that in this capacity he could influence the Boers to show Christian love towards the Zulu. In the same year he opened a school for young Boers at Umlazi, near the A.Z.M. mission station and in 1841 he and his family moved to Pietermaritzburg. Here he acted as the first minister to the Voortrekkers whom he served for seven years. In 1845, he resumed his links with the A.Z.M., and commenced a

mission station at Inanda (15 miles from Durban) which was to be his home for the remainder of his career in Natal. He served on the Location Commission of 1846. He refused, however, to give evidence to the 1852-1853 Native Commission. In 1863, Lindley served on a committee to revise an earlier edition of the A.Z.M.'s translation of the New Testament into Zulu. He witnessed the ordination of a Kolwa, James Dube, as pastor and one who was to replace him as missionary of Inanda when he retired in 1873. He and his wife then left for America.

LE ROY, A.E.

Received his theological training at Oberlin Seminary in America. He and his wife, Rhoda Clarke, sailed from Boston on 5 June 1903 and arrived on 18 September 1903 in South Africa. He served as principal of Amanzimtoti Seminary from 1903-1925. During this period, the seminary made rapid growth and became one of the most important Teacher Training Colleges for the Zulu in Natal.

MARSH, Sam

He was born in Massachusetts. He and his wife, Mary Skinner, left Boston on 28 October 1847. They arrived in South Africa on 20 January 1847. He worked as a missionary at Intafamasi where he laboured for only six years before he died there on 11 December 1853. The Marsh family had one child born at Amahlongwa. Mrs Marsh left Natal soon after her husband's death.

## MELLEN, William

He was born in Enfield, Massachusetts, on 16 February 1817. He and his wife, Laura Fairbank (born 12 July 1828 at Oakham, Massachusetts), set sail from Boston on 23 June 1851 and arrived in South Africa in September 1851. He worked at the mission station of Umtavalumi with Mr Wilder. They had eight children who were all born in Natal.

## McKINNEY, Silas

He was born in Birmingham, New York, was educated either at Amhurst College at Amhurst, Massachusetts, or Union College at Schenectady, New York, about which the records are not quite clear, and graduated from Auburn Theological Seminary. After his marriage in 1847, he went as a missionary under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to South Africa, where he served for the 14 years until his wife's death. He then returned to America with his four children. Back in America, he served at Hampden Institute, Hampton, Virginia, for coloured young men and women, for a limited period of time and then had small country parishes until his retirement from the active ministry.

## McCORD, James Benett (Medical Doctor)

Was born in Toulon, Illinois on 5 April 1870. He received his theological training at Oberlin and his medical training at North Western Medical School. He and his wife, Margaret, set sail from Boston on 11 October 1899 and arrived in Natal on 1 December 1899. His medical expertise was an important avenue for spreading the Gospel. He was the chairman of the A.Z.M. when the Deputation from Boston visited Natal in 1903.

PRIXLEY, Stephen, C.

He and his wife, Louisa, joined the mission in January 1856. He spent a year at Amanzimtoti Seminary studying Zulu and assisting Rood who was stationed at Amahlongwa after McKinny had returned to America.

ROOD, David

Born in Buckland, Massachusetts, on 25 April 1818. His wife, Alvera, was born in Plainfield, New York, on 19 August 1822. They sailed from Boston on 28 October 1847 and arrived in South Africa on 20 January 1848. They had two children, one born at the mission station of Infumi and the other at Umlazi. He took over the mission station of Amanzimtoti when Adams died in September 1851. Rood is particularly remembered as the first principal of the Amanzimtoti Seminary which opened for the first time in 1853. He died at Convent, Michigan, on 8 April 1891.

ROBBINS, Elijah

Born at Westford Connecticut on 6 March 1828. He and his wife, Addie, sailed from Boston on 29 September 1859 and arrived in South Africa on 30 December 1859. He spent a year at Amanzimtoti and in 1861 he was located at the mission station at Umzumbi. He later served as tutor and principal at the Theological School at Amanzimtoti. He died at Amanzimtoti on 30 June 1889.

TYLER, Josiah

Born in Hanover, New York, on 9 July 1823. His wife, Susan, was born in Northampton, Massachusetts on 22 March 1828.

They sailed from Boston on 7 April 1849 and arrived in South Africa on 16 July 1849. The Tyler couple had six children, all born in Natal. He operated from the mission station at Esidumbini, 40 miles north of Durban.

TAYLOR, Dexter James (D.D.)

He was born in Waltham Massachusetts on 27 January 1876. His wife, Katrine Gumsey, was born in Springfield, Massachusetts on 23 December 1872. The couple left Boston on 11 October 1899 and arrived in South Africa on 1 December 1899. He was mainly involved in religious work and the supervision of primary schools.

VENABLE, Henry

Born on 28 June 1811 in Shelby, Kentucky. His wife was Martha A. Martin. He was one of the pioneer missionaries who arrived in Cape Town on 3 December 1835. He returned with his co-missionaries Lindley and Dr Wilson to Natal in 1837, after the failure of the mission to the Matabele. Venable and Wilson commenced a mission station at Hlangezwa, one of Dingane's military kraals, near the Umhlatuzi River, about 50 miles from Umgungunlova. Boer intrusion in Natal in 1838 disrupted the mission work of the A.Z.M. Venable and his wife returned to America via Cape Town when he decided to end his work as missionary among the Zulu. After returning to America he sought and obtained a honourable release from the Board. He died on 22 May 1878 in Paris, Illonois.

WILSON, Alex E., M.D.

Dr Wilson and his wife, Mary Jane Smithay, came as pioneer members of the American missionaries who arrived in Cape

Town in 1835. They were members of the abortive interior mission to the Matabele in 1836. Dr Wilson's wife died at the mission house near Mosega in 1837. Wilson abandoned the work as a member of the A.Z.M. and returned to America in 1837 but soon afterwards joined the mission at Cape Palmas in Western Africa, where he died in October 1841 after labouring for two years.

WILDER, Hyman A.

Born on 17 February 1822 in Cornwall, Connecticut. His wife, Abby Lindley, born in Cornwell on 23 August 1822, accompanied him to South Africa. They sailed from Boston on 7 April 1849. He established himself at Umtwalumi Mission Station which is situated 78 miles from Durban. He died at Hartford, Connecticut on 7 September 1877.

WILCOX, W.C.

Born Richfield, Ohio, on 6 August 1850 and with his wife, Ida Clary, sailed on 9 September 1881 from Boston to join his brethren in Natal. The couple had eight children; two were born in America and four in Natal.

ANNUAL TABULAR VIEW, for the year 1853

To be sent to the Missionary House as soon as possible after the close of the year.

NAME OF THE MISSION: *American Zulu Mission*

NAMES OF THE STATIONS.	MISSIONARIES & ASSISTANTS.						PREACHING.										EDUCATION.					CHURCHES.						
	Americans.					Native.	Preachers.	Assistants.	Vines for stated preaching.	Average congregation at station on the Sabbath.	Seminaries.	Pupils in Seminary.	Boarding Schools for males.	Pupils.	Boarding Schools for females.	Pupils.	Free Schools.	Male Pupils.	Female Pupils.	Total number of pupils.	Schoolmasters members of the church.	Pupils members of the church.	Cost of schools, etc.	No. of Churches.	Members received during the year.	Excommunications.	No. of members.	Whole number of members, from the first.
	Preachers.	Physicians.	Teachers.	Printers, etc.	Farmers, etc.	Females.																						
1- <i>Umvoti</i>	1				1	2			1	180						1	9	11	20	1	5	1	2				49	54
2- <i>Umtazi</i>	1					2	3	3	135							1	20	28	54	1	8	7	1	4	0	53	64	
3- <i>Izumi</i>	1					2		1	77							1	11	15	26		8		1	5		27	29	
4- <i>Uyafa</i>	1					2		1	36							1	10	10					1			7	2	
5- <i>Ishanda</i>	1					2																						
6- <i>Umsunduzi</i>	1					2		1	33							0	5	2	7				1	5		12		
7- <i>Esdumbini</i>	1					2																						
8- <i>Uwakusulo</i>	1					2		1	45							1	12	14										
9- <i>Umtwakume</i>	2					4		2	64	1	12					1	14	5	19									
10- <i>Uyokosywe</i>																												
11- <i>Uyafa maki</i>																												
12- <i>Uyafa Mountain</i>	1					2		1	70													1				1	6	
13-																												
14-																												
15-																												
16-																												
17-																												
18-																												
19-																												
20-																												
TOTALS,																												

NAMES OF OUT-STATIONS.	Native preachers.	Native assistants.	Total.	Schools.	Pupils.	NAMES OF NATIVE PREACHERS AND HELPERS.	MISSION LIBRARY.	
							Whole number of Volumes.	No. received last year.
1- <i>Uyafa Mountain</i>	1	1	2			<i>Umtazi</i> x 3	168	11
2- <i>Ishanda</i>	1	1	2					
3- <i>Uyafa Mountain</i>								
4- <i>Uyafa</i>								
5- <i>Uyafa Mountain</i>								
6-								
7-								
8-								
9-								
10-								
11-								
12-								
TOTALS,								

PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT.

No. of Printing Presses in use. *not* 1

Lithographic Presses.

Founts of Type in Native Languages. 2

In what Languages: *Zulu*

English Founts.

Founderies.

Book Bindery, whether complete.

## LIST OF REFERENCES

In the Natal Archives in Pietermaritzburg, the American Board Mission papers concerning their work in Natal are contained in 68 bound volumes, which are subdivided into five Board divisions. The first concerns the Minutes of Meetings and Committee Reports; the second - Correspondence Received; the third - Correspondence Dispatched; the fourth is headed - Internal and covers many miscellaneous items on churches, newspaper clippings on missionary activities and other general matters. The fifth and final section is a further collection of a number of miscellaneous items, most of which refer to 20th century issues and therefore were not relevant to this thesis.

These volumes are labelled with a letter and two numbers, the letter A refers to American Board Mission in Natal, the first number (1-5) refers to the five Board Divisions already discussed, the final figure refers to Volume Number.

The reference A/1/2, for instance, refers to the minutes of the American Board Mission between April 1883 to February 1900. For further clarification of A/1/2:

A - refers to American Board Mission;

1 - refers to the Minutes;

2 - refers to the Second Volume covering the years 1883-1907.

Quotations for these archival resources reflect the volume in which the material was found.

Any other material from primary sources was found in the Killie Campbell Africana Library of the University of Natal, Durban.

Unless otherwise stated, the Commissions which are analysed in this thesis, were consulted in the Natal Archives in Pietermaritzburg where they are filed as part of the official documents of the Colony of Natal.

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